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L. ANNAEUS SENECA *TROADES*

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TROADES

INTRODUCTION, TEXT AND COMMENTARY

BY

ATZE J. KEULEN

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foar Maaike, *coniugi carissimae*
Berend, Siebe, Wytse, *filiis optimis*

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PREFACE

This book has had a long genesis. I began working on the commentary for *Troades* during the second half of the sixties, hoping that it might turn into a thesis. In 1971, a school edition of the play was published as a preliminary result. In the following years, my responsibilities as a teacher and a school administrator slowed down its progress. Then, in 1982, when Professor Elaine Fantham published her impressive edition of the play, it took away any remaining aspirations of mine to finish it. But when I retired some seven years ago, I felt motivated to continue working on the manuscript. After acquainting myself with the new literature that was being written on Seneca's tragedies at the time, it became clear that scholars and readers alike were showing renewed interest in these plays. It inspired me to rewrite and enhance the commentary and compose a Frisian translation. In 1994, when Professor A.J. Boyle published his version of the play, I again reconsidered continuing with my own project, but when we met during a seminar at Leeds in 1995, he encouraged me to continue.

I would like to express my gratitude to several people and institutions for their support. First, I would like to mention the late Professor R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma. He suggested *Troades* as a possible thesis topic and supervised my work in its early stages. Secondly, I would like to thank Dr. Ben Hijmans for also offering valuable comments in the first and second stages of the manuscript. To the librarians at the Buma Bibliotheek in Leeuwarden, I would like to express my gratitude for their help throughout the entire process, even during their hectic moments of relocation. Some years ago, I was also privileged to pay occasional visits to the Thesaurus in Munich, and I wish to thank Dr. Peter Flury and his staff for their friendly hospitality. Another contribution from the Bavarian city was made by Professor Wilfried Stroh, who kindly sent me a videotape of his production of the play and his text-book. In addition, I would also like to express my thanks to Drs. C.G. van Leijenhorst (Munich) for putting his unpublished study of the play at my disposal, and to the University of Vienna for sending me a copy of Brigitte Seidler's typewritten dissertation.

To my promotor, Professor Ruurd Nauta, who in spite of the many obligations of his new job, was willing to supervise my final steps in accomplishing this thesis, I would like to express a special feeling of gratitude. With his accuracy and acumen, he not only saved me from numerous errors, but also made a lot of suggestions for improvement, inspiring me to look at my material with fresh eyes.

My warm thanks go, too, to the members of the evaluation committee: prof. dr. E. Fantham, prof. dr. M.A. Harder, and prof. dr. P.H. Schrijvers, for their readiness to examine the thesis and for their most valuable comments.

To the Board of Mnemosyne, I appreciate their willingness to publish my work in *Supplements to Mnemosyne*. I would also like to thank the staff at Brill Academic Publishers, and in particular Loes Schouten, for transforming my raw material into a published work, and to Julie Senft for correcting my English.

My deepest gratitude goes to my wife Maaike and our three sons for their support. I do not know a better remuneration than the dedication of this book to them.

INTRODUCTION

1. *Seneca's life*[1]

Lucius Annaeus Seneca was born in Corduba (modern Cordoba) in southern Spain, shortly before or after the beginning of the Christian era.[2] His father, the *eques* L. (?) Annaeus Seneca (c. 55 B.C.-c. 40 A.D.), often labeled 'the Elder' or 'Rhetor' to distinguish him from his more famous son ('Philosophus'), authored *Oratorum et rhetorum sententiae diuisiones colores* (ten books of *Controuersiae* and one of *Suasoriae*).[3] His mother Helvia, probably also of Spanish origin, but rather younger than her husband, was more interested in philosophy.[4] His older brother Novatus, later adopted by a family friend Iunius Gallio, is mentioned in *Acts* 18:12 as the proconsular governor of Achaea. His younger brother Mela was the father of the poet Lucan.

As a child, he was brought to Rome by his mother's step-sister (*Dial.* 12.19.2). Between the ages of 7-11, he presumably was taught by a *litterator* in reading, writing and arithmetic. Following this period came the instruction by the *grammaticus*, of which Seneca later passed a rather unfavourable judgement.[5] At a young age, he may have become familiar with such poets as Vergil and Ovid, and with the Greek language. Vergil later is referred to by him as *ille uir disertissimus* (*Dial.* 8.1.4) and *maximus uates* (*Dial.* 10.9.2).

[1] See e.g. Miriam T. Griffin, *Seneca. A Philosopher in Politics*, Oxford 1976 (^{2}1991; Clarendon Paperback 1992); Pierre Grimal, *Sénèque ou la conscience de l'Empire*, Paris 1978; Marc Rozelaar, *Seneca*, Amsterdam 1976; Villy Sørensen, *Seneca. The humanist at the court of Nero*, transl. by W.G. Jones, Chicago 1984; Karlhans Abel, 'Seneca. Leben und Leistung', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.32.2 (1985) 654-775, esp. 656-698 'Erster Teil: Bios'; Manfred Fuhrmann, *Seneca und Kaiser Nero.* Eine Biographie, Berlin 1997.

[2] Grimal (1978) 37-38, following F. Préchac, 'La date de naissance de Sénèque', *Revue des Études Latines* 12 (1934) 360-375, proposes 1 B.C.; Abel, 'Zu Senecas Geburtsdatum', *Hermes* 109 (1981) 123-126, thinks 1 A.D. more likely.

[3] See on him e.g. Janet Fairweather, *Seneca the Elder*, Cambridge 1981; 'The Elder Seneca and Declamation', *ANRW* II.32.1 (1984) 514-556; L.A. Sussman, 'The Elder Seneca and Declamation Since 1900', *ANRW* II.32.1 (1984) 557-577.

[4] Seneca's *Consolatio ad Heluiam*, written in the first months of his exile on Corsica, gives a good idea of his warm bond with his mother: '*ergo complexu fili carissimi careo; non conspectu eius, non sermone possum frui. ubi est ille quo uiso tristem uultum relaxaui, in quo omnes sollicitudines meas deposui? ubi conloquia, quorum inexplebilis eram? ubi studia, quibus libentius quam femina, familiarius quam mater intereram? ubi ille occursus? ubi matre uisa semper puerilis hilaritas?*' (*Dial.* 12.15.1)

[5] *Ep.* 58.5 ... *quantum tempus apud grammaticum perdiderim*; cf. also *Ep.* 88.3.

From 14-19 A.D., he seems to have received his first philosophical lessons from Sotion, an adept of Sextius. The school, founded in the first century B.C., contained both Stoic elements (but in a milder form) and Pythagorean features. Seneca was deeply influenced by these ideas. For instance, he abstained from eating meat for a year, and only gave this up at the request of his father (*Ep.* 108.22). Throughout his life, Seneca practised Sextius' habit of submitting each night the acts of the day to the judgement of his conscience.[6] In his later years, he also returned to Sextius' writings for their inspirational value.[7]

The second teacher who made a significant contribution to Seneca's philosophical development was Attalus, but there are no testimonies at what age Seneca was instructed by him. He probably came from Pergamum, a stronghold of Stoicism, and was one of the celebrities of his age (cf. Sen. *Suas.* 2.12). In his teachings, he emphasized ethical matters (*Ep.* 110.14-20 gives an impression of his diatribe against wealth), often using similes to illustrate his point.[8] He was typically Stoic is his heroic attitude towards fate,[9] but also had a mind open to Epicurean ideas. In his *Ep.* 108, Seneca clearly shows his deep admiration for him.

Papirius Fabianus was the third philosopher who influenced Seneca considerably. Like Sotion, he was also from Sextius' school. In *Ep.* 100.9, Seneca ranks him fourth in a list of Roman philosophical authors, behind Cicero, Livius, and Asinius Pollio. Fabianus had a broad range of interests, as is apparent from writings such as *Ciuilium libri*, *Causarum naturalium libri*, and *De animalibus*, and also set a good example in his lifestyle (cf. *Dial.* 10.10.1 ... *Fabianus, non ex his cathedrariis philosophis, sed ex ueris et antiquis*).

[6] *Dial.* 5.36.1 *faciebat hoc Sextius, ut consummato die, cum se ad nocturnam quietem recepisset, interrogaret animum suum: 'quod hodie malum tuum sanasti? cui uitio obstitisti? qua parte melior es?'*

[7] *Ep.* 59.7 *Sextium ecce cum maxime lego, uirum acrem, Graecis uerbis, Romanis moribus philosophantem*; 64.2-3 *lectus est deinde liber Quinti Sextii patris, magni, si quid mihi credis, uiri, et licet neget Stoici. quantus in illo, di boni, uigor est, quantum animi! hoc non in omnibus philosophis inuenies: quorundam scripta clarum habentium nomen exanguia sunt. instituunt, disputant, cauillantur, non faciunt animum quia non habent: cum legeris Sextium, dices: 'uiuit, uiget, liber est, supra hominem est, dimittit me plenum ingentis fiduciae.'*

[8] See e.g. *Ep.* 9.7 *Attalus philosophus dicere solebat iucundius esse amicum facere quam habere, 'quomodo artifici iucundius pingere est quam pinxisse'*; 63.5 *'sic amicorum defunctorum memoria iucunda est quomodo poma quaedam sunt suauiter aspera, quomodo in uino nimis ueteri ipsa nos amaritudo delectat; cum uero interuenit spatium, omne quod angebat extinguitur et pura ad nos uoluptas uenit'*; 72.8.

[9] *Ep.* 67.15 *Attalus Stoicus dicere solebat: 'malo me fortuna in castris suis quam in delicis habeat. torqueor, sed fortiter: bene est. occidor, sed fortiter: bene est.' audi Epicurum, dicet et 'dulce est.' ego tam honestae rei ac seuerae numquam molle nomen inponam.*

In this phase of his life, Seneca coped with chronic respiratory problems, and even contemplated suicide, but the thought of its impact on his father restrained him from following through with it (*Ep.* 78.1-2). Hoping that a change of climate might benefit him, he went to Egypt to visit the aunt who brought him from Spain to Rome; her husband had become prefect there in 16 A.D. Due to her 'devoted and motherly nursing', he did indeed recover from his long illness (*Dial.* 12.19.2). After a stay of some years, Seneca returned with them to Rome in 31 A.D. (his uncle died in a shipwreck en route).

In one of the following years (33 A.D.?), he became *quaestor*, with the help of his aunt (*Dial.* 12.19.2). This was the (late) beginning of his political activity. Between the years 37-41, under emperor Gaius, he probably advanced to the function of *aedilis* or *tribunus plebis*, the second step in the *cursus honorum*. At this stage, he also became a celebrated orator, but according to an anecdote related by Cassius Dio,[10] this success also had its drawbacks. In 39 A.D., a brilliant plea of his roused the emperor's envy, and he certainly would have been put to death if a woman near Gaius had not joked that Seneca would soon die of consumption anyway.

In the first year of Claudius' reign (41-54), Seneca was less lucky. He was relegated to the island of Corsica on a charge of adultery with Julia Livilla, a sister of Gaius (Cassius Dio 60.8.5). According to Dio, it was Claudius' wife Messalina who had concocted the charge in an effort to get rid of Livilla, of whom she was envious. The Senate went as far as to condemn him to death, but he was spared by the emperor himself (*Dial.* 11.13.2 *deprecatus est pro me senatum et uitam non tantum dedit sed etiam petît*). Seneca's exile came at a time when he was coping with other difficulties in his private life: he had lost his father (*Dial.* 12.2.4), a son, and probably his first wife.[11] With the aid of Stoic philosophy,[12] he lived through those eight years.

[10] Cassius Dio 59.19.7. On the reliability of this anecdote, "the only outside evidence we have for Seneca's life in the reign of Gaius", see Griffin (1992) 53-56.

[11] *Dial.* 12.2.5 *intra uicesimum diem quam filium meum in manibus et in osculis tuis mortuum funeraueras, raptum me audisti.* The absence of the boy's mother in this description might imply that she also had died. Another passage of interest is *Dial.* 12.18.7 *tene in gremio cito tibi daturam pronepotes Nouatillam, quam sic in me transtuleram, sic mihi adscripseram, ut possit uideri, quod me amisit, quamuis saluo patre pupilla; hanc et pro me dilige. abstulit illi nuper fortuna matrem: tua potest efficere pietas ut perdidisse se matrem doleat tantum, non et sentiat*; if Novatilla would be Seneca's daughter, this passage would confirm her death at that moment [on the Novatilla-problem see Abel, *RE* Suppl. 12 (1970) 86 s.v. (Annaea) Novatilla].

[12] See e.g. *Dial.* 12.8.2 *duo quae pulcherrima sunt quocumque nos mouerimus sequentur, natura communis et propria uirtus*; 12.8.5 *alacres itaque et erecti quocumque res tulerit intrepido gradu properemus, emetiamur quascumque terras: nullum inueniri exilium intra mundum potest; nihil enim quod intra mundum est alienum homini est.*

Thanks to Tacitus' *Annals* and Cassius Dio's *Roman History*, we are better informed about the following period of Seneca's life. In 48 A.D., Messalina was killed (*Ann.* 11.37-38). In the next year, Agrippina, another sister of Gaius, who had become the new wife of her uncle Claudius, recalled Seneca and had him appointed *praetor*. Actually, it was her plan that he would tutor her eleven year-old son, Domitius. She hoped this education would make Domitius more competitive with Britannicus, the eight year-old son of Claudius and Messalina (*Ann.* 12.8). In 50 A.D., young Domitius was adopted by Claudius and was renamed Nero (*Ann.* 12.25-26). Four years later, after Agrippina had poisoned her husband (*Ann.* 12.66-67), Nero mounted the throne.

With Burrus, the *praefectus praetorii*, Seneca possessed a considerable amount of power; together, they actually held the reins.[13] During a five year period, Burrus and Seneca succeeded remarkably well in controlling Nero and his ambitious mother, although they were not able to prevent the murder of Britannicus in 55. But when Agrippina was killed by her son in 59, Seneca's position became more difficult. He composed a letter for Nero to the Senate, stating that Agrippina had killed herself after participating in an unsuccessful conspiracy. But the public knew better: *non iam Nero, cuius immanitas omnium questus antibat, sed Seneca aduerso rumore erat quod oratione tali confessionem scripsisset* (*Ann.* 14.11).

Three years later, the death of Burrus (*Ann.* 14.51: *incertum ualetudine an ueneno*) weakened Seneca's influence. He felt isolated and unable to cope with Poppaea Sabina, who was soon to become Nero's second wife, and other advisers.[14] Aware of the accusations[15] brought against him, he asked Nero permission to retire and offered to return the gifts he had received from him (*Ann.* 14.53-54). The emperor refused his request, but Seneca after that avoided (public) contacts (*Ann.* 14.56).

In 64 A.D., when Rome was struck by an enormous fire (*Ann.* 15.38), Seneca was more successful with his financial offer, but it did not mollify Nero. After an alleged vain attempt to poison his former tutor (*Ann.* 15.45), he seized Piso's conspiracy in 65 A.D. as an opportunity to get rid of him.

[13] *Ann.* 13.2 *hi rectores imperatoriae iuuentae et* (*rarum in societate potentiae*) *concordes, diuersa arte ex aequo pollebant, Burrus militaribus curis et seueritate morum, Seneca praeceptis eloquentiae et comitate honesta iuuantes in uicem, quo facilius lubricam principis aetatem, si uirtutem aspernaretur, uoluptatibus concessis retinerent.*

[14] *Ann.* 14.52 *mors Burri infregit Senecae potentiam, quia nec bonis artibus idem uirium erat altero uelut duce amoto et Nero ad deteriores inclinabat.*

[15] *Ann.* 14.52 *hi uariis criminationibus Senecam adoriuntur, tamquam ingentis et priuatum modum euectas opes adhuc augeret, quodque studia ciuium in se uerteret, hortorum quoque amoenitate et uillarum magnificentia quasi principem supergrederetur. obiciebant etiam eloquentiae laudem uni sibi adsciscere et carmina crebrius factitare, postquam Neroni amor eorum uenisset.*

Tacitus gives a detailed and dramatic account of Seneca's death, beginning with *sequitur caedes Annaei Senecae, laetissima principi, non quia coniurationis manifestum compererat, sed ut ferro grassaretur, quando uenenum non processerat* (*Ann.* 15.60). His description clearly shows that Seneca, in this final moment, implements what he has always upheld and taught in his literary works.[16] When the tribune of the guard, sent to him by Nero, is asked on his return '*an Seneca uoluntariam mortem pararet*', he confirms '*nulla pauoris signa, nihil triste in uerbis eius aut uultu deprensum*' (15.61). Next, when a centurion is sent to denounce Seneca 'the ultimate necessity', he 'unterrified asks for the documents of his will' (15.62). When the request is refused by the centurion, Seneca solemnly declares to his friends, that - since he is prohibited from recompensing them properly for their merits - he leaves them *quod unum iam et tamen pulcherrimum habeat, imaginem uitae suae*. Varying his tone, he tries to turn their weeping into strength, insistently asking *ubi praecepta sapientiae, ubi tot per annos meditata ratio aduersus imminentia*. In his final moments, he remains human, though: after he has embraced his wife Pompeia Paulina, he is described as *paululum ... mollitus* (15.63).

When he asks his wife to control her grief and to find honourable solace in reflecting on the virtuous life he has lived, her reaction amply testifies to their warm relationship: she is determined to die with him. Seneca consents, *gloriae eius non aduersus, simul amore, ne sibi unice dilectam ad iniurias relinqueret*, and with one stroke they cut the veins of their arms. Because of his old age (see also on *Tro.* 50 *siccus*), his blood flows slowly, so he has his veins at the ankles and under the knees cut as well. Worn out by the severe pains, he advises his wife to go to another room, lest they loose their endurance seeing each other suffer. Even then he is still eloquent, dictating his final words to his summoned scribes.

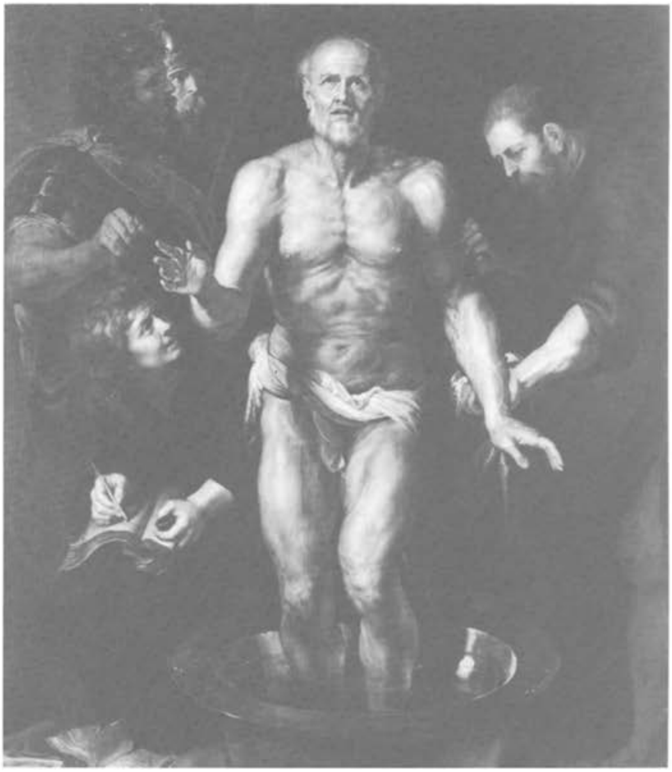
Paulina's death is prevented by Nero, fearing that her death might increase the odium of his cruelty (15.64). Meanwhile, Seneca's agony lingers on, and he requests Statius Annaeus, who for a long time had shown his loyal friendship and medical skill, *prouisum pridem uenenum quo damnati publico Atheniensium iudicio extinguerentur promeret.*[17] When the poison is brought to Seneca, he swallows it without effect; his limbs have become cold and his body is unable to respond to the poison.

[16] Cf. e.g. *Ep.* 54.7 *non trepidabo ad extrema*; A.D. Leeman, 'Das Todeserlebnis in Senecas Denken', *Gymnasium* 78 (1971) 322-333, esp. 333.

[17] Apart from a possible *aemulatio* between Tacitus and Plato, Socrates' death must have served as a model for Seneca; cf., for instance, his praise of it at *Dial.* 1.3.12-3. See on this subject Klaus Döring, *Exemplum Socratis*, Studien zur Sokratesnachwirkung in der kynisch-stoischen Popularphilosophie der frühen Kaiserzeit und im frühen Christentum, Hermes Einzelschriften 42, Wiesbaden 1979, 18-42.

At last, he enters a warm water basin and sprinkles the nearest slaves while saying the words *libare se liquorem illum Ioui liberatori*. Thereafter, he is borne into a hot vapour-bath where he gets suffocated. He is cremated without any funeral ceremony, just as he had proclaimed in his codicil several years ago when he was 'still outstandingly rich and outstandingly powerful'.

Seneca's death has been represented in several later works of art: for instance, it forms a scene in Claudio Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1642), and it is the subject of several paintings. His brave attitude towards death is captured quite well in this *Seneca dying* by Rubens.[18]



P.P. Rubens (1577-1640), Seneca dying
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek München

[18] See Caroline Fisser, 'Was Seneca's dood zijn leven?', Een introductieles, *Lampas* 22 (1989) 377-390; on the final page there are pictures of paintings on Seneca's death by N. Hallé (1711-1781), J.A. de Peters (1725-1795), P.M. Ferrari (1735-1787) and J.L. David (1748-1825).

2. *Seneca's literary activities*[19]

Seneca managed to compose an impressive amount of literary works. In his *Institutio Oratoria* (c. 95 A.D.), Quintilian classifies them as poetry, orations, epistles, and philosophical treatises (*Inst.* 10.1.129).

The tragedies: *Hercules Furens, Troades, Phoenissae, Medea, Phaedra, Oedipus, Agamemnon, Thyestes*, form the main part of his extant poetry. In addition, he wrote the *Apocolocyntosis*, a lampoon on Claudius in a mixture of prose and poetry. In the *Anthologia Latina*, compiled at Carthage in the sixth century, there are also poems assigned to him. Of his orations none is left, but we may catch a glimpse of them in the works of Quintilian, Tacitus, and Cassius Dio. The 124 *Epistulae ad Lucilium* give a good impression of his moral letters. His extant treatises consist of twelve books of *Dialogi*, two books of *De clementia*, seven books of *De beneficiis*, and seven books of *Naturales quaestiones*.

The authenticity of some of these works has been disputed throughout the ages. Sidonius Apollinaris, for instance, thought that the tragedies and the *Dialogi* were composed by different authors; Erasmus did not even distinguish Seneca Rhetor from Seneca Philosophus. On the other hand, some spurious works have been attributed to him. For a long time (up to Erasmus and incidentally after him), a correspondence between Seneca and the Apostle Paul was considered genuine. Today, the authenticity of *Hercules Oetaeus* is strongly doubted and the *Octauia* (*fabula praetexta*) is generally considered spurious.

The chronology of his works constitutes a much greater problem. We may assume that two now lost works, *De situ et sacris Aegyptiorum* and *De situ Indiae*, were composed during his stay in Egypt. The *Consolatio ad Marciam* (*Dial.* 6), was probably written under Gaius (37-41).[20] It is likely that he wrote the *Consolatio ad Polybium* (*Dial.* 11, *alias* 12) and *Consolatio ad Heluiam* (*Dial.* 12, *alias* 11) in the initial years of his exile. The three books of *De ira* (*Dial.* 3-5) were probably composed between 41 (Gaius' death) and 52; they are dedicated to his brother Novatus, who in that year was adopted and renamed Gallio. After his exile, he wrote *De breuitate uitae* (*Dial.* 10) in Rome. Treatises with wide apart *termini* are *De constantia sapientis* (*Dial.* 2) between 47 and 64,[21] and *De tranquillitate animi* (*Dial.* 9). *De uita beata* (*Dial.* 7) belongs to Seneca's period of vast wealth (54-62), *De otio* (*Dial.* 8) follows it (the ending of the latter and the beginning of the former treatise are lost).

[19] See e.g. Karlhans Abel, 'Seneca. Leben und Leistung', *ANRW* II 32.2 (1985) 698-768 ('Zweiter Teil: Das schriftstellerische Werk'); Michael von Albrecht, *A History of Roman Literature*, Vol. 2, Leiden - New York - Köln 1997, 1161-1173.

[20] An earlier date (33-37, under Tiberius) has been proposed by Jane Bellemore, 'The Dating of Seneca's *Ad Marciam De Consolatione*', *CQ* N.S. 42 (1992) 219-234.

[21] A survey of proposed dates is given by Wichem Klei, *L. Annaeus Seneca, Dialogorum Liber II*, Zwolle 1950, 5-23; he thinks shortly before A.D. 62 most likely.

The dating of *De prouidentia* (*Dial.* 1) varies from the first months of his exile up to his last years; the latter period seems most likely.

In *De clementia*, addressed to Nero, the words *hoc aetatis ... quod tu nunc es, duodeuicensimum egressus annum* (1.9.1) clearly indicate the date: Nero had become 18 on December 15 in 55 A.D., so it is fair to assume that 56 is the year of composition. In the years thereafter, Seneca wrote the seven books *De beneficiis*. They were followed by his *Naturales quaestiones*: in *Nat.* 6.1.1, he mentions an earthquake at Pompei in 63. In his final years, he also composed 124 *Epistulae ad Lucilium* or *Epistulae morales*, generally considered his most interesting and most important work.

3. *On dating the* Troades[22]

The dating of the tragedies poses an even greater problem; Abel (1985) 703, for instance, styles it "ein hoffnungsloses Beginnen". To begin with, Seneca makes no mention of his tragedies in his prose works. Tac. *Ann.* 14.52 (see p. 4, n. 15), dealing with the events in 62, does mention Seneca's *carmina*, but the word does not necessarily have to refer to his tragedies, and could quite well denote his epigrams.[23] The first quotation from them is not found before Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.2.8: *Medea apud Senecam*. More important to the dating problem is another passage of Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.3.31: *memini iuuenis admodum inter Pomponium ac Senecam etiam praefationibus esse tractatum an 'gradus eliminat' in tragoedia dici oportuisset*; it has been discussed by Cichorius.[24] Since Quintilian was probably born around 35 A.D., this might refer to a time between the years 51-54 (less likely 49-50). Seneca had returned from exile in 49, and Pomponius Secundus had governed Upper Germany in 50-51. The *praefationes* were probably the preliminary remarks of the recitalist[25] before presenting his new work, so it seems logical to conclude that Seneca wrote at least some of his plays in this period.

[22] Otto Herzog, 'Datierung der Tragödien des Seneca', *Rhein. Mus.* 77 (1928) 51-104; John G. Fitch, 'Sense-Pauses and Relative Dating in Seneca, Sophocles and Shakespeare', *AJP* 102 (1981) 289-307; Elaine Fantham, *Seneca's Troades*, Princeton 1982, 9-14; Otto Zwierlein, *Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der Tragödien Senecas*, Wiesbaden 1984, 233-248 ('Zur Chronologie der Dramen'); R.G.M. Nisbet, 'The Dating of Seneca's Tragedies, with Special Reference to *Thyestes*', *Proceedings (or: Papers) of the Leeds International Seminar* 6 (1990) 95-114 (repr. in: *Collected Papers on Latin Literature*, edited by S.J. Harrison, Oxford 1995, 293-311).

[23] On the ambiguity of the word, see Fantham (1982) 8-9, 12; Nisbet (1995) 296 also thinks it unlikely that *carmina* should refer to tragedies there. Tac. *Ann.* 11.13 does apply the noun to Pomponius' tragedies (*is carmina scaenae dabat*).

[24] C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, Leipzig und Berlin 1922, 426-429.

[25] Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 1.13.2 *an iam recitator intrauerit, an dixerit praefationem.*

Such a date for *Troades* is supported by three pieces of circumstantial evidence. First, there is the resemblance between lines 108 and 130-1 of this play (and *Hercules Furens* 1108) and the opening lines of the mock-dirge in the *Apocolocyntosis*, written by Seneca shortly after Claudius' death on 13 October in 54: *fundite fletus, edite planctus, / resonet tristi clamore forum*. The parody makes it seem likely that both *Troades* and *Hercules Furens* were composed by 54. Nisbet (1995) 294 takes this as "the most generally accepted piece of evidence".

Secondly, line 778 of *Troades* mentions the *lusus Troiae*, in which Nero had participated in 47 A.D. Such a reference seems very appropriate in the years when Seneca tutored him. After 54 A.D., however, when Nero had become emperor, he might have reacted unfavourably to it.

Lastly, the pedagogic purpose of the Agamemnon-Pyrrhus scene corresponds with this phase of Nero's education (see the commentary on 333-6). Whereas we meet tyrannous kings (Atreus, Creon, Lycus) in the other plays, Agamemnon acts as a model king with his moderate views.[26] As Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.66-7 and Aug. *Ciu. Dei* 2.8 confirm, study of tragedies was included in the rhetorical training; therefore, it seems plausible that Seneca used some of his own writing for that purpose.

For these reasons, I feel it is most likely that Seneca wrote *Troades* between 51 and 54. Herzog (1928) 93 suggests A.D. 53, when Nero openly stood up for the cause of the *Ilienses* (Tac. *Ann.* 12.58).[27] Much later dates have been unconvincingly proposed by Herrmann[28] and Bishop.[29] It has also been assumed that he wrote (some of) his tragedies during the time of his exile,[30] since none of his prose works can be dated between the winter of 43/44 and 49. Fitch has tackled the dating problem by means of a very original approach. Using two independent criteria, the increasing frequency of mid-line sense pauses and of shortened *-o* endings, he concludes that the plays fall into three groups: the earliest are *Ag.*, *Phae.* and *Oed.*, the middle group *Med.*, *Tro.* and *H.F.*, the latest *Thy.* and *Phoen.*; but he refrains from mentioning specific years or periods.

[26] Cf. Herzog (1928) 94: "Diese Gestaltung des Agamemnon ist deshalb besonders beachtenswert, weil Agamemnon in der Sage keineswegs überall der ideale Herrscher ist und daher auch von früheren Tragikern zum Tyrannen abgewandelt worden war. Seneca zeichnete ihn als vorbildlichen Herrscher - hier kann man am ehesten an pädagogischen Absichten des Dichters denken."

[27] Fantham (1982) 13 thinks the suggestion "too precise", in view of the long tradition of interest by the Julio-Claudians in Ilium; Nisbet's objection, that "by that date the *lusus Troiae* might seem less topical", is no hindrance to me.

[28] L. Herrmann, *Le théâtre de Sénèque*, Paris 1924, 146-147: 60-61 A.D.

[29] J. David Bishop, *Seneca's Daggered Stylus*, Königstein/Ts 1985, 464: winter of 64.

[30] E.g. Grimal (1979) 426; F. Nieto Mesa, 'Cronología de las tragedias de Séneca', *Nova Tellus* 3 (1985) 91-109; von Albrecht (1997) 1170: "The fact that he did not need a big library for doing so speaks in favor of this popular theory."

4. *The deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena in earlier literature*

In the *Odyssey*, the destruction of Troy is mentioned at the very beginning (1.2), and sung about by Demodokos at Alkinoos' court (8.499-520), but that epic does not tell the stories of Astyanax and Polyxena.

In the *Cypria* (see scholion on Eur. *Hec.* 41), Polyxena,[31] at the fall of Troy, was mortally wounded by Odysseus and Diomedes, and buried by Neoptolemus. This statement is striking in two respects: the *Cypria* deals with the events prior to those described in the *Iliad*, and makes no mention of the fall of Troy, or the offering of Polyxena to Achilles.[32]

To Arctinus an *Iliou Persis* is ascribed, of which an epitome survives in the *Chrestomathia* of Proclus, stating at the end: 'Then having set fire to the city they sacrificed Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles. And after Odysseus had disposed of Astyanax, Neoptolemus took Andromache as his prize. And the remaining spoils were distributed.'

Lesches composed an *Ilias Mikra*, of which eleven lines have been preserved in a scholion on Lycopohron, *Alexandra* 1268, containing his version of Astyanax's death: 'The glorious son of proud-hearted Achilles took Hector's wife down to the hollow ships. He took the boy from the bosom of his fair-haired nurse, and hurled him by the foot from the tower'. This version was confirmed by the (now lost) painting of the Sack of Troy by Polygnotus in Delphi, described by Pausanias 10.25.9-10. He adds that, according to Lesches, the murder did not take place because of a decision of the Greeks, but as a personal act of Neoptolemus.

Stesichorus wrote a lyric poem *Iliou Persis*, in which he probably "tried to give new life to old subjects by ingenious innovations", and "seems ... to have tempered some of the more barbarous episodes in the epic".[33] In his version, Astyanax was already dead when he was thrown from the walls of Troy (schol. Eur. *Andr.* 10). Though our knowledge of the poem itself is rather limited, we have learned more about its contents from a Roman monument of the first century A.D. It is found at Bovillae near Rome, and known as the *Tabula Iliaca* (*Capitolina*); see Fantham (1982) 2 for an illustration, and 54 ff. for a description. On the left is Hector's grave, where some Trojan captives are gathered. Talthybius approaches Andromache to take away the child in her arms. Next, we see Hecuba with Polyxena, and Odysseus who has come to claim the princess. On the right, there is Achilles' tomb, where Polyxena is sacrificed by Neoptolemos in the presence of Odysseus and Calchas.

[31] See on her e.g. C. Fontinoy, 'Le sacrifice nuptial de Polyxène', *L'Antiquité Classique* 19 (1950) 383-396; R. Wüst, *RE*^{2} 21 (1950) 1840-1850.

[32] R. Förster, 'Zu Achilleus und Polyxena', *Hermes* 18 (1883) 475-478, considering Neoptolemus' action an act of piety towards his father, from it concluded a relation of love between Achilles and Polyxena.

[33] C.M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, Oxford ^{2}1961, 103 f.

Of the three great Greek tragedians, to the best of our knowledge, Aeschylus did not address this subject-matter. In Sophocles' *Polyxena*, according to Apollodorus, Achilles' ghost appeared on stage demanding the sacrifice of Polyxena (*Fr.* 523),[34] so her death may have concluded that play.[35] In Euripides' *Hecuba*, Polydorus' ghost in the prologue relates (37-41) Achilles' apparition above his grave, demanding the sacrifice of Polyxena as his 'victim and gift of honour', and as a necessary condition for the departure of the Greek fleet. Odysseus takes away Polyxena, after he has informed Hecuba and the princess that the Greeks have decided to sacrifice her on Achilles' tomb, and that Achilles' son will be the executioner (218-443). The offering is described to Hecuba by Talthybius (518-82). In his *Troades*, Talthybius, in his first appearance, tells Hecuba to which new master Cassandra, Polyxena, Andromache, and she herself have been assigned (247-77). Later, he returns (709) to inform Andromache that Odysseus' motion to throw Astyanax from the Trojan walls has been accepted by the Greeks, and to take the boy with him. In the final scene, Talthybius tells Hecuba that Neoptolemus has left with Andromache, and that Hecuba may render the last honours to the boy. In his *Andromacha*, Astyanax's death is only briefly touched upon by his mother (10).

In Roman literature, there is some evidence that Ennius, in his *Hecuba*, closely followed the Euripidean play. The fragments of his *Andromacha Aechmalotis* are too scanty to define its contents for certain.[36] Accius wrote a version of *Astyanax*, in which Andromache concealed her son in the hills. Polyxena's death on Achilles' tomb, right after the capture of the city, is mentioned by Catullus 64.362-70. Vergil is silent about Astyanax's death, but speaks briefly about Polyxena's (*Aen.* 3.321-4). Ovid briefly (*Met.* 13.415-7) mentions that Astyanax was thrown from the walls, but speaks much more extensively about Polyxena's death in Thrace and Hecuba's reaction (*Met.* 13.439-526).

[34] 'From those unanthem'd and abysmal shores / I come, the birthless floods of Acheron, / Still echoing to the sound of rending groans' (transl. W.G. Headlam).

[35] See William M. Calder III, 'A Reconstruction of Sophocles' *Polyxena*', *GRBS* 7 (1966) 31-56; Fantham (1982) 57-60. Achilles' apparition had also been dealt with by Simonides; the author of Περὶ ὕψους (*De sublimitate*), in a discussion of the value of images in poetry, first praises the closing scene of Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* with its portents in the sky, then goes on (15.7): 'Magnificent too is the passage where the Greeks are on the point of sailing away and Achilles appears above his tomb to those who are putting out to sea — a scene which I doubt whether anyone has depicted more vividly than Simonides' (Bowra, p. 363). See on this passage W.H. Friedrich, *Untersuchungen zu Senecas dramatischer Technik*, Leipzig 1933, 104 ff.

[36] H.D. Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius*, Cambridge 1967, 235. The killing of Astyanax most likely was the central event of the play; Jocelyn's addition: "Proper interpretation of Cicero, *Orat.* 93, *Tusc.* 3.44 and *Sest.* 121 confirms Düntzer's view that the killing of Polyxena also took place during the action of the play", has been questioned by C.G. van Leijenhorst, *De bouw van Seneca's Troades*, Leiden 1980, 52-58.

5. *The structure of Seneca's play*[37]

The play possesses a clear cyclic structure and symmetrical elements. The outer ring is formed by Hecuba: at the beginning she bewails the fall and ruins of her city, at the end she makes the bitter résumé: *concidit uirgo ac puer; / bellum peractum est* (1167-8). In the prologue, she also describes the death of her husband; in her closing lines she expresses feelings of dismay that she has not met death herself, and yet: *quam prope a Priamo steti* (1177).

At the end of the prologue, Hecuba mentions the distribution (by lot) of the Trojan women (57-62). Polyxena is a special case because she is claimed by Achilles' shade in an apparition, related by Talthybius at the beginning of the second act (164-202). Agamemnon strongly opposes the offering, but Achilles' claim is maintained by his son Pyrrhus. Calchas confirms that the offering is sanctioned by fate (360-1). Polyxena's death is described by a messenger in the fifth act (1120-64) right before Hecuba's final lament, so her offering is an inner ring.

Astyanax forms a third ring: his death is proclaimed by Calchas as a second demand of fate before the fleet can leave (365-70), and it is described by the messenger (1068-1116) before the offering of Polyxena.

This demand is brought into being in the third act. Ulysses is sent by the Greeks to take away the boy. Andromache has been warned by Hector in her sleep, and tries to deceive the Greeks by hiding her son in her husband's grave. The act consists of two scenes: in the first scene (409-523), Andromache tells her dream to a *Senex* and discusses her plan with him; in the second scene (524-813), she is at first successful, but has to give in when Ulysses threatens to demolish the tomb. The act is the longest in Senecan tragedy (almost a play in itself), with a strikingly symmetrical structure (see the introductory note).

In the fourth act, the play returns to Achilles' claim of Polyxena. Now it is Helen, who has been ordered to get the required person, using the deceit of a feigned marriage with Pyrrhus (861-87). After she has been unmasked by Andromache, and some results of the lottery have been imparted (976-80), Polyxena is taken away by Achilles' son (999-1003).

Throughout the play, there are noteworthy (mirrored) parallelisms; for instance, the apparitions of successful Achilles, introduced with *qualis* (182), and of unsuccessful Hector, starting with *non qualis* (444), the cunning of the defeated (Andromache) and the victorious (Helena), the reports of both deaths.

[37] See e.g. Wolf Steidle, 'Zu Senecas Troerinnen', *Philol.* 94 (1941) 266-284; Willy Schetter, 'Zum Aufbau von Senecas Troerinnen', in: E. Lefèvre, *Senecas Tragödien*, Darmstadt 1972, 230-271; Wolf Steidle, 'Zur Erfindung von Senecas Troades', in his: *Studien zum antiken Drama*, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Bühnenspiels, München 1968, 56-62; van Leijenhorst (1980) 73-148.

6. *The themes of the play*[38]

As in so many other tragedies, a main theme in *Troades* is the fickleness of Fortuna and, consequently, the unstable position of those in power. At the very beginning (1-6), it is worded by Hecuba, in the second act by Agamemnon (259-66), and in the final scene it is touched upon by the messenger (1145 *uagae rerum uices*). Not surprisingly, characteristic verbs of the play are the 'standing' of the victor, and the 'falling' or 'lying' of the defeated (see the commentary on 6 *starent*). A comparable notion is the dependence of mankind, victors as well as vanquished, on the *fata* (352, 360, 368, 510-2, 528).

Another theme is the cyclic character of history, the many associations of the present with the past: the delay of the fleet leaving Troy recalls the delay at Aulis (164-5); the offering of Iphigenia is mirrored by the sacrificing of Polyxena (360); Astyanax resembles his father (464-8), he is '*futurus Hector*' (551); Troy has been captured twice (133-7, 825).

Most importantly, the main theme of *Troades* is death and dissolution. In the prologue, Hecuba mentions the loss of her many sons (32-3) and of her husband (44-50). Then, in the course of the play, she experiences the death of her daughter Polyxena and her grandson Astyanax. Special attention is given by Seneca to their brave attitudes towards death. Astyanax clings frightened to his mother (792) when he is about to be handed over to Ulysses, but he is 'intrepid' (1093), before he spontaneously jumps from the tower (1102). Polyxena gladly (945) hears the news that she will be killed; at the final moment (1151-4), her undauntedness moves everyone present, including the executioner Pyrrhus. For Hecuba, death is her only wish (1171-5).

In the choral odes, various views on death and dissolution are voiced. In the first ode, the idea of death as liberator is presented (146 *liber manes uadit ad imos*); this idea is also expressed in Andromache's words to her son: *i, uade liber, liberos Troas uide* (791). In the second choral song, however, the central line is *post mortem nihil est ipsaque mors nihil* (397). The dissolution of their group is the subject both of the third ode, in which the Trojan women list the various places in Greece where they may be taken (814 *Quae uocat sedes habitanda captas?*), and of the fourth ode, where they deplore their splitting up (1042-3 *soluet hunc coetum lacrimasque nostras / sparget huc illuc agitata classis*).

[38] See e.g. J. David Bishop, 'Seneca's *Troades*: Dissolution of a Way of Life', *Rhein. Mus.* 115 (1972) 329-337; Gilbert Lawall, 'Death and Perspective in Seneca's *Troades*', *CJ* 77 (1981) 244-252; Marcus Wilson, 'The tragic mode of Seneca's *Troades*', in: A.J. Boyle, *Seneca Tragicus. Ramus Essays on Senecan Drama*, Berwick, Victoria 1983, 27-60; Anna Lydia Motto - John R. Clark, '*Nefas*: The Way of the World in Seneca's *Troades*', *Maia* 36 (1984) 157-163; idem, *Senecan Tragedy*, Amsterdam 1988, 215-260; A.J. Boyle, *Seneca's Troades*, Leeds 1994, 18-26.

Moreover, there is the dissolution of old values. For the captive women, there is no place for *pudor* (91); the Greeks have no respect for an old king (44), nor for a tomb (667-9); one of the spectators even climbs on Hector's tomb (1086-7).

7. *The characters of the play*

Whereas - apart from *Phoenissae* - the other Senecan plays bear the name of one main character, the title *Troades*[39] seems most appropriate for this tragedy. The chorus of Trojan women plays a most characteristic part in it (for the contrast with the other plays, see the introductory note on the first choral ode), and there are important parts for three noble Trojan women: Hecuba, Andromache, and Polyxena (silent). In fact, as Lawall (1981) 250 states, there is not one main character in this play, but a series of doublets: Andromache - Hecuba (the two lead female roles, the mothers of the victims), Agamemnon - Andromache (parallel roles in trying to rescue Polyxena and Astyanax), Pyrrhus - Ulysses (antagonists of Agamemnon and Andromache in their attempts), Ulysses - Helen (both thwarted by Andromache), Astyanax - Polyxena (the two victims), Hector - Astyanax (past and potential defender of Troy), Achilles - Pyrrhus (past and present destroyer of Troy), Achilles - Hector; to these doublets I would like to add Hecuba - Agamemnon, each expressing the same lesson (5 *documenta*, 264 *didici*).

H e c u b a actually embodies two parts. As a queen, she opens the prologue with the exemplary character of her and Troy's fall, and expresses feelings of responsibility for it: *meus ignis iste est, facibus ardetis meis* (40). As a queen, she conducts the chorus in the *kommos* following the prologue. In the final act, she shows a similar state of mind in her reaction to the messenger's question of which death he should relay first: *quoscumque luctus fleueris, flebis meos: / sua quemque tantum, me omnium clades premit* (1060-1). As a mother, on the contrary, she shows her vulnerability by fainting (949-50) at the news of the impending death of her daughter.

One of her characteristics is her longing for death. In the prologue, she addresses herself with *uiuax senectus* (42); in the second half of the play, she utters her wish in various forms (963-4, 1000-2, 1171-7). Another characteristic of her persona is her gift of prophecy: she had foreseen the present disaster (33-7), and prophesizes about the adversities that will follow her and the Greeks on their return (994-6).

[39] The title *Troades*, transmitted in E, is taken over by most editors; A's *Troas* was preferred by Wilfried Stroh. The heading *Hecuba* is found in some younger manuscripts, as well as in two quotations from Pseudo-Probus (see on 861 and 1053).

Various comparisons have been suggested for Hecuba. Calder[40] compares her to the people in Siberian concentration camps, of whom Solzhenitsyn remarks, that they are the freest people in the Soviet Union, since they alone can say what they think because they cannot be worse off. 'Freedom 's just another word for nothing left to lose.' Motto and Clark (1988) 238-239 compare her to Brecht's Mother Courage, and to the pathetic old man in Chaucer, who incessantly implores Death to admit him to her great kingdom.

As Fantham notes (p. 44), Hecuba's lines - like those of many other Senecan characters - primarily make up monologues. In the prologue, she does apostrophize Troy (4), Priam (29), Hector (31), and herself (42), but it is only at the end that she turns to Cassandra (61) and to the chorus (63). When she returns to stage again in Act IV, she is silent during Helen's monologue and the ensuing debate between Andromache and Helen. She then begins asking rhetorical questions (955-6), followed by a self-address (963), before she speaks to Polyxena (967) and to Helen (979). From 981 on, Hecuba may be addressing Andromache or Helen; but in view of her apostrophe to the absent Ulysses (993), the lines can also be seen as another monologue. Her final speech opens with an ironic exhortation to the Greeks (1165), then turns to rhetorical questions (1168-71), and ends with an apostrophe to death (1171-5).

As for the contents of her lines, it should be noted that she neither mentions the Wooden Horse in her prologue (contrast *Ag.* 625-30), nor does she allude to her transformation into a dog, that is found at *Ag.* 705-9 *tot illa regum mater et regimen Phrygum, / fecunda in ignes Hecuba fatorum nouas / experta leges induit uultus feros: / circa ruinas rabida latrauit suas, / Troiae superstes, Hectori, Priamo, sibi.*

Some scholars consider Hecuba the central figure of the play;[41] in my opinion, she is absent from the stage too long a time to consider her as such. But with her bitter words at the beginning and end, she certainly contributes highly to the unity and the atmosphere of the play.[42]

[40] William M. Calder III, 'Seneca: Tragedian of Imperial Rome', *CJ* 72 (1976) 10.

[41] See Herrmann, p. 434; Motto-Clark (1988) 242, who even think the growth and alterations in Hecuba's character more central to the unfolding drama than the slaughter and brave death of two innocent children; Elisabeth Henry, 'Seneca's Hecuba', in: *Vir bonus discendi peritus*, London 1988, 44-52. I cannot follow the latter's suggestion that some details in *Troades*, like 58 *praedaque en uilis sequar* ('image of a scavenging dog'), 860 *ducet*, 963 *sequor*, acquire greater force if one associates Hecuba in bitch form with Hecate's hounds; Fantham's comparison of *Tro.* 117-31 to *Med.* 795-811, to which she refers, in my view does not imply this.

[42] Cf. Lida Mazzoli, 'Umanità e poesia nelle Troiane di Seneca', *Maia* 13 (1961) 53: "Ecuba, pur non essendo come nelle due tragedie di Euripide il personaggio principale, è non di meno figura di primo piano e conserva quel carattere di nobiltà che il poeta greco le aveva donato."

Hecuba has much in common with Andromache. In the first choral ode, their dead husbands Priam and Hector are bewailed; in the course of the play their own hopeless situations worsen, culminating in the deaths of their children in the final act. One distinction between the two women is made by Ronald W. Tobin, 'Tragedy and catastrophe in Seneca's theater', *CJ* 62 (1966-'67) 65-66:

> Of the two major female characters of the *Troades* Andromache is the more faceted, nuanced, but Hecuba is the more Senecan. The old queen undergoes that inner pain born of an awareness of one's evil-producing condition which is the trademark of a focal Senecan character. Marvelous creation though Andromache may be (and one whose characterization will furnish several traits to the title figure of Racine's masterpiece *Andromaque*), she is not imbued with this type of awareness, principally because there can be only one truly 'responsible' person in a tragedy by Seneca.

A n d r o m a c h e plays a primary role in Act 3 and 4; in the final act, she and Hecuba are the main addressees of the messenger. Not only does she surpass the other characters in the duration of her presence on the stage, but also in the number of lines she speaks (some 310) and sings (31). In contrast with Andromache, Hecuba has 127 and 47 respectively, Ulysses and the *nuntius* both have around 100, Agamemnon and Pyrrhus some 80 lines each. Irrespective of the quantity of lines, her great range of emotions contributes highly to the beauty of the play. Andromache is an exception to the rule that Seneca, like the declaimers, tends to depict types rather than individual characters.

Her life is centred around her loving memory of Hector and her care for Astyanax. Since the death of her husband, she lives on 'crushed' and 'paralyzed' (416-7), and only their little son keeps her from her own death. Hector has warned her in her sleep that she should wake up and hide Astyanax, and she decides to do so in her husband's tomb. When Ulysses comes to claim the boy, she can thus, with an oath (599-604), lend force to her statement that he 'lies among the dead'.

Her feelings for Hector and Astyanax cause a mental conflict (642 ff.) when Ulysses threatens to demolish Hector's tomb. Now favouring Astyanax, now Hector, she ultimately decides to save her son, because he is the one the Greeks fear (662). Later on, when she realizes that the demolition of the tomb will include Astyanax's death as well (686-7), she turns to supplication, but without result: Ulysses has her bring out the boy (705), is willing to grant her some time to take leave with her son (764), but then orders his soldiers to take him away (813).

In the next act, one might expect a broken Andromacha, longing for death; but instead she rages embittered against Helen, who has announced to Polyxena that she will marry Pyrrhus. Whereas Polyxena and Hecuba show no reaction, it is she who scorns both the message (888-9) and the messenger (892-3). When Helen asks her to persuade Polyxena

(924-5) and starts crying, the thought of Ulysses immediately crosses Andromache's mind (927-8); and just as he, from the beginning, had tried to prick the deceit, she now acts as the detective. She is also the one who describes Polyxena's (945-8) and Hecuba's (949-50) reactions to Helen's true message. In the final act, her lines are restricted to an incitement of the messenger (1065-7), a learned reaction to his report (1104-10), and the bitter remark *sic quoque est similis patri* (1117), when the messenger has described Astyanax's mangled body.

Her preoccupation with Hector is clear from the beginning until the end. Her desire to be close to him becomes evident in some of her remarks (450, 451), and in her request for Astyanax's garment when he is led off stage (809-12). At the crucial moment, she expects his help as usual (500-1). In lines 644-5, she even contrasts the *immites deos* with the *deos ... ueros coniugis manes mei.* Sometimes the thought of Hector seems to transcend her feelings as a mother: when the boy shrinks back from entering the tomb (503), she does not accept it as a normal reaction of a child, but as a sign of his *indoles*; a similar clash of levels may be felt in his reaction: *miserere, mater* (792), after her words *i, uade liber, liberos Troas uide.*

Agamemnon has received a most negative judgement from Steidle (1941) 280, criticizing, for instance, the contrast between his sedate *sententiae* and his timid attitude, his scoffing at Pyrrhus (318 ff.) and his vain reference to his power before giving in at the end (349 ff.). But as a rule, he is viewed positively,[43] and Giancotti[44] even goes as far as to consider him, in a way, the main character of the play.

In my opinion too, he differs favourably from the Agamemnon we meet in Greek literature.[45] In the *Iliad*, in spite of his qualities as a warrior and his occasional self-confident conduct, he hardly ever manages to hold his own when his moral authority is put to the test or when he is confronted with difficult circumstances.

[43] A. Sipple, *Der Staatsman und Dichter Seneca als politischer Erzieher*, Würzburg 1938, 61; Gerhard Müller, 'Senecas Oedipus als Drama', *Hermes* 81 (1953) 461; Kurt Anliker, *Prologe und Akteinteilung in Senecas Tragödien*, Bern 1960, 65-67; Bernd Seidensticker, *Die Gesprächsverdichting in den Tragödien Senecas*, Heidelberg 1969, 177 n. 89; van Leijenhorst, 28-29.

[44] Francesco Giancotti, *Saggio sulle tragedie di Seneca*, Roma-Napoli-Città di Castello 1953. After his initial conclusion, that the play does not have one true protagonist (p. 107), he sees Hecuba as the personification of the destroyed city; Andromache has an analogous limit. Agamemnon, however, to him embodies the central and unifying motif of the play: 'la comunione degli uomini, vincitori e vinti, nel dolore e nella sottomissione al fato' (p. 111).

[45] A.M. van Erp Taalman Kip, *Agamemnon in epos en tragedie*, Diss. Amsterdam, Assen 1971, 283-285.

In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, his haughty reserve and conceit do not altogether conceal his weakness and uncertainty, as becomes clear when Clytemnestra imposes her will on him. In Sophocles' *Ajax*, he demonstrates the same sort of unreasonable aggressiveness as in book A of the *Iliad*; but since Ajax is dead and Teucer's position a very vulnerable one, his behaviour here is more repulsive. Eventually, when Odysseus insists on a proper burial for Ajax, he gives in without understanding Odysseus' motives, a minor indication that this Agamemnon too is no match for a strong personality. In Euripides' *Hecuba*, Agamemnon's behaviour is marked by aloofness until just before the end of the play. Then, when his personal safety is no longer certain, he explodes in the same way as in the *Iliad*. In *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, he quickly gives way under the pressure of circumstances and of the outside world. In both plays, he tends to pity himself, believing that he is the victim of higher powers.

Most notably with his *sententiae*, Seneca's Agamemnon surpasses the "Greek" Agamemnon. As noted on p. 9, I think it likely that he is meant to serve a pedagogic purpose. I even wonder whether Seneca, picturing his fruitless struggle against his youthful opponent, and ultimately being overruled despite his humane idea(l)s by the *fata*,[46] describes a presentiment of his own future.

Seneca's *Agamemnon* sheds no new light on him, since his role in this play is restricted to a greeting of his home-land (782-5), an exhortation to his slaves (787) to lift up fainting Cassandra, followed by a dialogue with her (789-99), and a short prayer to Iupiter and Iuno (802-7).

P y r r h u s is introduced in the prologue (46) as the brutal murderer of old Priam. In the episode with Agamemnon, he words his proudness of his father, both at the beginning (204-5) and at the end (344-6, 348). In between, he extensively enumerates his deeds (215-43) and claims Polyxena on his behalf (249). The episode resembles the famous quarrel his father had with Agamemnon, and it is marked by the same aggressive (244-9, 307-10) and insulting (301-5, 315-7) treatment of his opponent. As to his own views: his murdering of Priam was an act of mercy (329), and a victor may do as he pleases (333, 335). But just as Achilles expressed his emotions (e.g. his weeping with Priam, *Il.* 24.507-12), so does Pyrrhus: at the end even he is moved by Polyxena (1154).

Sen. trag. uses only the name Pyrrhus (LSJ s.v. 'flame-coloured, yellowish-red'; esp. of persons with red hair); Vergil (*Aen.* 2.263, 469) and Ovid (*Met.* 13.155, 455) have both Pyrrhus and Neoptolemus. The latter name (LSJ 'New-warrior', because he came late to Troy) is used by Homer (*Il.* 19.327, *Od.* 11.506) and by Sophocles (in his *Philoctetes*); the former name occurs for the first time in poetry at Theocritus 15.140.

[46] Note also the parallel with Hector, who at 124 is styled *mora fatorum*: a human being at best can only delay the *fata*.

In the Odyssean passage, Odysseus describes Pyrrhus' qualities to Achilles' shade (11.506-37): his eloquence in the assembly, his braveness on the battle-field, his exceptional behaviour in the Horse (he was the only hero who did not turn pale nor weep, but constantly begged Odysseus to let him go out), and that he went aboard uninjured (not a word about Polyxena!). A most sympathetic portrayal of him is found in Sophocles' play. When Odysseus orders him to tell a lie to Philoctetes, he refuses: 'it is not my nature, nor, as men say, was it my father's nature, to do anything by means of a bad trick' (88-9), and he is only persuaded to do so by the prophesied glory of capturing Troy. But at the crucial moment, he is overcome by remorse for having acted against his nature (902-3), and tells the truth (915). Vergil, on the other hand, compares him (*Aen.* 2.471-5) to 'a snake which after a winter spent hidden below ground, swollen from a fare of poisonous weeds, now emerges into the light, and shedding its slough becomes shiningly fresh and young, then raises its breast tall to the sun, coils a slithering back, and sets flickering a triple tongue' (transl. W.F. Jackson Knight, Penguin 1956), before noting the resemblance to his father: *instat ui patria Pyrrhus* (2.491). In *Hamlet* II.ii., Hamlet recalling Aeneas' tale of Priam's slaughter styles him e.g. 'rugged' (481, 483) and 'hellish' (494).

V l i x e s is mentioned in lines 38 and 149 before he enters the stage. He has a horrible task to perform, viz. to take away Astyanax from his mother, and proves his versatility in that scene. At first, he strives to perform his task in a frank and friendly tone, using rational persuasion. He styles himself *durae minister sortis* (524), merely acting as a mouthpiece for the Greeks. Their "political" argument: the fear of a future Hector, is included in a reference to the *fata* and to Calchas, nay even to Hector; its cogency is illustrated with no less than three similes (537-45). He intersperses a personal address to Andromache and appeals for her forgivingness before ending with a comparison to Agamemnon's situation at Aulis (555).

When she feigns not to know where Astyanax is, his tone becomes harsher, and he even threatens her with torture and death; he specifies the general argument with his personal concern for his own son. After her solemn oath that 'he lies among the dead' (603), Ulysses is about to believe her, when suspicion strikes his mind, calling for all of his cunning skills (613-4). Noticing that she is more frightened than sad, he specifies the cruel death awaiting the little boy. When she reacts by trembling, he tests her resistance by means of two successive pretexts: his soldiers have caught the boy, and Calchas has named the demolition of Hector's grave-mound as an alternative expiation (636-9). This repeated threat compels Andromache to call forth her son from his father's tomb (705) because her pleas for mercy prove unsuccessful. Ulysses does voice some compassion for her, and grants her some time for tears, but only for a short time. He reacts with self-confidence to her insults and charge of

cowardice (750-6) after he has hidden himself behind Calchas. In the final act, the messenger mentions Ulysses' emotions explicitly (1098-9).

Although we naturally sympathize with Andromache, I cannot share the harsh criticism given to him by some Italian scholars.[47] A more sound judgement was passed, in my opinion, by Regenbogen[48] (1930) 189, when he speaks of "... der kühl überlegen rechnenden Verstandeslist des trotzdem nicht unwürdig und mit einer gewissen stolzen Größe gezeichneten Odysseus ...". Stanford sees him as quite different from the proto-typical wise man at *Dial.* 2.2.1,[49] but to style Seneca a 'Mr. Facing-both-ways, a Janus-like figure' for that, does not do justice to this concrete situation, I think.[50]

H e l e n a forms a doublet with Ulysses, since the task of luring away the other victim has been assigned to her; she too will meet the opposition of Andromache. Her method differs, though: she has to pretend that Polyxena will marry Pyrrhus. Like Andromache's deceit, her ruse will not hold: hardly able to contain her own tears (925-6), she reveals Polyxena's real fate (942-4). After the reactions of Andromache and Hecuba, she informs them of the results of the lottery (974-80).

Seneca's choice of Helen for the task contrasts with Euripides' *Hecuba*, where it is Odysseus who informs Hecuba that the Greeks have decided to kill Polyxena on Achilles' tomb (220-1). It is an effective innovation in view of the pretext: she will have to dress the bride according to Calchas' statement (362-3), and is going to act as an *auspex* (863) and *pronuba* (1133) for the wedding. This function of Helen coincides with a common motif in Latin literature, viz. of Furies standing as *pronubae* at a fatal marriage;[51] after all, she is called *Lacedaemonia mulier Furiarum una* (Ennius; see Jocelyn, 218-219), and *Erinys* (Verg. *Aen.* 2.573; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 749).

[47] E.g. Michelina Martorana, *Ulisse nella letteratura Latina*, Palermo - Roma 1926, 62: 'Ulisse nella tragedia di Seneca è semplicemente odioso'; Mazzoli (1961) 56.

[48] Otto Regenbogen, 'Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien Senecas', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg VII* (1927-8), Leipzig 1930, 167-218.

[49] *pro ipso quidem Catone securum te esse iussi; nullam enim sapientem nec iniuriam accipere nec contumeliam posse, Catonem autem certius exemplar sapientis uiri nobis deos inmortalis dedisse quam Vlixem et Herculem prioribus saeculis. hos enim Stoici nostri sapientes pronuntiauerunt, inuictos laboribus et contemptores uoluptatis et uictores omnium terrorum.* On Seneca's parallel treatment of Hercules, see John G. Fitch, *Seneca's Hercules Furens*, Ithaca and London 1987, 43.

[50] W.B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme*, Oxford 1954, 144-145. He rightly notes, though, that Seneca shows some sympathy for Ulysses in his thankless task, and that he - as a Roman used to imperial discipline and to the harsher exigencies of power politics - was better qualified than Euripides to understand his inner feelings.

[51] Cf. e.g. *Med.* 13-7, *Oed.* 644, [Sen.] *Oct.* 23-4, Verg. *Aen.* 7.319, Ov. *Met.* 6.428-30, F. Leo, *De Senecae tragoediis observationes criticae*, Berolini 1878, 165-166 n. 7.

But in this play, Helen certainly does not act like a Fury: in an aside (861-71), before addressing Polyxena, she emphasizes that she is forced to play her part, and therefore does not feel responsible (870-1). Her composed reaction to Andromache's scoffings is full of self-pity (907 *grauiora passa*): unlike Hecuba and Andromache, she has to mourn her husband secretly, she has been a *captiua* for already ten years, and she lacks comforting company, but is attacked vehemently by both sides. After her denial of responsibility for the war (920 *rapta ... praeda*), she asks Andromache to influence Polyxena. Then her tears betray her. Her sympathy with Polyxena is also noted in the procession to Achilles' tomb, where she is described as *maestum caput / demissa* (1133-4).

With her mixture of compassion and self-centredness, pathos and human weakness, she is one of the most complex characters in Senecan tragedy; in fact, she is so enigmatic, that one wonders whether her tears at 925 are alleged or real. I think the latter view is more likely: since Helen has to fight for her own cause/life, a proper performance of her task is in her own interest; then there is no place for tears conflicting with her 'good news' (871 ff.). She certainly is a perfect choice for the task: her lack of heroism is the reason why she cannot carry out her assignment, enabling Seneca to create a strong contrast between her and the mentally strong Trojan women.[52]

Tsirpanlis[53] points out that Seneca, in his characterization of Helen, differs from Euripides as well as from other Greek authors, and thinks that Verg. *Aen.* 6.511 *scelus exitiale Lacaenae* may have served as a model. Seneca's characters of their own free will bear the moral responsibility for their actions; his Helen, unlike the Euripidean, may not plead to have been a plaything in the hands of the gods.

Homeyer[54] calls attention to the fact that Seneca is the only Roman author in the 1st. cent. A.D. assigning "eine eigenständige Rolle" to Helen, and that his personation of her has been of influence in later centuries: most characteristic is her pathos, curbed by her notion of her own fate and her will to survive. Unlike earlier authors, Seneca does not intend to expose Helen's guilt: he has internalized her despair and her determination to save herself.

A s t y a n a x is only on stage in the third act. He is never mentioned by name, but is always referred to as 'Priam's grandson' or 'Hector's son'. His only utterance is at 792 *miserere, mater*; his appearance is described by his mother (464-8), and so is his conduct: his shrinking back

[52] Cf. Schetter, 260-262, n. 38.

[53] C. Tsirpanlis, 'Helena in Seneca's Troades', *Platon* 22 (1970) 127-144.

[54] Helene Homeyer, *Die spartanische Helena und der trojanische Krieg*, Wandlungen und Wanderungen eines Sagen-Kreises vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart, Wiesbaden 1977, 77-80.

at the tomb (503), and his clinging to her (792). In addition to resembling Hector 'too much' (464), he shares his name 'protector of the city' (cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.402-3; Pl. *Crat.* 393a, cited on 98 *Hectora*).

Seneca's portraiture of Astyanax, most notably his brave attitude at the execution (1088-1103), suggests that he is an older boy than the one we meet in Homer, although he does style him *paruulum* (1089). This idea is confirmed at *Ag.* 637-42. In Euripides' *Troades*, the boy is carried in his mother's arms (570-1), but he is also old enough to talk to his grandmother, promising to bring other boys to pay homage at her grave (*Tro.* 1182-4). Vergil's picture of him (*Aen.* 2.457) also suggests an older Astyanax than the one described by Greek authors (see Austin *ad loc.*). The closest modern parallel I can think of is little John saluting the bier of his father John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

P o l y x e n a is a silent character in *Troades*, but in the fourth act she does partake in the dramatic action. She rejoices after hearing of her lethal marriage with Achilles (945), but weeps when she realizes that her death robs her mother Hecuba of her last comfort (965-6). In the beginning of the play, it is likely that she is present in the chorus of Trojan women. In the messenger's report of her death, both her beauty (1138-44) and her brave attitude (1146, 1151-3) are stressed.

Seneca has been blamed,[55] as well as praised,[56] for her silence. I think that the readers, spectators and listeners of that time have simply accepted it (cf. Schetter, p. 262, n. 40). Lloyd Evans[57] notes Senecan influence on Shakespeare in this respect.

In addition, there are two messengers: T a l t h y b i u s, who sets into motion the action of the play with his account of Achilles' apparition claiming Polyxena (164-202), and an anonymous N u n t i u s, who ends the play with his report of her and Astyanax's death (1056-1164).[58]

[55] Otto Zwierlein, *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas*, Meisenheim am Glan 1966, 45-47: Seneca is the victim of his aim to follow Horatius' rule *nec quarta loqui persona laboret* (*Ars* 192).

[56] Boyle (1994) 207: "a major aspect of the act's dramatic power".

[57] Gareth Lloyd Evans, 'Shakespeare, Seneca and the Kingdom of Violence', in: T.A. Dorey and Donald R. Dudley (edd.), *Roman Drama*, London 1965, 133: "Seneca taught Shakespeare the art of writing the scene in which two opposed emotional forces do battle over a silent third. In such scenes it is language and language alone, not action, which creates the tension of the situation."

[58] On the function and character of such roles, see e.g. J.M. Bremer, 'Why messenger-speeches', in: *Miscellanea Tragica in honorem J.C. Kamerbeek*, Amsterdam 1976, 29-48; Johannes Fischl, *De nuntiis tragicis*, Diss. Wien 1910, esp. 71-75 Excursus I: De Senecae nuntiis; Marie-Hélène Garelli-François, 'Tradition littéraire et création dramatique dans les tragédies de Sénèque: l'exemple des récits de messagers', *Latomus* 57 (1998) 15-32.

The other *dramatis personae* are: C a l c h a s, the voice of fate (360-70), as he is in the *Iliad* and in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and a S e n e x, an attendant of Andromache, to whom she entrusts her dream in the beginning of Act III, and with whom she elaborates on the hiding-place.

8. *The meters of the play*[59]

The basic metrical division in Senecan, as in Greek tragedy, is between spoken (A) and sung (B) sections; the 'lyric' part of *Troades* consists of the four choral odes and an aria sung by Andromache (705-35), while the rest of the play is spoken.

A. Like his Greek predecessors, Seneca applies the iambic trimeter to the spoken parts.[60] In the odd feet, these trimeters usually have a spondee, often resolved into a dactyl or anapaest, occasionally (and only in the first foot) into a proceleusmatic. Of the even feet, the second and fourth consist of a pure iamb (occasionally a tribrach), the sixth foot may be either an iamb or a pyrrhic, since the final syllable is *anceps*. The very first line happens to be such an alternation of spondees and iambs:

quicumque regno fidit et magna potens	- - u -	- - u -	- - u -

The following six lines immediately show some of Seneca's variations:

2 dominatur aula nec leues metuit deos	uu- u -	- - u -	uu- u -
3 animumque rebus credulum laetis dedit	uu- u -	- - u -	- - u -
4 me uideat et te, Troia: non umquam tulit	-uu u -	- - u -	- - u -
5 documenta fors maiora, quam fragili loco	uu- u -	- - u -	uu- u -
6 starent superbi. columen euersum occidit	- - u -	-uu u -	- - u -
7 pollentis Asiae, caelitum egregius labor;	- - uuu	- - u -	uu- u -

Some metrically interesting lines are e.g. in the prologue:

18 non prohibet auidas flamma uictoris manus	-uu uuu	- - u -	- - u -
26 potuisse uinci. spolia populator rapit	uu- u -	-uu uuu	- - u -
36 prior Hecuba uidi grauida nec tacui metus	uuuu u -	-uu u -	uu- u -
57 dominum ecce Priami nuribus et natis legens	uu- uuu	-uu u -	- - u -

[59] See e.g. W.J.W. Koster, *Traité de métrique grecque suivi d'un Précis de métrique latine*, Leyde ²1953; Friedrich Crusius - Hans Rubenbauer, *Römische Metrik*, München ⁴1959; Hans Drexler, *Einführung in die römische Metrik*, Darmstadt 1967; Fantham (1982) 104-110; Sandro Boldrini, *La prosodia e la metrica dei Romani*, Roma 1992 (*Prosodie und Metrik der Römer*, Stuttgart und Leipzig 1999).

[60] Special studies: Ł. (=W.) Strzelecki, *De Senecae trimetro iambico quaestiones selectae*, Kraków 1938; Peter Hahlbrock, 'Beobachtungen zum jambischen Trimeter in den Tragödien des L. Annaeus Seneca', *Wiener Studien* N.F. 2 (1968) 171-192.

Some variations obviously have been applied because they underscore the contents of the line: in the cited lines 18 and 26, the successive resolutions of a long syllable into two short ones contribute to picture the hurry of the plundering Greeks. Another example is found at 627 *ite, ite, celeres*. Calchas, on the other hand, voicing Polyxena's fate (361-4) mainly uses the same sober form with which Hecuba opens the play:

mactanda uirgo est Thessali busto ducis,	- - u -	- - u -	- - u -
sed quo iugari Thessalae cultu solent	- - u -	- - u -	- - u -
Ionidesue uel Mycenaeae nurus.	u - u -	u - u -	- - u -
Pyrrhus parenti coniugem tradat suo:	- - u -	- - u -	- - u -

The caesura is usually found in the third foot (penthemimeres), e.g. in lines 2, 3, 6, 7, or in the fourth foot (hephthemimeres), see lines 1, 4, 5; conspicuous exceptions in the second foot (trithemimeres) occur at 27, 476, 889. These are also the positions where a change of speaker is found inside the trimeter: by far most often (18x) it takes place at the penthemimeres, e.g. at 313, 339, 340; other occurrences are at the hephthemimeres (310, 762), in the second foot (680, 926, 978), and - most unusual - after the second foot (571).

The trimeter very often ends in a dissyllabic word; this dissyllable can be preceded by a trisyllable (e.g. 2, 5, 18, 36) or a quadrisyllable (e.g. 7, 26, 363), but most frequently we meet a spondee here (never an iambus; Bentley-Luchs law). When the trimeter ends in a trisyllable, this often happens to be a compound verb or adjective in synaloephe with the preceding word: 6 *euersum occidit*, 16 *flammae ambiunt*, 20 *densa obsitus*; when there is no synaloephe, the preceding syllable must be long: 8 *qui frigidum*, 224 *quae pascuo*, 519 *coniunx, ultimo*, 523 *astus callidos* (Lange-Strzelecki law).[61] Less frequently it ends in a quadrisyllable (e.g. 60 *Antenoris*, 183 *Neptunium*), a word of five syllables (861 *inlaetabilis*), or a combination of monosyllables (42 *ad hos*, 56 *sat est*).

The prepositional part of a compound verb or an adjective is found not only quite often in the trisyllable at the end, but also in the arsis of the fourth foot: 6 *euersum occidit*, 7 *egregius labor*, 10 *excipiens diem*, 11 *inmiscet freto*, 12 *prospiciens Scythas*, 14 *incubuit sibi*.

The first half of the line as a rule shows a coincidence of word accent and ictus, whereas they often clash in the second half: *quicúmque régno fídit ét magná poténs*. This pattern thus contrasts with the Vergilian hexameter, where speech-accent and metrical ictus often clash in the first half, whereas at the end they as a rule fall upon the same syllable; e.g. *Aen.* 2.3 *ínfandúm, regína, iubés renouáre dolórem* (for an exception see *Aen.* 1.105 *praeruptus aquae mons*, with Austin's note).

[61] An iambus in the fifth foot is only found in a concluding quadrisyllable: see on 195 *Polyxene*, 1080 *cacumine*.

B. In the lyric parts of the play, Seneca uses three metres:
1) anapaests (67-163, 705-35), in a combination of dimeters and monometers (as for the colometry, see the introductory note on the first ode). An early instance in Roman poetry is found in Ennius' lines (87-94 Jocelyn):

o pater, o patria, o Priami domus,	- uu - uu - uu - uu
saeptum altisono cardine templum.	- - uu - - uu - -
uidi ego te adstante ope barbarica,	- uu - - uu - uu -
tectis caelatis laqueatis,	- - - - - uu - -
auro ebore instructam regifice.	- uu - - - - uu -
haec omnia uidi inflammari,	- - uu - - - - -
Priamo ui uitam euitari,	uu - - - - - - -
Iouis aram sanguine turpari.	uu - - - uu - - -

Like his predecessors, Seneca often substitutes spondees and dactyls; Fantham (1982) 112 notes this order of frequency in the metron: dactyl-spondee (30%), spondee-anapaest (30%), spondee-spondee (15-20%), anapaest-spondee (12-15%), anapaest-anapaest (8-10%). Unlike others, he always has the end of a metron coincide with the end of a word.

2) minor asclepiads (371-407), concluded with a half-line (408). Seneca applies the metre, as a rule with the scheme: - - - uu - - uu - u o (final syllable *anceps*), in a stichic form both in this and other plays: e.g. *H.F.* 524-91, *Med.* 56-74, *Phae.* 785-823, *Thy.* 122-75.

Before him, Horace used the metre quite often: some of his *Carmina* consist only of minor asclepiads (1.1; 3.30; 4.8), others of couplets in which a glyconic is followed by a minor asclepiad (e.g. 1.3), of stanzas in which three minor asclepiads are followed by a glyconic (e.g. 1.6), or of stanzas in which two minor asclepiads are followed by a pherecratean and a glyconic (e.g. 1.5). In contrast with Sappho and Alcaeus, who start the line with a spondee, a iambus, or a trochee, Horace always uses a spondeic base. As a rule, his lines have a dihaeresis after the sixth syllable (with elision e.g. 1.15.18); exceptions are found at 2.12.25 *dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula* and 4.8.17.

In *Troades*, Seneca strictly uses the above scheme, with a dihaeresis after the sixth syllable; for exceptions in other plays, see *Ag.* 591 *effugium et miseros libera mors uocet* (second syllable resolved), *Oed.* 715 *ut primum magni natus Agenoris* (a long syllable replacing two short ones).[62]

With Costa (on *Med.* 56-115), I find it hard to discover a common theme in the applications of this metre.[63]

[62] See J. Veremans, 'L'asclépiade mineur chez Horace, Sénèque, Terentianus Maurus, Prudence, Martianus Capella et Luxorius', *Latomus* 35 (1976) 12-42, esp. 18.

[63] J.D. Bishop, 'The Meaning of the Choral Meters in Senecan Tragedy', *Rh. Mus.* 111 (1968) 206 thinks it connected with "the spheres of operation of divine beings".

3) Sapphics interspersed with adonii (814-60, 1009-55).

The Sapphic stanza, that was used by the Lesbian poetess in some of her most famous poems, consisted of two single Sapphic hendecasyllables (-u-o-uu-u-o), and a third one combined with an adonius (-uu-o), generally written apart. In Latin poetry, that scheme was followed by Catullus in his poems 11 and 51, and by Horace in 26 odes. Seneca, however, makes a stichic uses of the metre, situating the adonii at irregular places (825, 835, 850, 1017); he uses this combination of metres also in *Med.* 579-669, *Phae.* 736-52, *Oed.* 110-53, 416-28, *Thy.* 546-622.

In Sappho's poems, the fourth syllable is *anceps*: sometimes it is short, about twice as often long;[64] the same holds for Catullus: usually it is long, but three times (11.6, 11.15, 51.13) it is short. In Horace's poems, the fourth syllable is always long; as a rule, it is in Seneca's tragedies, but sometimes it is resolved (see on 836 *an ferax uarii lapidis Carystos*).

According to Crusius-Rubenbauer (^{4}1959) 106, Catullus in some 60% of his Sapphics has a caesura after the fifth syllable (e.g. 11.1), in some 25% after the sixth syllable (e.g. 11.21), and no caesura at all in the rest of them. In the first three books of his *Carmina*, Horace shows a preference for the caesura after the fifth syllable, but in the fourth book and in the *Carmen Saeculare* it is also often found after the sixth syllable. Punctuation sometimes occurs at a different place in the line, like after the fourth syllable (Catul. 11.23 *ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam*), after the seventh (e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.50 *Caesaris fatis data: tu secundo*), or after the eighth (e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.13 *seu deos regesue canit, deorum*).[65] In Seneca's Sapphics, a caesura can always be found after the fifth syllable; in two cases (830, 860), the line contains strong punctuation which does not coincide with the caesura.

Catullus' lines 11.23 (quoted above) and 51.1 *ille mi par esse deo uidetur* are rare examples of a Sapphic in which one word occupies the fourth syllable and is followed by a polysyllabic. In other instances (e.g. 51.2, Hor. 1.12.14), such a monosyllabic word in the fourth foot is followed by another monosyllabic. Seneca, on the other hand, never has a word-ending after the fourth syllable: in some 70% of his Sapphics, he uses a spondaic word for the fourth and fifth syllables, in the other lines the third, fourth and fifth syllables are occupied by a trisyllabic word (contrast Catul. 11.6, 15, 21). In the second half of the line, there is often a quadrisyllabic word occupying the sixth - ninth syllables (see on 814 *habitanda*), or a trisyllabic word in the sixth - eighth syllables (e.g. 819 *domitrix*). Seneca sometimes (see on 824 *Troiae*) substitutes one long syllable for the short sixth and seventh ones; he never welds a Sapphic and an adonius, as was done by Sappho (1.11-2), Catullus (11.11-2), and Horace (1.2.19-20, 1.25.11-2, 2.16.7-8).

[64] Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus,* Oxford ^{2}1959, 318.

[65] See Drexler (1967) 123-124.

9. *Staging the play*

A play can be read, be presented by one or more *recitatores*, or be produced on the stage. This holds true for both an entire play and for specific parts of it: Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* (1867), for instance, was meant to be a 'Lesedrama'; but my first acquaintance with it - as of most people, I think - was through Grieg's music (1875) of such characteristic parts as 'Aases Tod' and 'Solvegjs Lied'. In the summer of 1999, I got proof that the play can be staged successfully, when the Frisian theatrical group Tryater produced it in the dunes of the island of Terschelling. In my view, Seneca most likely had these three possibilities in mind and not one single intention when he wrote his tragedies.[66]

For a long time, there was hardly any doubt that Seneca had written his tragedies for the stage; philologists put them in a sequence with the Greek tragedies, trying to evaluate them as such, and playwrights used them as models for their own plays. The tide turned in the 19th century when their theatricality was condemned vehemently e.g. by Schlegel,[67] Boissier,[68] and Ribbeck.[69] The argument that Seneca did not write for the stage, but for recitation, was defended most fully by Zwierlein in his dissertation.[70] But there is also a list of scholars upholding that his tragedies were written for dramatic representation, like Herrmann ([1924] 153-196), Bieber,[71] and Sutton.[72]

A series of modern productions of *Troades* has added weight to their defence: in 1988 the play (in Boyle's translation) was performed in Melbourne by the Australian Classical Players under the direction of Bronwyn Williams, in 1991 it was produced in Tarbes and Toulouse by Marie-Hélène François-Garelli and Jean-Claude Bastos in their own 'version pour la scène', and in 1993 the original Latin tragedy (somewhat abridged) was performed in Munich by students under the direction of Wilfried Stroh.

[66] Fantham, from Plin. *Ep.* 7.17, for Seneca's contemporary Pomponius Secundus gathers three stages in shaping his tragedies: first recitation, then public performance, and finally publication in a form modified for readers.

[67] August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (1809), repr. in: Eckard Lefèvre, *Senecas Tragödien*, Darmstadt 1972, 13-14.

[68] G. Boissier, *Les tragédies de Sénèque ont-elles été représentées?*, Paris 1861.

[69] Otto Ribbeck, *Geschichte der Römischen Dichtung*, Bd. III: Dichtung der Kaiserherrschaft (1892), repr. in: Lefèvre (1972) 15-17.

[70] See above n. 55; similarly e.g. M. Coffey, 'Seneca and his tragedies', *Proc. of the Afr. Class. Ass.* 3 (1960) 14-19; Fantham, 34-49; Norman T. Pratt, *Seneca's Drama*, Chapel Hill and London 1983, 15-21.

[71] Margarete Bieber, 'Wurden die Dramen des Seneca in Rom aufgeführt?', *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts in Rom*, 60/61 (1953-54) 100-106; *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton 1961, VII, 230-235, esp. 234.

[72] Dana Ferrin Sutton, *Seneca on the stage*, Leiden 1986.

How does *Troades* fit in Zwierlein's arguments? Criticizing Seneca's handling of time (p. 29), he takes Calchas' quick appearance (353) after Agamemnon's summoning him (351-2) as an illustration. In my view, a pause there is not only quite likely, but also very effective (see the commentary). The condensing of time is no less acceptable than the idea that the execution of Astyanax and Polyxena could have taken place in so short a time as the duration of the fourth choral ode. The successive haulings of Astyanax (Act 3) and Polyxena (Act 4), which undoubtedly must be thought of as having taken place simultaneously, are also contrary to logical reasoning.

Seneca's inaccuracy concerning the exact place of the action is also obvious in this play (p. 38-40). The position of the Greek camp is uncertain, although Talthybius' report of Achilles' apparition and the use of *redit* at 1120 suggest the vicinity of Achilles' tomb on the Rhoetean shore; equally so, the place where the Trojan women are kept, but I think it a logical assumption that the Greek leaders held them nearby. The dominant presence of Hector's grave-mound in the third act conflicts with the messenger's report in the final act, where - among other offstage events - someone is described as sitting on Hector's tomb (1086-7). One of the problems, viz. the change of scene (within an act!) after Talthybius' report, is solved if one, with the A MSS, thinks that the chorus in the second act consists of Greek soldiers. But Seneca was probably so focused on the text that he did not pay very much attention to this aspect of dramaturgy. It did not, however, prevent this play from being produced before auditors/spectators who accepted inconsistencies of place just like they accepted anomalies in the aspect of time.[73]

Zwierlein is certainly right in comparing Seneca unfavourably with his Greek predecessors in these and other respects, especially when referring to the unannounced/unmotivated exits of actors (p. 52-53: Hecuba at the end of Act 1, the *senex* after 517-8), and to the long asides (p. 63-67). In many cases, as has been argued by Tarrant,[74] fifth-century Attic tragedy was a remote source for Seneca. His plays employ a later Greek dramatic form, for which the earliest surviving evidence is in New Comedy. The play also illustrates Zwierlein's (and Regenbogen's) argument regarding the dissolution of the plays into independent, poorly connected individual scenes; in *Troades*, this refers particularly to the isolated position of the second choral ode (p. 88-93). But here too, the criticism is challenged if one thinks the ode sung by Greek soldiers instead of the Trojan women.

[73] Fantham, p. 37-39 suggests four different scenes: at Hector's tomb (act 1, act 2 sc. 1, and act 3), in the Greek camp (act 2 sc. 2), near Sigeum on the battlefield (act 4: 930-1 *has ... rupes*; 893 *hos tumulos*), and "perhaps by the shore" (act 5). Stroh had the whole play performed near Hector's tomb, but he leaves line 1087 out; with Boyle, I rather think only the third act was set before Hector's tomb.

[74] R.J. Tarrant, 'Senecan Drama and Its Antecedents', *HSCP* 82 (1978) 213-263.

Finally, Zwierlein (p. 45-47, 56-58) lectures Seneca for the silent parts of Polyxena and Pyrrhus in Act IV. Again, one may question Seneca's dramaturgic decision, but is the scene better off in recitation?

In conclusion, I propose three ways of communicating the play(s). Reading, thanks to Seneca's explicit stage directions (and certainly with *tituli* providing additional information), fully enables one to imagine the dramatic action he describes; moreover, an ambiguous phrase like *debita exanimis tulit* (604) in *Troades* can only be put to full advantage when it is not pronounced. Many parts of this play, like Hecuba's prologue, the reports by the messengers, but also the debate between Agamemnon and Pyrrhus, and the speeches of Ulysses and Andromache, are most appropriate for recitation; but this does not apply to Act IV. In addition, a stage performance in Seneca's time should not be ruled out.[75] However, since there is no evidence at all that they were actually staged, it remains a matter of speculation; equally so one must guess at the place where[76] and the way in which[77] they possibly were produced.

As will be noted in the commentary, Seneca in several instances does not indicate clearly at which moment the actors and the chorus enter or leave the stage. In my view, both Hecuba and the chorus of Trojan women are present at the beginning of the play; after the kommos, they all leave. At the beginning of the second act, Talthybius enters, surrounded by a band of Greek soldiers; in the second scene, they move to the background when Pyrrhus and Agamemnon suddenly appear on the stage. Calchas enters when called upon (352). After he has given his verdict, he leaves with the two chieftains; the soldiers stay to sing the ode and then leave.

Act III opens with the entrance of Andromache, Astyanax, a *senex*, and the chorus of Trojan women; in my view, the women are sent away at 492 *amoue testes doli*, and the old man leaves when Ulysses approaches, accompanied by some soldiers. After his long scene with Andromache, Ulysses orders them to snatch away Astyanax (813); probably Andromache follows them as they leave the stage, whereupon the chorus of Trojan women returns to the stage to sing the third ode. Shortly before its end, they address Hecuba, reentering with Andromache and Polyxena.

[75] Fortey and Glucker, who directed a stage-production of *Phaedra* by the Exeter University Classical Society in 1973, also concluded that Seneca's tragedies are stageable ("T.S. Eliot's felicitous phrase"); see their 'Actus Tragicus: Seneca on the Stage', *Latomus* 34 (1975) 699-715.

[76] With Calder III, 'Seneca: Tragedian of Imperial Rome', *CJ* 72 (1976) 4-5, I rather think of a production in a private house than in a public theater, as proposed by Rozelaar and Sutton.

[77] See e.g. R.G. Tanner, 'Stoic Philosophy and Roman Tradition in Senecan Tragedy', *ANRW* II.32.2 (1985) 1100-1133, esp. 1108-1117: 'Masks, Division of Roles, and Number of Actors'.

While they are absorbed by their sorrows, Helen enters; she is escorted by one or two female attendants, carrying festive clothes and the equipment for dressing Polyxena's hair. At the end of the scene, Pyrrhus comes to haul the princess; Helen and her attendant(s) follow them, but Hecuba and Andromache remain on the stage with the chorus. After the fourth ode, they are the audience for the messenger in the final act.

10. *The play(s) through the ages*[78]

In view of the fragmentary state of *Phoenissae* and the incomplete lines in the *corpus* (*Tro.* 1103, *Phoen.* 319, *Phae.* 605, *Thy.* 100), it seems likely that the first complete edition of the plays was published after Seneca's death, but we do not know when.[79] The first testimony of the plays seems to be a Pompeian graffity: *idai cernu nemura* (*Ag.* 730 *Idaea cerno nemora*). In other authors, apart from resemblances in the work of his nephew Lucan, vestiges of this play do not turn up before the fourth century.

In Ausonius (c. 310-393), there are some lines resembling Seneca's so much that one can hardly think it accidental: compare *Tro.* 1 *regno fidit* - Auson. *fidite ne regnis*, 128-9 *tecum cecidit summusque dies / Hectoris idem patriaeque fuit* - Auson. *Hectoris hic tumulus, cum quo sua Troia sepulta est: / conduntur pariter, qui periere simul*, 784-5 *flebilius aliquid Hectoris magni nece / muri uidebunt* - Auson. *flos Asiae tantaque unus de gente superstes, / paruulus, Argiuis sed iam de patre timendus, / hic iaceo Astyanax, Scaeis deiectus ab altis. / pro dolor! Iliaci, Neptunia moenia, muri / uiderunt aliquid crudelius Hectore tracto.*

Prudentius (b. 348) for a scene in his Romanushymnus may have been inspired by Seneca's picture of Astyanax's execution (see on 1098 *uulgum ac duces*); his hymn *Cath.* 10 shows some verbal resemblances to the second ode in the *Troades* (see the commentary on 401 *indiuidua*).

Rutilius Namatianus (c. 400), "the last Roman poet" (*OCD*), author of *De reditu suo*, in his line *profuit iniustis te dominante capi* (1.64) may have had *Tro.* 887 *profuit multis capi* as a model.

[78] See Winfried Trillitzsch, *Seneca im literarischen Urteil der Antike*, Darstellung und Sammlung der Zeugnisse, Amsterdam 1971; Eckard Lefèvre (ed.), *Der Einfluß Senecas auf das europäische Drama*, Darmstadt 1978; Zwierlein (1984) 7-181 ('Die Überlieferung des Dramencorpus'); J.A. Worp, *De invloed van Seneca's treurspelen op ons tooneel*, Amsterdam 1892 (repr. Utrecht 1977); Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition*, Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature, Oxford 1967, passim.

[79] Peter Lebrecht Schmidt, 'Rezeption und Überlieferung der Tragödien Senecas bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters', in: Lefèvre (1978) 12-73, guesses 65-68 A.D. (p. 18); a no less important part in the gradual constitution of the *corpus* he attributes to the second edition, of which he thinks a dating in 110-120 plausible (p. 21).

Some conspicuous vestiges of the *Troades* are found in Christian Latin writers. The first one occurs in the *Vita Malchi* by Hieronymus (c. 347-420). In this biography of a monk, written c. 386 and containing some classic reminiscences, a clear echo of *Tro.* 510-2 is heard in cap. 9: *si iuuat Dominus miseros, habemus salutem; si despicit peccatores, habemus sepulchrum.* Another passage of his: *manducet et bibat, qui post cibos expectat interitum, qui cum Epicuro dicit: post mortem nihil est ipsaque mors nihil est* (*adu. Iouinianum* 2.6), seems to confirm the patriarch's familiarity with this tragedy (*Tro.* 397 *post mortem nihil est ipsaque mors nihil*). Augustinus (354-430) most likely had *Tro.* 291 *qui non uetat peccare, cum possit, iubet* in mind when he wrote: *ait enim quidam: qui non uetat peccare, cum potest, iubet* (*serm. Frang.* 8.5).

In addition to these authors, there is also a small treatise *De ultimis syllabis*, citing two lines from this play (861, 1053); the treatise was probably written in the fourth century;

Of the extant codices containing (parts of) *Troades*, Parisinus Lat. 8071 with the 'Excerpta Thuanea' (see the introductory note on the first choral ode) dates from the ninth century. Laurentianus Plut. 37.13 (the famous 'Etruscus') was written in the eleventh century.[80] Some of the most important codices of the other (A) branch date from the thirteenth century. In the meantime, more anthologies like the 'Excerpta Thuanea' had appeared. The oldest preserved commentary on Seneca's tragedies was composed by the English monk Nicholas Trevet in 1315-1316.[81] Although it is so extensive that the text on which it is based can be deducted from it, it is rather superficial. The first translation of *Troades* (with *Medea* and *Thyestes*) was made c. 1400 by Antonio Vilaragut in the Catalan language. The first printed edition of Seneca's tragedies, provided with a more profound commentary, was accomplished by Ascensius in 1514 in Paris. Three years later, it was followed by the editio Aldina (Venice) of Avantius.

In the following two centuries, the appreciation of Seneca's tragedies reached its peak. Their immense popularity in England in the sixteenth century is illustrated by the fact that they were produced (*Troades* at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1551/52), and translated (Heywood started his series of translations in 1559), as well as followed: *Gorboduc*, the first English tragedy (1561), is framed on the Senecan model with its division into five acts and the introduction of choruses as lyric interludes rather than as integral parts in the drama.[82]

[80] On its rediscovery by Gronovius, see Margaretha Billerbeck, *Seneca, Hercules Furens*, Leiden - Boston - Köln 1999, 71-89.

[81] For *Troades* see Marco Palma, *Nicola Trevet, Commento alle 'Troades' di Seneca*, Roma 1977.

[82] J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, London ^{2}1960, 218.

In the Low Countries, very valuable commented editions of the plays were published by Raphelengius (Antwerpen-Leiden 1588; in 1589 with Lipsius' *Animadversiones* and Raphelengius' *Notae*), Delrius (Antwerpen 1593/94), Heinsius (Leiden 1611), Scriverius (Leiden 1621), Farnabius (Leiden 1623), and J.F. Gronovius (Leiden 1661; Amsterdam 1662; ^{2}1682 ed. Jac. Gronovius). Several scholars were attracted especially by *Troades*: for Scaliger and Daniël Heinsius (1580-1655) it was a *Diuina Tragoedia*, for Grotius *Regina tragoediarum*. Here too, the play was produced: in 1617 in Leiden by students on the occasion of a visit by English and Swedish ambassadors, and in 1660 in Dordrecht (Cornelis de Witt's little son playing the part of Astyanax). It was translated by Vondel: 'De Amsteldamsche Hecuba' (1626), and by Jacob Westerbaen (1658); other poets followed it, e.g. Hooft in his *Achilles ende Polyxena* (see on 4 *uideat*). A free adaptation of the play had been published before (1600) by Jacob Duym, since 1591 the 'emperor' of the dramatic club *De Oranje Lelie* in Leiden. To its title: *Den Spieghel des Hoochmoets* (The Mirror of Pride), he had added: 'Wesende Troiados, eensdeels uyt Homero, ende eensdeels uyt Virgilio ghenomen', without any mentioning of Seneca.[83] In other countries adaptations of the play were made, for instance, by Robert Garnier (1579), Martin Opitz (1625) and Sallebray (1640).

Apart from the literary qualities of the play, its contents must have appealed to a Dutch audience in the turmoil of the eighty years' war (1568-1648).[84]

The second choral ode, however, caused a problem for some translators. Vondel, a pious Christian, to whom death meant the separation of the material body and the immortal soul, felt obliged to add a note in the margin: 'In desen Rey word voorgestelt het schadelijck gevoelen der Epicureën en Stoicijnen daer sich geen christen aen sal argeren te min alsoo het hier met sommige gelijckenissen eer opgepronckt en verlicht word als bewezen.' Garnier's chorus in the third act of *La Troade* asks the same question as Seneca's, but gives a different answer:

> Non: mais ...
> ... de nostre corps mourant
> La belle ame se retirant
> Au ciel remonte,
> Invisible aux humains regards,
> Et là, franche des mortels dards,
> La Parque domte.

[83] For an impression of Duym's play, including his instructions for its staging, see Worp (1892) 69-89.

[84] Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, 'Seneca in de Nederlandse letterkunde van de zeventiende eeuw', *Receptie van de Klassieken II*, Amsterdam 1991, 73.

Elle sejourne avec les Dieux
En un repos delicieux.

. . . .

Puissé-je au saint palais des Dieux,
Franche de ces maux ennyeux,
A jamais vivre.

On the other hand, the ode was valued highly by the Libertines. For instance, Guy Patin wrote in a letter in 1656: "Pour Sénèque le Tragique, c'est un admirable écrivain. Il est beau par tout pour bien du monde. Il y a *in Troade* un choeur qui commence: *Verum est, an timidos fabula decipit?* Si vous le lisez, vous trouverés que c'est la Religion de plusieurs personnes d'aujourd'hui, et entr'autres, des Princes, des Grands, des Magistrats, des Supérieurs de Religion, même de quelque Médecins et Philosophes." Another Libertine, Dehénault, published the following adaptation in 1670 :

Tout meurt en nous quand nous mourons:
La mort ne laisse rien, et n'est rien elle-même ...
Du peu de temps que nous durons
Ce n'est que le moment extrême.

. . . .

Et l'homme meurt entier, comme entier il est né.
La mort, sans souffrir de partage,
Confond l'âme et le corps, et leur fait mesme outrage.[85]

In the middle of the 17th century, the tide turned. Although dramatists were still using Seneca as a model, like Pradon (1679 *Troade*), others steered a different course. Vondel, who had also published a translation of Seneca's *Phaedra* (1628), in the preface to his *Hercules in Trachin* (1668) shows a greater appreciation of the Greek tragedians; a similar shift had been made by Heinsius and Grotius.

This went on in the next century. There was an occasional adaption of *Troades* (1777 Traugott Benjamin Berger *Troerinnen*), but there was also a growing criticism. Lessing,[86] who in his *Von den lateinischen Trauerspielen welche unter dem Namen des Seneca bekannt sind* (1754) had voiced great admiration for *Thyestes* and *Hercules Furens*, flies out in his *Laokoon* (1766): "... Klopffechter im Kothurnen können höchstens nur bewundert werden. Diese Benennung verdienen alle Personen der sogenannten Senecaschen Tragödien ...". (IV 3)

[85] Raymond Lebègue, 'Christianisme et Libertinage chez les imitateurs de Sénèque en France', in: Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Les tragédies de Sénèque et le théatre de la Renaissance*, Paris 1964, 93-94.

[86] See W. Barner, *Produktive Rezeption. Lessing und die Tragödien Senecas*, München 1973.

In the 19th century, they were generally judged negatively, e.g. by Schlegel (see n. 67): "Mit den alten Tragödien, jenen höchsten Schöpfungen des poetischen Genius der Griechen, haben diese nichts weiter gemein als den Namen, die äußre Form und die mythologischen Stoffe; und doch stellen sie sich neben jene, sichtbar in der Absicht, sie zu überbieten, was sie ungefähr so leisten, wie eine hohle Hyperbel gegen die innigste Wahrheit". Klein,[87] despite his esteem for the third act, condemns the play as a whole: "Aus zweien von Euripides', in Bau und Ökonomie verfehltesten und zerfahrensten Tragödien, aus der Hekabe und den Troaden, zusammengeschweißt, konnten Senecas Trojanerinnen nicht anders als zu einem, in Bezug auf Gliederung und Einheit, unförmlichen Mißgeschöpf erwachsen". Ribbeck (see n. 69) rounds off: "So haben wir diese Arbeiten, welche den romanischen Völkern so lange als Muster dramatischer Technik gedient haben, als verbildete Spätlinge edelster griechischer Kunst hinzunehmen, und die unendliche Kluft zu ermessen, welche diese nervösen und blutlosen, gespreitzten und aufgeblasenen Geschöpfe schulmäßiger Technik von den hehren Gestalten eines Aeschylus, Sophokles und Euripides scheidet."

In the first decades of the 20th century, more sympathy for Seneca's tragedies was shown outside Germany, for instance by d'Alfonso, who published a commented edition of *Troades* in 1910, Herrmann, and Kingery.[88] At the end of the third decade, a major contribution to a better appreciation of Seneca tragicus was made by Regenbogen (see n. 56). After an extensive historical survey of the various judgements on these tragedies, he notes the 'Auflösung des Dramenkörpers' into individual scenes as a characteristic feature, and uses the third act of *Troades* as his first example to illustrate Seneca's 'Neuformung' (not *imitatio*) of his available material.

In the sixties, when I felt attracted to these tragedies, I was driven by curiosity for which reasons they had evoked such different appraisals.[89]

[87] J.L. Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas II*, Leipzig 1865, 383.

[88] Hugh MacMaster Kingery, *Three Tragedies of Seneca: Hercules Furens, Troades, Medea*, New York 1908, v: "Undeniably they have their faults, yet have withal a real interest and value, first as the sole remains of an important branch of Roman literature, second for their own content and style, and third for their direct and powerful influence upon the English drama of the Elizabethan age."

[89] Most handbooks on Latin literature were still negative then, e.g. M. Schanz-C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, vol. 2, 4th edition, München 1935, 468: "Sie bleiben eine unerquickliche Lektüre"; Wight Duff (^{2}1960) 207-208: "His faults lie on the surface. Mythological conventionality in plots which were already, despite variations, fully exhausted in Greece; feebleness of moral significance; monotony of character; lack of nature's infinite variety and lack of fidelity to much of the human nature selected for portrayal — such defects hinder the plays from powerfully enchaining the interest. The positive influence of rhetoric too is responsible for many far-fetched dialogues, high-flown declamations, and pedantic recitals." More positive was P.J. Enk, *Geschiedenis der Latijnse Letterkunde*, Groningen - Batavia ^{3}1946, 208-209:

In the years thereafter, there was a stream of books and articles written on Seneca tragicus,[90] shedding a new light on various aspects of his crafts-manship, and increasing my appreciation of both form and contents of this particular play. Most importantly, it has been made clear that this "link in the chain" has to be judged as a child of his time; his Greek predecessors, despite the similarity of the subject material, should not be the principal standard of evaluation. Though he is no more the "modern" poet and prose-writer he once was to the Romans, his portraiture of people, in their inner struggle of *ratio* and *affectus*, and their reacting to the outside inharmonious world, obliterates the distance of almost two millenaries.[91]

11. *The text*

Editors until Gronovius had only MSS of the A branch to base their text on. His rediscovery of the Etruscus (see n. 80) clarified several uncertainties; Leo (1878) 15 even pronounced the judgement: "itaque in futurum quoque unicum recensionis fundamentum Etruscus habebitur". In the next century, protests against this one-sided view were voiced, for instance, by Stuart[92] and Carlsson;[93] they influenced the new editions of Viansino and Giardina.

My text is based mainly on Zwierlein's Oxford Classical Texts edition ([1]1986; I have used the fifth corrected reprint of 1993). Leaving out of account the differences in punctuation, the deviations are the following:

although he admits, that one will look in vain for "the warm feeling, the real humanity of their Greek models", they can be read with sympathy, he thinks, and even with admiration and pleasure, if one can value "Seneca's mastery of language, his remarkable talent for wording the ghostly and the mysterious, his spiritual dialogues". In his view *Phaedra*, *Troades*, and *Thyestes* deserve the highest praise.

[90] See Otto Hiltbrunner, 'Seneca als Tragödiendichter in der Forschung von 1965 bis 1975', *ANRW* II.32.2 (1985) 969-1051; Bernd Seidensticker and David Armstrong, 'Seneca tragicus 1878-1978 (with Addenda 1979ff.)', *ibid.* 916-968. I here only mention the new commentaries: on *Troades* 1981 Caviglia, 1982 Fantham, 1994 Boyle, *Medea* 1973 Costa, *Agamemnon* 1976 Tarrant, *Thyestes* 1985 Tarrant, *Hercules Furens* 1987 Fitch, 1999 Billerbeck, *Phoenissae* 1989 Hirschberg, 1995 Frank, *Phaedra* 1990 Coffey & Mayer, and *Oedipus* 1994 Töchterle.

[91] Cf. Eckard Lefèvre, 'Seneca als moderner Dichter', in Lefèvre (1972) 1-9; a clear proof of Seneca's modernity is Georg Schoeck, *Seneca für Manager*, Zürich [9]1985.

[92] C.E. Stuart, 'Notes and emendations on the tragedies of Seneca', *CQ* 5 (1911) 32-41.

[93] G. Carlsson, *Die Überlieferung der Seneca-Tragödien*. Eine textkritische Untersuchung, Lund 1926; 'Zu Senecas Tragödien, Lesungen und Deutungen', *Bull. Soc. Reg. Lett.* 1928/29, Lund 1929, 39-72; 'Seneca's tragedies: notes and interpretations', *Class. et Med.* 10 (1949) 39-59.

	Zwierlein	this edition
15	congestis *E*	congesti *A*
16	adusti *E*	adustis *A*
53	quoddam *EA*	quondam *recc.*
70	Graiias *Housman*	Graias *EA*
100	demissa *Scaliger*	dimissa *EA*
102-3	after 86 *Haase*	after 101
120.	patent *Schrader*	iacent *EA*
147	Graiium *Housman*	Graium *EA*
176-7	deleted *Zwierlein*	not deleted
197	dimisit *recc.*	diuisit *EA*
246	placida *Madvig*	placita *Eβ*
	probas *μ* (*Madvig*)	improbas *E*
273	leuis *uir doctus apud Baden*	breuis *EA*
280	ensis *Zwierlein*	hostis *EA*
296	greges *Buecheler*	gregis *EA*
304-5	lacuna after 304 *Gronouius*	no lacuna
338	exsoluet *Axelson*	exsoluit *EA*
424	dura *Bentley*	dira *EA*
585	ipsis *Wertis*	ustis *A*
586	tumens *β*	timens *Eδ*
781	reboante *Hemsterhusius*	reuocante *EA*
820	after 841 *Zwierlein*	not transposed
843-4	lacuna before 844 *Scaliger*	no lacuna
878	after 876 *Swoboda*	after 877 *EA*
913	tantus *Bentley*	tanti *EA*
922	† Paridi	Paridi
932	uadoso ... sinu *Gronouius*	uadosos ... sinus *EA*
990b-991a	deleted *Leo*	not deleted
1031	litus *EA*	latus *Schenkl, Müller*
1032	sterni *Giardina*	terris *E*
	cum *EA*	dum *Leo*
1033	reuerti *EA*	reuertit *Leo*
1043-4	lacuna before 1044 *Leo*	no lacuna
1080	fastigio *Lange*	cacumine *EA*
1098	superbit *Leo*	superbe *EA*
1126	moram *E*	moras *A*
1147	deleted *Zwierlein*	not deleted
1149	edito *Scaliger*	editus *EA*

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

TROADES

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Hecuba
Talthybius
Pyrrhus
Agamemnon
Calchas
Andromacha
Senex
Astyanax
Vlixes
Helena
Nuntius
Polyxena (tacita)
Chorus Troadum
Chorus Graecorum

HECVBA

Quicumque regno fidit et magna potens
dominatur aula nec leues metuit deos
animumque rebus credulum laetis dedit,
me uideat et te, Troia: non umquam tulit
documenta fors maiora, quam fragili loco
starent superbi. columen euersum occidit
pollentis Asiae, caelitum egregius labor;
ad cuius arma uenit et qui frigidum
septena Tanain ora pandentem bibit
et qui renatum primus excipiens diem
tepidum rubenti Tigrin inmiscet freto,
et quae uagos uicina prospiciens Scythas
ripam cateruis Ponticam uiduis ferit,
excisa ferro est; Pergamum incubuit sibi.
En alta muri decora congesti iacent
tectis adustis; regiam flammae ambiunt
omnisque late fumat Assaraci domus.
non prohibet auidas flamma uictoris manus:
diripitur ardens Troia, nec caelum patet
undante fumo: nube ceu densa obsitus
ater fauilla squalet Iliaca dies.
stat auidus irae uictor et lentum Ilium
metitur oculis ac decem tandem ferus
ignoscit annis; horret afflictam quoque,
uictamque quamuis uideat, haut credit sibi
potuisse uinci. spolia populator rapit
Dardania; praedam mille non capiunt rates.
  Testor deorum numen aduersum mihi
patriaeque cineres teque rectorem Phrygum
quem Troia toto conditum regno tegit,
tuosque manes quo stetit stante Ilium,
et uos meorum liberum magni greges,
umbrae minores: quidquid aduersi accidit,
quaecumque Phoebas ore lymphato furens
credi deo uetante praedixit mala,
prior Hecuba uidi grauida nec tacui metus
et uana uates ante Cassandram fui.
non cautus ignes Ithacus aut Ithaci comes
nocturnus in uos sparsit aut fallax Sinon:
meus ignis iste est, facibus ardetis meis.
  Sed quid ruinas urbis euersae gemis,
uiuax senectus? respice infelix ad hos
luctus recentes: Troia iam uetus est malum.

uidi execrandum regiae caedis nefas
ipsasque ad aras maius admissum scelus,
Aeacius armis cum ferox, saeua manu
coma reflectens regium torta caput,
alto nefandum uulneri ferrum abdidit;
quod penitus actum cum recepisset libens,
ensis senili siccus e iugulo redit.
placare quem non potuit a caede effera
mortalis aeui cardinem extremum premens
superique testes sceleris et quondam sacrum
regni iacentis? ille tot regum parens
caret sepulcro Priamus et flamma indiget
ardente Troia. Non tamen superis sat est:
dominum ecce Priami nuribus et natis legens
sortitur urna, praedaque en uilis sequar.
hic Hectoris coniugia despondet sibi,
hic optat Heleni coniugem, hic Antenoris;
nec dest tuos, Cassandra, qui thalamos petat.
mea sors timetur, sola sum Danais metus.
  Lamenta cessant? turba captiuae mea,
ferite palmis pectora et planctus date
et iusta Troiae facite. iamdudum sonet
fatalis Ide, iudicis diri domus.

HECVBA - CHORVS TROADVM

CHORVS
Non rude uulgus lacrimisque nouum
    lugere iubes:
hoc continuis egimus annis,
ex quo tetigit Phrygius Graias
hospes Amyclas secuitque fretum
pinus matri sacra Cybebae.
decies niuibus canuit Ide,
Ide nostris nudata rogis,
et Sigeis trepidus campis
decumas secuit messor aristas,
ut nulla dies maerore caret,
sed noua fletus causa ministrat.
  Ite ad planctus,
miseramque leua, regina, manum;
uulgus dominam uile sequemur:
non indociles lugere sumus.

HEC.
Fidae casus nostri comites,
  soluite crinem;

per colla fluant maesta capilli
tepido Troiae puluere turpes.
paret exertos turba lacertos;
ueste remissa substringe sinus
uteroque tenus pateant artus.
cui coniugio pectora uelas,
captiue pudor?
cingat tunicas palla solutas,
uacet ad crebri uerbera planctus
furibunda manus —
placet hic habitus, placet: agnosco
Troada turbam.
Iterum luctus redeant ueteres,
solitum flendi uincite morem:
Hectora flemus.

CHO. Soluimus omnes lacerum multo
funere crinem;
coma dimissa est libera nodo
sparsitque cinis feruidus ora.

HEC. Complete manus,
hoc ex Troia sumpsisse licet.

CHO. Cadit ex umeris uestis apertis
imumque tegit suffulta latus;
iam nuda uocant pectora dextras.
Nunc, nunc uires exprome, dolor:
Rhoetea sonent litora planctu,
habitansque cauis montibus Echo
non, ut solita est, extrema breuis
uerba remittat:
totos reddat Troiae gemitus;
audiat omnis pontus et aether.
Saeuite manus:
pulsu pectus tundite uasto,
non sum solito contenta sono:
Hectora flemus.

HEC. Tibi nostra ferit dextra lacertos
umerosque ferit tibi sanguineos,
tibi nostra caput dextera pulsat,
tibi maternis ubera palmis
laniata iacent:
fluat et multo sanguine manet
quamcumque tuo funere feci
rupta cicatrix.

Columen patriae, mora fatorum,
tu praesidium Phrygibus fessis,
tu murus eras umerisque tuis
stetit illa decem fulta per annos:
tecum cecidit summusque dies
Hectoris idem patriaeque fuit.
    Vertite planctus:
Priamo uestros fundite fletus,
    satis Hector habet.

CHO. Accipe, rector Phrygiae, planctus,
accipe fletus, bis capte senex.
nil Troia semel te rege tulit,
bis pulsari Dardana Graio
    moenia ferro
bisque pharetras passa Herculeas.
post elatos Hecubae partus
    regumque gregem
postrema pater funera cludis
magnoque Ioui uictima caesus
Sigea premis litora truncus.

HEC. Alio lacrimas flectite uestras:
non est Priami miseranda mei
    mors, Iliades.
'Felix Priamus' dicite cunctae:
liber manes uadit ad imos,
nec feret umquam uicta Graium
    ceruice iugum;
non ille duos uidet Atridas
nec fallacem cernit Vlixem;
non Argolici praeda triumphi
subiecta feret colla tropaeis;
non adsuetas ad sceptra manus
    post terga dabit
currusque sequens Agamemnonios
aurea dextra uincula gestans
latis fiet pompa Mycenis.

CHO. 'Felix Priamus' dicimus omnes:
secum excedens sua regna tulit.
nunc Elysii nemoris tutis
errat in umbris interque pias
felix animas Hectora quaerit.
    Felix Priamus:
felix quisquis bello moriens
omnia secum consumpta tulit.

TALTHYBIVS - CHORVS GRAECORVM

TALTHYBIVS O longa Danais semper in portu mora,
seu petere bellum, petere seu patriam uolunt.

CHO. Quae causa ratibus faciat et Danais moram,
effare, reduces quis deus claudat uias.

TA. Pauet animus, artus horridus quassat tremor.
maiora ueris monstra (uix capiunt fidem)
uidi ipse, uidi. summa iam Titan iuga
stringebat ortu, uicerat noctem dies,
cum subito caeco terra mugitu fremens
concussa totos traxit ex imo sinus;
mouere siluae capita et excelsum nemus
fragore uasto tonuit et lucus sacer;
Idaea ruptis saxa ceciderunt iugis.
nec terra solum tremuit: et pontus suum
adesse Achillem sensit ac strauit uada.
Tum scissa uallis aperit immensos specus
et hiatus Erebi peruium ad superos iter
tellure fracta praebet ac tumulum leuat.
emicuit ingens umbra Thessalici ducis,
Threicia qualis arma proludens tuis
iam, Troia, fatis strauit aut Neptunium
cana nitentem perculit iuuenem coma,
aut cum inter acies Marte uiolento furens
corporibus amnes clusit et quaerens iter
tardus cruento Xanthus errauit uado,
aut cum superbo uictor in curru stetit
egitque habenas Hectorem et Troiam trahens.
Impleuit omne litus irati sonus:
'ite, ite, inertes, debitos manibus meis
auferte honores, soluite ingratas rates
per nostra ituri maria. non paruo luit
iras Achillis Graecia et magno luet:
desponsa nostris cineribus Polyxene
Pyrrhi manu mactetur et tumulum riget.'
haec fatus alta nocte diuisit diem
repetensque Ditem mersus ingentem specum
coeunte terra iunxit. immoti iacent
tranquilla pelagi, uentus abiecit minas
placidumque fluctu murmurat leni mare,
Tritonum ab alto cecinit hymenaeum chorus.

PYRRHVS - AGAMEMNON - CALCHAS

PYRRHVS Cum laeta pelago uela rediturus dares,
excidit Achilles, cuius unius manu
impulsa Troia, quidquid adiecit morae
illo remoto, dubia quo caderet stetit.
uelis licet quod petitur ac properes dare,
sero es daturus: iam suum cuncti duces
tulere pretium. quae minor merces potest
tantae dari uirtutis? an meruit parum
qui, fugere bellum iussus et longa sedens
aeuum senecta ducere ac Pylii senis
transcendere annos, exuit matris dolos
falsasque uestes, fassus est armis uirum?
Inhospitali Telephus regno impotens,
dum Mysiae ferocis introitus negat,
rudem cruore regio dextram imbuit
fortemque eandem sensit et mitem manum.
cecidere Thebae, uidit Eetion capi
sua regna uictus; clade subuersa est pari
apposita celso parua Lyrnesos iugo
captaque tellus nobilis Briseide
et causa litis regibus Chryse iacet
et nota fama Tenedos et quae pascuo
fecunda pingui Thracios nutrit greges
Scyros fretumque Lesbos Aegaeum secans
et cara Phoebo Cilla; quid quas alluit
uernis Caycus gurgitem attollens aquis?
Haec tanta clades gentium ac tantus pauor,
sparsae tot urbes turbinis uasti modo,
alterius esset gloria ac summum decus:
iter est Achillis; sic meus uenit pater
et tanta gessit bella, dum bellum parat.
ut alia sileam merita, non unus satis
Hector fuisset? Ilium uicit pater,
uos diruistis. inclitas laudes iuuat
et clara magni facta genitoris sequi:
iacuit peremptus Hector ante oculos patris
patruique Memnon, cuius ob luctum parens
pallente maestum protulit uultu diem;
suique uictor operis exemplum horruit
didicitque Achilles et dea natos mori.
tum saeua Amazon ultimus cecidit metus. —
debes Achilli, merita si digne aestimas,
et si ex Mycenis uirginem atque Argis petat.

dubitatur etiam? placita nunc subito improbas
Priamique natam Pelei gnato ferum
mactare credis? at tuam gnatam parens
Helenae immolasti: solita iam et facta expeto.

AGAMEMNON Iuuenile uitium est regere non posse impetum;
aetatis alios feruor hic primus rapit,
Pyrrhum paternus. spiritus quondam truces
minasque tumidi lentus Aeacidae tuli:
quo plura possis, plura patienter feras.
Quid caede dira nobiles clari ducis
aspergis umbras? noscere hoc primum decet,
quid facere uictor debeat, uictus pati.
uiolenta nemo imperia continuit diu,
moderata durant; quoque Fortuna altius
euexit ac leuauit humanas opes,
hoc se magis supprimere felicem decet
uariosque casus tremere metuentem deos
nimium fauentes. magna momento obrui
uincendo didici. Troia nos tumidos facit
nimium ac feroces? stamus hoc Danai loco,
unde illa cecidit. fateor, aliquando impotens
regno ac superbus altius memet tuli;
sed fregit illos spiritus haec quae dare
potuisset aliis causa, Fortunae fauor.
tu me superbum, Priame? tu timidum facis.
ego esse quicquam sceptra nisi uano putem
fulgore tectum nomen et falso comam
uinclo decentem? casus haec rapiet breuis,
nec mille forsan ratibus aut annis decem:
non omnibus Fortuna tam lenta imminet.
Equidem fatebor (pace dixisse hoc tua,
Argiua tellus, liceat) affligi Phrygas
uincique uolui: ruere et aequari solo
utinam arcuissem; sed regi frenis nequit
et ira et ardens hostis et uictoria
commissa nocti. quidquid indignum aut ferum
cuiquam uideri potuit, hoc fecit dolor
tenebraeque, per quas ipse se irritat furor,
gladiusque felix, cuius infecti semel
uecors libido est. quidquid euersae potest
superesse Troiae, maneat: exactum satis
poenarum et ultra est. regia ut uirgo occidat
tumuloque donum detur et cineres riget
et facinus atrox caedis ut thalamos uocent,
non patiar. in me culpa cunctorum redit:

qui non uetat peccare, cum possit, iubet.
PY. Nullumne Achillis praemium manes ferent?
AG. Ferent, et illum laudibus cuncti canent
magnumque terrae nomen ignotae audient.
quod si leuatur sanguine infuso cinis,
opima Phrygii colla caedantur gregis
fluatque nulli flebilis matri cruor.
quis iste mos est? quando in inferias homo est
impensus hominis? detrahe inuidiam tuo
odiumque patri, quem coli poena iubes.
PY. O tumide, rerum dum secundarum status
extollit animos, timide, cum increpuit metus,
regum tyranne! iamne flammatum geris
amore subito pectus ac ueneris nouae?
solusne totiens spolia de nobis feres?
hac dextra Achilli uictimam reddam suam.
quam si negas retinesque, maiorem dabo
dignamque quam det Pyrrhus; et nimium diu
a caede nostra regia cessat manus
paremque poscit Priamus.
AG. Haud equidem nego
hoc esse Pyrrhi maximum in bello decus,
saeuo peremptus ense quod Priamus iacet,
supplex paternus.
PY. Supplices nostri patris
hostesque eosdem nouimus. Priamus tamen
praesens rogauit; tu, graui pauidus metu
nec ad rogandum fortis, Aiaci preces
Ithacoque mandas clausus atque hostem tremens.
AG. At non timebat tunc tuus, fateor, parens,
interque caedes Graeciae atque ustas rates
segnis iacebat belli et armorum immemor,
leui canoram uerberans plectro chelyn.
PY. Tunc magnus Hector, arma contemnens tua,
cantus Achillis timuit, et tanto in metu
naualibus pax alta Thessalicis fuit.
AG. Nempe isdem in istis Thessalis naualibus
pax alta rursus Hectoris patri fuit.
PY. Est regis alti spiritum regi dare.
AG. Cur dextra regi spiritum eripuit tua?
PY. Mortem misericors saepe pro uita dabit.
AG. Et nunc misericors uirginem busto petis?
PY. Iamne immolari uirgines credis nefas?
AG. Praeferre patriam liberis regem decet.
PY. Lex nulla capto parcit aut poenam impedit.
AG. Quod non uetat lex, hoc uetat fieri pudor.

PY. Quodcumque libuit facere uictori licet.
AG. Minimum decet libere cui multum licet.
PY. His ista iactas, quos decem annorum graui
regno subactos Pyrrhus exsoluit iugo?
AG. Hos Scyros animos?
PY. Scelere quae fratrum caret.
AG. Inclusa fluctu —
PY. Nempe cognati maris:
Atrei et Thyestae nobilem noui domum.
AG. Ex uirginis concepte furtiuo stupro
et ex Achille nate, sed nondum uiro —
PY. Illo ex Achille, genere qui mundum suo,
sparsus per omne caelitum regnum, tenet:
Thetide aequor, umbras Aeaco, caelum Ioue.
AG. Illo ex Achille, qui manu Paridis iacet.
PY. Quem nec deorum comminus quisquam petit.
AG. Compescere equidem uerba et audacem malo
poteram domare; sed meus captis quoque
scit parcere ensis. potius interpres deum
Calchas uocetur: fata si poscent, dabo.

Tu, qui Pelasgae uincla soluisti rati
morasque bellis, arte qui reseras polum,
cui uiscerum secreta, cui mundi fragor
et stella longa semitam flamma trahens
dant signa fati, cuius ingenti mihi
mercede constant ora: quid iubeat deus
effare Calchas, nosque consilio rege.

CALCHAS Dant fata Danais quo solent pretio uiam:
mactanda uirgo est Thessali busto ducis,
sed quo iugari Thessalae cultu solent
Ionidesue uel Mycenaeae nurus.
Pyrrhus parenti coniugem tradat suo:
sic rite dabitur. Non tamen nostras tenet
haec una puppes causa: nobilior tuo,
Polyxene, cruore debetur cruor.
quem fata quaerunt, turre de summa cadat
Priami nepos Hectoreus et letum oppetat.
tum mille uelis impleat classis freta.

CHORVS

Verum est an timidos fabula decipit
umbras corporibus uiuere conditis,
cum coniunx oculis imposuit manum
supremusque dies solibus obstitit
et tristis cineres urna coercuit?
non prodest animam tradere funeri,
sed restat miseris uiuere longius?
an toti morimur nullaque pars manet
nostri, cum profugo spiritus halitu
immixtus nebulis cessit in aera
et nudum tetigit subdita fax latus?

Quidquid sol oriens, quidquid et occidens
nouit, caeruleis Oceanus fretis
quidquid bis ueniens et fugiens lauat,
aetas Pegaseo corripiet gradu.
quo bis sena uolant sidera turbine,
quo cursu properat uoluere saecula
astrorum dominus, quo properat modo
obliquis Hecate currere flexibus:
hoc omnes petimus fata nec amplius,
iuratos superis qui tetigit lacus,
usquam est; ut calidis fumus ab ignibus
uanescit, spatium per breue sordidus,
ut nubes, grauidas quas modo uidimus,
arctoi Boreae dissipat impetus:
sic hic, quo regimur, spiritus effluet.

Post mortem nihil est ipsaque mors nihil,
uelocis spatii meta nouissima;
spem ponant auidi, solliciti metum:
tempus nos auidum deuorat et chaos.
mors indiuidua est, noxia corpori
nec parcens animae: Taenara et aspero
regnum sub domino limen et obsidens
custos non facili Cerberus ostio
rumores uacui uerbaque inania
et par sollicito fabula somnio.
quaeris quo iaceas post obitum loco?
    quo non nata iacent.

ANDROMACHA - SENEX - ASTYANAX

ANDROMACHA Quid, maesta Phrygiae turba, laceratis comas
miserumque tunsae pectus effuso genas
fletu rigatis? leuia perpessae sumus,
si flenda patimur. Ilium uobis modo,
mihi cecidit olim, cum ferus curru incito
mea membra raperet et graui gemeret sono
Peliacus axis pondere Hectoreo tremens.
tunc obruta atque euersa quodcumque accidit
torpens malis rigensque sine sensu fero.
Iam erepta Danais coniugem sequerer meum,
nisi hic teneret: hic meos animos domat
morique prohibet; cogit hic aliquid deos
adhuc rogare, tempus aerumnae addidit.
hic mihi malorum maximum fructum abstulit,
nihil timere: prosperis rebus locus
ereptus omnis, dira qua ueniant habent.
miserrimum est timere, cum speres nihil.

SENEX Quis te repens commouit afflictam metus?

AN. Exoritur aliquod maius ex magno malum.
nondum ruentis Ilii fatum stetit.

SEN. Et quas reperiet, ut uelit, clades deus?

AN. Stygis profundae claustra et obscuri specus
laxantur et, ne desit euersis metus,
hostes ab imo conditi Dite exeunt —
solisne retro peruium est Danais iter?
certe aequa mors est: turbat atque agitat Phrygas
communis iste terror; hic proprie meum
exterret animum, noctis horrendae sopor.

SEN. Quae uisa portas? effer in medium metus.

AN. Partes fere nox alma transierat duas
clarumque septem uerterant stellae iugum;
ignota tandem uenit afflictae quies
breuisque fessis somnus obrepsit genis,
si somnus ille est mentis attonitae stupor:
cum subito nostros Hector ante oculos stetit,
non qualis ultro bella in Argiuos ferens
Graias petebat facibus Idaeis rates,
nec caede multa qualis in Danaos furens
uera ex Achille spolia simulato tulit;
non ille uultus flammeum intendens iubar,
sed fessus ac deiectus et fletu grauis
similisque nostro, squalida obtectus coma.
iuuat tamen uidisse. tum quassans caput:

'dispelle somnos' inquit 'et natum eripe,
o fida coniunx: lateat, haec una est salus.
omitte fletus — Troia quod cecidit gemis?
utinam iaceret tota. festina, amoue
quocumque nostrae paruulam stirpem domus.'
mihi gelidus horror ac tremor somnum excutit,
oculosque nunc huc pauida, nunc illuc ferens
oblita nati misera quaesiui Hectorem:
fallax per ipsos umbra complexus abit.
O nate, magni certa progenies patris,
spes una Phrygibus, unica afflictae domus,
ueterisque suboles sanguinis nimium inclita
nimiumque patri similis. hos uultus meus
habebat Hector, talis incessu fuit
habituque talis, sic tulit fortes manus,
sic celsus umeris, fronte sic torua minax
ceruice fusam dissipans iacta comam —
o nate sero Phrygibus, o matri cito,
eritne tempus illud ac felix dies
quo Troici defensor et uindex soli
recidiua ponas Pergama et sparsos fuga
ciues reducas, nomen et patriae suum
Phrygibusque reddas? sed mei fati memor
tam magna timeo uota — quod captis sat est,
uiuamus. Heu me, quis locus fidus meo
erit timori quaue te sede occulam?
arx illa pollens opibus et muris deum,
gentes per omnes clara et inuidiae grauis,
nunc puluis altus, strata sunt flamma omnia
superestque uasta ex urbe ne tantum quidem,
quo lateat infans. quem locum fraudi legam?
est tumulus ingens coniugis cari sacer,
uerendus hosti, mole quem immensa parens
opibusque magnis struxit, in luctus suos
rex non auarus: optume credam patri —
sudor per artus frigidus totos cadit:
omen tremesco misera feralis loci. 488
Sen. Miser occupet praesidia, securus legat. 497
An. Quid quod latere sine metu magno nequit, 496
ne prodat aliquis?
Sen. Amoue testes doli. 492
An. Si quaeret hostis?
Sen. Vrbe in euersa perit: 493
haec causa multos una ab interitu arcuit, 489
credi perisse. 490

AN. Vix spei quicquam est super:
graue pondus illum magna nobilitas premit;
quid proderit latuisse redituro in manus?
SEN. Victor feroces impetus primos habet.
AN. Quis te locus, quae regio seducta, inuia
tuto reponet? quis feret trepidis opem?
quis proteget? qui semper, etiamnunc tuos,
Hector, tuere: coniugis furtum piae
serua et fideli cinere uicturum excipe.
succede tumulo, nate — quid retro fugis?
turpesne latebras spernis? agnosco indolem:
pudet timere. spiritus magnos fuga
animosque ueteres, sume quos casus dedit.
en intuere, turba quae simus super:
tumulus, puer, captiua: cedendum est malis.
sanctas parentis conditi sedes age
aude subire. fata si miseros iuuant,
habes salutem; fata si uitam negant,
habes sepulcrum.
SEN. Claustra commissum tegunt;
quem ne tuus producat in medium timor,
procul hinc recede teque diuersam amoue.
AN. Leuius solet timere, qui propius timet;
sed, si placet, referamus hinc alio pedem.
SEN. Cohibe parumper ora questusque opprime:
gressus nefandos dux Cephallanum admouet.
AN. Dehisce tellus, tuque, coniunx, ultimo
specu reuulsam scinde tellurem et Stygis
sinu profundo conde depositum meum.
adest Vlixes, et quidem dubio gradu
uultuque: nectit pectore astus callidos.

VLIXES - ANDROMACHA - ASTYANAX

VLIXES Durae minister sortis hoc primum peto,
ut, ore quamuis uerba dicantur meo,
non esse credas nostra: Graiorum omnium
procerumque uox est, petere quos seras domos
Hectorea suboles prohibet: hanc fata expetunt.
sollicita Danaos pacis incertae fides
semper tenebit, semper a tergo timor
respicere coget arma nec poni sinet,
dum Phrygibus animos natus euersis dabit,
Andromacha, uester. augur haec Calchas canit;

et, si taceret augur haec Calchas, tamen
dicebat Hector, cuius et stirpem horreo.
generosa in ortus semina exsurgunt suos:
sic ille magni paruus armenti comes
primisque nondum cornibus findens cutem
ceruice subito celsus et fronte arduus
gregem paternum ducit ac pecori imperat;
quae tenera caeso uirga de trunco stetit,
par ipsa matri tempore exiguo subit
umbrasque terris reddit et caelo nemus;
sic male relictus igne de magno cinis
uires resumit. Est quidem iniustus dolor
rerum aestimator: si tamen tecum exigas,
ueniam dabis, quod bella post hiemes decem
totidemque messes iam senex miles timet
aliasque clades rursus ac numquam bene
Troiam iacentem. magna res Danaos mouet,
futurus Hector: libera Graios metu.
haec una naues causa deductas tenet,
hic classis haeret. neue crudelem putes,
quod sorte iussus Hectoris natum petam:
petissem Oresten. patere quod uictor tulit.

AN. Vtinam quidem esses, nate, materna in manu,
nossemque quis te casus ereptum mihi
teneret, aut quae regio — non hostilibus
confossa telis pectus ac uinclis manus
secantibus praestricta, non acri latus
utrumque flamma cincta maternam fidem
umquam exuissem. nate, quis te nunc locus,
fortuna quae possedit? errore auio
uagus arua lustras? uastus an patriae uapor
corripuit artus? saeuus an uictor tuo
lusit cruore? numquid immanis ferae
morsu peremptus pascis Idaeas aues?

VL. Simulata remoue uerba; non facile est tibi
decipere Vlixem: uicimus matrum dolos
etiam dearum. cassa consilia amoue;
ubi natus est?

AN.   Vbi Hector? ubi cuncti Phryges?
ubi Priamus? unum quaeris: ego quaero omnia.

VL. Coacta dices sponte quod fari abnuis:
stulta est fides celare quod prodas statim. 587

AN. Tuta est, perire quae potest debet cupit. 574

VL. Magnifica uerba mors prope admota excutit.

AN. Si uis, Vlixe, cogere Andromacham metu,
uitam minare: nam mori uotum est mihi.
VL. Verberibus igni morte cruciatu eloqui
quodcumque celas adiget inuitam dolor
et pectore imo condita arcana eruet:
necessitas plus posse quam pietas solet.
AN. Propone flammas, uulnera et diras mali
doloris artes et famem et saeuam sitim
uariasque pestes undique et ferrum inditum
uisceribus ustis, carceris caeci luem,
et quidquid audet uictor iratus timens:
animosa nullos mater admittit metus.
VL. Hic ipse, quo nunc contumax perstas, amor
consulere paruis liberis Danaos monet.
post arma tam longinqua, post annos decem
minus timerem quos facit Calchas metus,
si mihi timerem: bella Telemacho paras.
AN. Inuita, Vlixe, gaudium Danais dabo:
dandum est; fatere quos premis luctus, dolor.
gaudete, Atridae, tuque laetifica, ut soles,
refer Pelasgis: Hectoris proles obit.
VL. Et esse uerum hoc qua probas Danais fide?
AN. Ita quod minari maximum uictor potest
contingat et me fata maturo exitu
facilique soluant ac meo condant solo
et patria tellus Hectorem leuiter premat,
ut luce caruit: inter extinctos iacet
datusque tumulo debita exanimis tulit.
VL. Expleta fata stirpe sublata Hectoris
solidamque pacem laetus ad Danaos feram —
quid agis, Vlixe? Danaidae credent tibi:
tu cui? parenti. — fingit an quisquam hoc parens,
nec abominandae mortis auspicium pauet?
auspicia metuunt qui nihil maius timent.
fidem alligauit iure iurando suam —
si peierat, timere quid grauius potest?
nunc aduoca astus, anime, nunc fraudes, dolos,
nunc totum Vlixem; ueritas numquam perit.
scrutare matrem: maeret, illacrimat, gemit;
sed huc et illuc anxios gressus refert
missasque uoces aure sollicita excipit:
magis haec timet, quam maeret. ingenio est opus.
  Alios parentes alloqui in luctu decet:
tibi gratulandum est, misera, quod nato cares,
quem mors manebat saeua praecipitem datum
e turre, lapsis sola quae muris manet.

AN. Reliquit animus membra, quatiuntur, labant
torpetque uinctus frigido sanguis gelu.
VL. Intremuit: hac, hac parte quaerenda est mihi;
matrem timor detexit: iterabo metum. —
ite, ite celeres, fraude materna abditum
hostem, Pelasgi nominis pestem ultimam,
ubicumque latitat, erutam in medium date. —
bene est: tenetur. perge, festina, attrahe —
quid respicis trepidasque? iam certe perit.
AN. Vtinam timerem. solitus ex longo est metus:
dediscit animus sero quod didicit diu.
VL. Lustrale quoniam debitum muris puer
sacrum antecessit nec potest uatem sequi
meliore fato raptus, hoc Calchas ait
modo piari posse redituras rates,
si placet undas Hectoris sparsi cinis
ac tumulus imo totus aequetur solo.
nunc ille quoniam debitam effugit necem,
erit admouenda sedibus sacris manus.
AN. Quid agimus? animum distrahit geminus timor:
hinc natus, illinc coniugis cari cinis.
pars utra uincet? testor immites deos,
deosque ueros coniugis manes mei:
non aliud, Hector, in meo nato mihi
placere quam te. uiuat, ut possit tuos
referre uultus — prorutus tumulo cinis
mergetur? ossa fluctibus spargi sinam
disiecta uastis? potius hic mortem oppetat. —
poteris nefandae deditum mater neci
uidere, poteris celsa per fastigia
missum rotari? potero, perpetiar, feram,
dum non meus post fata uictoris manu
iactetur Hector. — hic suam poenam potest
sentire, at illum fata iam in tuto locant —
quid fluctuaris? statue, quem poenae extrahas.
ingrata, dubitas? Hector est illinc tuus —
erras: utrimque est Hector; hic sensus potens,
forsan futurus ultor extincti patris —
utrique parci non potest: quidnam facis?
serua e duobus, anime, quem Danai timent.
VL. Responsa peragam: funditus busta eruam.
AN. Quae uendidistis?
VL. Pergam et e summo aggere
traham sepulcra.

AN. Caelitum appello fidem
fidemque Achillis: Pyrrhe, genitoris tui
munus tuere.
VL. Tumulus hic campo statim
toto iacebit.
AN. Fuerat hoc prorsus nefas
Danais inausum. templa uiolastis, deos
etiam fauentes: busta transierat furor.
resistam, inermis offeram armatis manus,
dabit ira uires. qualis Argolicas ferox
turmas Amazon strauit, aut qualis deo
percussa Maenas entheo siluas gradu
armata thyrso terret atque expers sui
uulnus dedit nec sensit, in medios ruam
tumuloque cineris socia defenso cadam.
VL. Cessatis et uos flebilis clamor mouet
furorque cassus feminae? iussa ocius
peragite.
AN. Me, me sternite hic ferro prius.
repellor, heu me. rumpe fatorum moras,
molire terras, Hector: ut Vlixem domes,
uel umbra satis es — arma concussit manu,
iaculatur ignes — cernitis, Danai, Hectorem?
an sola uideo?
VL. Funditus cuncta eruam.
AN. Quid agis? ruina mater et gnatum et uirum
prosternis una? forsitan Danaos prece
placare poteris. conditum elidet statim
immane busti pondus — intereat miser
ubicumque potius, ne pater natum obruat
prematque patrem natus. — Ad genua accido
supplex, Vlixe, quamque nullius pedes
nouere dextram pedibus admoueo tuis.
miserere matris et preces placidus pias
patiensque recipe, quoque te celsum altius
superi leuarunt, mitius lapsos preme:
misero datur quodcumque, fortunae datur.
sic te reuisat coniugis sanctae torus,
annosque, dum te recipit, extendat suos
Laerta; sic te iuuenis excipiat tuus,
et uota uincens uestra felici indole
aetate auum transcendat, ingenio patrem.
miserere matris: unicum adflictae mihi
solamen hic est.
VL. Exhibe natum et roga.

AN. Huc e latebris procede tuis,
flebile matris furtum miserae.
Hic est, hic est terror, Vlixe,
mille carinis.

Submitte manus dominique pedes
supplice dextra stratus adora
nec turpe puta quidquid miseros
Fortuna iubet.
Pone ex animo reges atauos
magnique senis iura per omnis
incluta terras, excidat Hector,
gere captiuum positoque genu —
si tua nondum funera sentis —
matris fletus imitare tuae.

Vidit pueri regis lacrimas
et Troia prior, paruusque minas
trucis Alcidae flexit Priamus.
Ille, ille ferox, cuius uastis
uiribus omnes cessere ferae,
qui perfracto limine Ditis
caecum retro patefecit iter,
hostis parui uictus lacrimis
'suscipe' dixit 'rector habenas
patrioque sede celsus solio;
sed sceptra fide meliore tene':
hoc fuit illo uictore capi.
Discite mites Herculis iras —
an sola placent Herculis arma?
iacet ante pedes non minor illo
supplice supplex uitamque petit —
regnum Troiae quocumque uolet
Fortuna ferat.

VL. Matris quidem me maeror attonitae mouet,
magis Pelasgae me tamen matres mouent,
quarum iste magnos crescit in luctus puer.
AN. Has, has ruinas urbis in cinerem datae
hic excitabit? hae manus Troiam erigent?
nullas habet spes Troia, si tales habet.
non sic iacemus Troes, ut cuiquam metus
possimus esse. spiritus genitor facit?
sed nempe tractus. ipse post Troiam pater
posuisset animos, magna quos frangunt mala.

si poena petitur (quae peti grauior potest?)
famulare collo nobili subeat iugum,
seruire liceat. aliquis hoc regi negat?
VL. Non hoc Vlixes, sed negat Calchas tibi.
AN. O machinator fraudis et scelerum artifex,
uirtute cuius bellica nemo occidit,
dolis et astu maleficae mentis iacent
etiam Pelasgi, uatem et insontes deos
praetendis? hoc est pectoris facinus tui.
nocturne miles, fortis in pueri necem
iam solus audes aliquid et claro die.
VL. Virtus Vlixis Danaidis nota est satis
nimisque Phrygibus. non uacat uanis diem
conterere uerbis: ancoras classis legit.
AN. Breuem moram largire, dum officium parens
nato supremum reddo et amplexu ultimo
auidos dolores satio.
VL. Misereri tui
utinam liceret. quod tamen solum licet,
tempus moramque dabimus. arbitrio tuo
implere lacrimis: fletus aerumnas leuat.
AN. O dulce pignus, o decus lapsae domus
summumque Troiae funus, o Danaum timor,
genetricis o spes uana, cui demens ego
laudes parentis bellicas, annos aui
medios precabar, uota destituit deus.
Iliaca non tu sceptra regali potens
gestabis aula, iura nec populis dabis
uictasque gentes sub tuum mittes iugum,
non Graia caedes terga, non Pyrrhum trahes;
non arma tenera parua tractabis manu
sparsasque passim saltibus latis feras
audax sequeris nec stato lustri die,
sollemne referens Troici lusus sacrum,
puer citatas nobilis turmas ages;
non inter aras mobili uelox pede,
reuocante flexo concitos cornu modos,
barbarica prisco templa saltatu coles.
o morte dira tristius leti genus!
flebilius aliquid Hectoris magni nece
muri uidebunt.
VL. Rumpe iam fletus, parens:
magnus sibi ipse non facit finem dolor.

AN. Lacrimis, Vlixe, parua quam petimus mora est;
concede paucas, ut mea condam manu
uiuentis oculos. occidis paruus quidem,
sed iam timendus. Troia te expectat tua:
i, uade liber, liberos Troas uide.
ASTYANAX Miserere, mater.
AN. Quid meos retines sinus
manusque matris cassa praesidia occupas?
fremitu leonis qualis audito tener
timidum iuuencus applicat matri latus,
at ille saeuus matre summota leo
praedam minorem morsibus uastis premens
frangit uehitque: talis e nostro sinu
te rapiet hostis. oscula et fletus, puer,
lacerosque crines excipe et plenus mei
occurre patri; pauca maternae tamen
perfer querela uerba: 'si manes habent
curas priores nec perit flammis amor,
seruire Graio pateris Andromachen uiro,
crudelis Hector? lentus et segnis iaces?
redit Achilles.' Sume nunc iterum comas
et sume lacrimas, quidquid e misero uiri
funere relictum est, sume quae reddas tuo
oscula parenti. matris hanc solacio
relinque uestem: tumulus hanc tetigit meus
manesque cari. si quid cineris latet,
scrutabor ore.
VL. Nullus est flendi modus:
abripite propere classis Argolicae moram.

CHORVS

Quae uocat sedes habitanda captas?
Thessali montes et opaca Tempe, 815
an maris uasti domitrix Iolcos? 819
urbibus centum spatiosa Crete? 820
parua Gyrtone sterilisque Tricce,
an frequens riuis leuibus Mothone? 822
an uiros tellus dare militares 816
aptior Pthie meliorque fetu
fortis armenti lapidosa Trachin, 818
quae sub Oetaeis latebrosa siluis 823
misit infestos Troiae ruinis
non semel arcus? 825

Olenos tectis habitata raris,
uirgini Pleuron inimica diuae,
an maris lati sinuosa Troezen?
Pelion regnum Prothoi superbum,
tertius caelo gradus? (hic recumbens
montis exesi spatiosus antro
iam trucis Chiron pueri magister,
tinnulas plectro feriente chordas,
tunc quoque ingentes acuebat iras
    bella canendo.)

An ferax uarii lapidis Carystos,
an premens litus maris inquieti
semper Euripo properante Chalcis?
quolibet uento faciles Calydnae,
an carens numquam Gonoessa uento
quaeque formidat Borean Enispe?
Attica pendens Peparethos ora,
an sacris gaudens tacitis Eleusin?
numquid Aiacis Salamina ueri
aut fera notam Calydona saeua,
quasque perfundit subiturus aequor
segnibus terras Titaressos undis?
Bessan et Scarphen, Pylon an senilem?
Pharin an Pisas Iouis et coronis
    Elida claram?

Quolibet tristis miseras procella
mittat et donet cuicumque terrae,
dum luem tantam Troiae atque Achiuis
quae tulit, Sparte, procul absit, absit
Argos et saeui Pelopis Mycenae,
Neritos parua breuior Zacyntho
et nocens saxis Ithace dolosis.

Quod manet fatum dominusque quis te,
aut quibus terris, Hecabe, uidendam
ducet? in cuius moriere regno?

HELENA - ANDROMACHA - HECVBA - POLYXENA (tacita)

HELENA Quicumque hymen funestus, inlaetabilis
lamenta caedes sanguinem gemitus habet,
est auspice Helena dignus. euersis quoque
nocere cogor Phrygibus: ego Pyrrhi toros
narrare falsos iubeor, ego cultus dare
habitusque Graios. arte capietur mea
meaque fraude concidet Paridis soror.
fallatur; ipsi leuius hoc equidem reor:
optanda mors est sine metu mortis mori.
quid iussa cessas agere? ad auctorem redit
sceleris coacti culpa. — Dardaniae domus
generosa uirgo, melior afflictos deus
respicere coepit teque felici parat
dotare thalamo; tale coniugium tibi
non ipsa sospes Troia, non Priamus daret.
nam te Pelasgae maximum gentis decus
ad sancta lecti iura legitimi petit,
cui regna campi lata Thessalici patent.
te magna Tethys teque tot pelagi deae
placidumque numen aequoris tumidi Thetis
suam uocabunt, te datam Pyrrho socer
Peleus nurum uocabit et Nereus nurum.
depone cultus squalidos, festos cape,
dedisce captam; deprime horrentis comas
crinemque docta patere distingui manu.
hic forsitan te casus excelso magis
solio reponet. profuit multis capi.

ANDROMACHA Hoc derat unum Phrygibus euersis malum,
gaudere — flagrant strata passim Pergama:
o coniugale tempus! an quisquam audeat
negare? quisquam dubius ad thalamos eat,
quos Helena suadet? pestis exitium lues
utriusque populi, cernis hos tumulos ducum
et nuda totis ossa quae passim iacent
inhumata campis? haec hymen sparsit tuus.
tibi fluxit Asiae, fluxit Europae cruor,
cum dimicantes lenta prospiceres uiros,
incerta uoti — perge, thalamos appara.
taedis quid opus est quidue sollemni face?
quid igne? thalamis Troia praelucet nouis.
celebrate Pyrrhi, Troades, conubia,
celebrate digne: planctus et gemitus sonet.

HEL. Ratione quamuis careat et flecti neget
magnus dolor sociosque nonnumquam sui
maeroris ipsos oderit, causam tamen
possum tueri iudice infesto meam,
grauiora passa. luget Andromacha Hectorem
et Hecuba Priamum: solus occulte Paris
lugendus Helenae est. durum et inuisum et graue est
seruitia ferre? patior hoc olim iugum,
annis decem captiua. prostratum Ilium est,
uersi penates? perdere est patriam graue,
grauius timere. uos leuat tantus mali
comitatus: in me uictor et uictus furit.
quam quisque famulam traheret incerto diu
casu pependit. me meus traxit statim
sine sorte dominus. causa bellorum fui
tantaeque Teucris cladis? hoc uerum puta,
Spartana puppis uestra si secuit freta;
sin rapta Phrygiis praeda remigibus fui
deditque donum iudici uictrix dea,
ignosce Paridi: iudicem iratum mea
habitura causa est: ista Menelaum manent
arbitria. Nunc hanc luctibus paulum tuis,
Andromacha, omissis flecte — uix lacrimas queo
retinere.

AN. Quantum est Helena quod lacrimat malum!
cur lacrimat autem? fare quos Ithacus dolos,
quae scelera nectat; utrum ab Idaeis iugis
iactanda uirgo est, arcis an celsae edito
mittenda saxo? num per has uastum in mare
uoluenda rupes, latere quas scisso leuat
altum uadoso Sigeon spectans sinu?
dic, fare, quidquid subdolo uultu tegis.
leuiora mala sunt cuncta, quam Priami gener
Hecubaeque Pyrrhus. fare, quam poenam pares
exprome et unum hoc deme nostris cladibus,
falli: paratas perpeti mortem uides.

HEL. Vtinam iuberet me quoque interpres deum
abrumpere ense lucis inuisae moras
uel Achillis ante busta furibunda manu
occidere Pyrrhi, fata comitantem tua,
Polyxene miseranda, quam tradi sibi
cineremque Achilles ante mactari suum,
campo maritus ut sit Elysio, iubet.

AN. Vide ut animus ingens laetus audierit necem.
cultus decoros regiae uestis petit

et admoueri crinibus patitur manum:
mortem putabat illud, hoc thalamos putat.
At misera luctu mater audito stupet;
labefacta mens succubuit — assurge, alleua
animum et cadentem, misera, firma spiritum.
quam tenuis anima uinculo pendet leui:
minimum est quod Hecubam facere felicem potest —
spirat, reuixit. prima mors miseros fugit.

HECVBA Adhuc Achilles uiuit in poenas Phrygum?
adhuc rebellat? o manum Paridis leuem.
cinis ipse nostrum sanguinem ac tumulus sitit.
modo turba felix latera cingebat mea,
lassabar in tot oscula et tantum gregem
diuidere matrem; sola nunc haec est super,
uotum, comes, leuamen afflictae, quies;
haec totus Hecubae fetus, hac sola uocor
iam uoce mater. dura et infelix age
elabere anima, denique hoc unum mihi
remitte funus — inrigat fletus genas
imberque uicto subitus e uultu cadit:
laetare, gaude, nata. quam uellet tuos
Cassandra thalamos, uellet Andromache tuos!
AN. Nos, Hecuba, nos, nos, Hecuba, lugendae sumus,
quas mota classis huc et huc sparsas feret;
hanc cara tellus sedibus patriis teget.
HEL. Magis inuidebis, si tuam sortem scies.
AN. An aliqua poenae pars meae ignota est mihi?
HEL. Versata dominos urna captiuos dedit.
AN. Cui famula trador? ede: quem dominum uoco?
HEL. Te sorte prima Scyrius iuuenis tulit.
AN. Cassandra felix, quam furor sorti eximit
Phoebusque.
HEL. Regum hanc maximus rector tenet.
HEC. Estne aliquis, Hecubam qui suam dici uelit?
HEL. Ithaco obtigisti praeda nolenti breuis.
HEC. Quis tam impotens ac durus et iniquae ferus
sortitor urnae regibus reges dedit?
quis tam sinister diuidit captas deus?
quis arbiter crudelis et miseris grauis
eligere dominos nescit et saeua manu
dat iniqua miseris fata? quis matrem Hectoris
armis Achillis miscet? ad Vlixem uocor:
nunc uicta, nunc captiua, nunc cunctis mihi
obsessa uideor cladibus: domini pudet,

non seruitutis. Hectoris spolium feret
qui tulit Achillis? sterilis et saeuis fretis
inclusa tellus non capit tumulos meos.
Duc, duc, Vlixe, nil moror, dominum sequor;
me mea sequentur fata (non pelago quies
tranquilla ueniet, saeuiet uentis mare)
et bella et ignes et mea et Priami mala.
dumque ista ueniant, interim hoc poenae loco est:
sortem occupaui, praemium eripui tibi.
Sed incitato Pyrrhus accurrit gradu
uultuque toruo. Pyrrhe, quid cessas? age
reclude ferro pectus et Achillis tui
coniunge soceros. perge, mactator senum,
et hic decet te sanguis — abreptam trahit.
maculate superos caede funesta deos,
maculate manes — quid precer uobis? precor
his digna sacris aequora: hoc classi accidat
toti Pelasgae, ratibus hoc mille accidat
meae precabor, cum uehar, quidquid rati.

CHORVS

Dulce maerenti populus dolentum,
dulce lamentis resonare gentes;
lenius luctus lacrimaeque mordent,
turba quas fletu similis frequentat.
semper a semper dolor est malignus:
gaudet in multos sua fata mitti
seque non solum placuisse poenae.
ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes
nemo recusat.

Nemo se credet miserum, licet sit:
tolle felices; remouete multo
diuites auro, remouete centum
rura qui scindunt opulenta bubus:
pauperi surgent animi iacentes.
est miser nemo nisi comparatus.

Dulce in immensis posito ruinis,
neminem laetos habuisse uultus:
ille deplorat queriturque fatum,
qui secans fluctum rate singulari

nudus in portus cecidit petitos;
aequior casum tulit et procellas,
mille qui ponto pariter carinas
obrui uidit tabulaque litus
naufraga, terris mare dum coactis
fluctibus Corus prohibet, reuertit.

Questus est Hellen cecidisse Phrixus,
cum gregis ductor radiante uillo
aureo fratrem simul ac sororem
sustulit tergo medioque iactum
fecit in ponto; tenuit querelas
et uir et Pyrrha, mare cum uiderent,
et nihil praeter mare cum uiderent
unici terris homines relicti.

Soluet hunc coetum lacrimasque nostras
sparget huc illuc agitata classis
et tuba iussi dare uela nautae,
cum simul uentis properante remo
prenderint altum fugietque litus.
quis status mentis miseris, ubi omnis
terra decrescet pelagusque crescet,
celsa cum longe latitabit Ide?
tum puer matri genetrixque nato
Troia qua iaceat regione monstrans
dicet et longe digito notabit:
'Ilium est illic, ubi fumus alte
serpit in caelum nebulaeque turpes.'
Troes hoc signo patriam uidebunt.

NVNTIVS - HECVBA - ANDROMACHA

NVNTIVS O dura fata, saeua miseranda horrida!
quod tam ferum, tam triste bis quinis scelus
Mars uidit annis? quid prius referens gemam,
tuosne potius, an tuos luctus, anus?
HEC. Quoscumque luctus fleueris, flebis meos:
sua quemque tantum, me omnium clades premit;
mihi cuncta pereunt: quisquis est Hecubae est miser.
NVN. Mactata uirgo est, missus e muris puer;
sed uterque letum mente generosa tulit.
AN. Expone seriem caedis, et duplex nefas
persequere: gaudet magnus aerumnas dolor
tractare totas. ede et enarra omnia.
NVN. Est una magna turris e Troia super,
assueta Priamo, cuius e fastigio
summisque pinnis arbiter belli sedens
regebat acies. turre in hac blando sinu
fouens nepotem, cum metu uersos graui
Danaos fugaret Hector et ferro et face,
paterna puero bella monstrabat senex.
haec nota quondam turris et muri decus,
nunc saeua cautes, undique adfusa ducum
plebisque turba cingitur; totum coit
ratibus relictis uulgus. his collis procul
aciem patenti liberam praebet loco,
his alta rupes, cuius in cacumine
erecta summos turba librauit pedes.
hunc pinus, illum laurus, hunc fagus gerit
et tota populo silua suspenso tremit.
extrema montis ille praerupti petit,
semusta at ille tecta uel saxum imminens
muri cadentis pressit, atque aliquis (nefas)
tumulo ferus spectator Hectoreo sedet.
Per spatia late plena sublimi gradu
incedit Ithacus paruulum dextra trahens
Priami nepotem, nec gradu segni puer
ad alta pergit moenia. ut summa stetit
pro turre, uultus huc et huc acres tulit
intrepidus animo. qualis ingentis ferae
paruus tenerque fetus et nondum potens
saeuire dente iam tamen tollit minas
morsusque inanes temptat atque animis tumet:
sic ille dextra prensus hostili puer
ferox superbe mouerat uulgum ac duces

ipsumque Vlixem. non flet e turba omnium
qui fletur; ac, dum uerba fatidici et preces
concipit Vlixes uatis et saeuos ciet
ad sacra superos, sponte desiluit sua
in media Priami regna. —
AN. Quis Colchus hoc, quis sedis incertae Scytha
commisit, aut quae Caspium tangens mare
gens iuris expers ausa? non Busiridis
puerilis aras sanguis aspersit feri,
nec parua gregibus membra Diomedes suis
epulanda posuit. quis tuos artus teget
tumuloque tradet?
NVN. Quos enim praeceps locus
reliquit artus? ossa disiecta et graui
elisa casu; signa clari corporis,
et ora et illas nobiles patris notas,
confudit imam pondus ad terram datum;
soluta ceruix silicis impulsu, caput
ruptum cerebro penitus expresso — iacet
deforme corpus.
AN. Sic quoque est similis patri.
NVN. Praeceps ut altis cecidit e muris puer
fleuitque Achiuum turba quod fecit nefas,
idem ille populus aliud ad facinus redit
tumulumque Achillis. cuius extremum latus
Rhoetea leni uerberant fluctu uada;
aduersa cingit campus et cliuo leui
erecta medium uallis includens locum
crescit theatri more. concursus frequens
impleuit omne litus: hi classis moras
hac morte solui rentur, hi stirpem hostium
gaudent recidi. magna pars uulgi leuis
odit scelus spectatque; nec Troes minus
suum frequentant funus et pauidi metu
partem ruentis ultimam Troiae uident:
cum subito thalami more praecedunt faces
et pronuba illi Tyndaris, maestum caput
demissa. 'tali nubat Hermione modo'
Phryges precantur, 'sic uiro turpis suo
reddatur Helena.' terror attonitos tenet
utrosque populos. ipsa deiectos gerit
uultus pudore, sed tamen fulgent genae
magisque solito splendet extremus decor,
ut esse Phoebi dulcius lumen solet
iamiam cadentis, astra cum repetunt uices
premiturque dubius nocte uicina dies.

stupet omne uulgus [et fere cuncti magis
peritura laudant]: hos mouet formae decus,
hos mollis aetas, hos uagae rerum uices;
mouet animus omnes fortis et leto obuius.
Pyrrhum antecedit; omnium mentes tremunt,
mirantur ac miserantur. Vt primum ardui
sublime montis tetigit, atque alte editus
iuuenis paterni uertice in busti stetit,
audax uirago non tulit retro gradum;
conuersa ad ictum stat truci uultu ferox.
tam fortis animus omnium mentes ferit,
nouumque monstrum est Pyrrhus ad caedem piger.
ut dextra ferrum penitus exactum abdidit,
subitus recepta morte prorupit cruor
per uulnus ingens. nec tamen moriens adhuc
deponit animos: cecidit, ut Achilli grauem
factura terram, prona et irato impetu.
uterque fleuit coetus; at timidum Phryges
misere gemitum, clarius uictor gemit.
hic ordo sacri. non stetit fusus cruor
humoue summa fluxit: obduxit statim
saeuusque totum sanguinem tumulus bibit.

HEC. Ite, ite, Danai, petite iam tuti domos;
optata uelis maria diffusis secet
secura classis: concidit uirgo ac puer;
bellum peractum est. quo meas lacrimas feram?
ubi hanc anilis expuam leti moram?
natam an nepotem, coniugem an patriam fleam?
an omnia an me? sola mors uotum meum,
infantibus, uiolenta, uirginibus uenis,
ubique properas, saeua: me solam times
uitasque, gladios inter ac tela et faces
quaesita tota nocte, cupientem fugis.
non hostis aut ruina, non ignis meos
absumpsit artus: quam prope a Priamo steti.

NVN. Repetite celeri maria, captiuae, gradu:
iam uela puppis laxat et classis mouet.

COMMENTARY

ABBREVIATIONS
FOR WORKS OF REFERENCE

ALL	*Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, E. Wolfflin (ed.), Leipzig 1894 -1909.
H-Sz	Hofmann, J.B. - Szantyr, Anton, Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik, München 1965 (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Zweite Abteilung, Zweiter Teil, Zweiter Band).
K-S	Kühner, Raphael - Stegmann, Carl, Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre (1. Syntaxe des einfachen Satzes, 2. Syntaxe des zusammengesetzten Satzes oder Lehre von der Satzverbindung), Darmstadt 1966 (Nachdruck der 2., neubearbeiteten Auflage, Hannover 1912, mit den Zusätzen und Berichtigungen zur 3. Auflage 1955 und den Berichtigungen zur 4. Auflage 1962 von Andreas Thierfelder).
LS	Lewis, Charlton T. - Short, Charles, A Latin Dictionary (founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1958 (first edition 1879).
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George - Scott, Robert - Stuart Jones, Henry - McKenzie, Roderick, A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford ^{9}1940, repr. 1953 (first edition published 1843).
N-W	Neue, Friedrich - Wagener, C., Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache. Band I: Das Substantivum, Leipzig ^{3}1902. Band II: Adjectiva, Numeralia, Pronomina, Adverbia, Präpositionen, Konjunktionen, Interjektionen, Berlin ^{3}1892. Band III: Das Verbum, Berlin ^{3}1897. Band IV: Register mit Zusätzen u. Verbesserungen, Leipzig ^{3}1905.
OCD	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by Simon Hornblower - Antony Spawforth, Oxford 1996 (third edition; first published 1949).
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, edited by P.G.W. Glare, Oxford 1992 (combined edition first published 1982).
RE	*Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, A. Pauly - G. Wissowa - W. Kroll (ed.), Stuttgart 1893 - 1980.
ThLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig 1900 - .

ACT I (1-163)

Prologue (1-66). An aged woman mourns over the misfortunes that have befallen on her and Troy. She does not mention her name until 36, but the allusion to her former high position makes her identity clear from the very beginning: it is queen Hecuba. Her city, once the proud bulwark of Asia Minor, lies aflame and smoking. No one better than Hecuba could lead us into this atmosphere of death and destruction: she has lost her husband, many of her children, her royalty, her freedom, and she is going to lose another daughter and a grandson. She does not tell exactly where she is (but the nearness of Troy is felt from the apostrophe in 4 and made vivid by *en* in 15), nor why she and the other Trojan women appear on the stage. She is there, acting as a symbol of the changes of fate, opening the play with her lament that we shall also hear at the end. *Formas dolor errat per omnes* (*H.O.* 252-3) is the motto applied to Seneca's tragedies by Otto Regenbogen. Grief certainly is predominant in this play and Hecuba is the perfect character to embody the *dolor*.

Euripides follows a different line in the prologue of his two plays that deal with the aftermath of the Trojan War. In his *Hecuba*, he combines two themes: the offering of Polyxena to the shade of Achilles, and the punishment of the Thracian king Polymestor, who had treacherously killed Polydorus, the youngest Trojan prince. It is Polydorus' shade who informs the audience of the events that have taken place, whereafter he gives the floor to Hecuba (52 ff.). In the prologue of his *Troades*, in which he handles the killing of Astyanax, we meet again someone less closely connected with the contents of the play: Poseidon. The god is about to leave the city whose walls he had built and describes its capture and destruction. Some of the captive women have already been assigned by lot to their new masters, but others are kept apart for the chieftains. He then calls attention to Hecuba, 'lying in front of the entrance, weeping many tears for many people and many reasons' (37-8, transl. Barlow). But not before 98 (after a dialogue between Poseidon and Pallas Athena) does she start her lament.

Hecuba's prologue resembles the one spoken by another female character in Senecan tragedy: Medea. She too is found at the very beginning of the play that bears her name. Her prayer for assistance to various gods, a passionate cry for vengeance, also brings the audience *in medias res*: Seneca presupposes familiarity with the Greek heritage.

[On the prologue see F. Frenzel (1914) 15, 22 f., 85 ff.; N.T. Pratt (1935) xxxiii; W. Steidle (1941) 276; F. Stoessl (1959) 2418; K. Anliker (1960) 19 ff.; W.M. Calder III (1970) 77 ff.; W. Schetter (1972) 230 ff.; K. Heldmann (1974) 65; V. Wurnig (1982) 113 ff.; E. Fantham (1982) 203 ff.]

1-6a *Hecuba urges all powerful, unconcerned kings to look at her and Troy: Fortune never on such a scale has demonstrated the fragile position of human pride.*

The perils and transitoriness of high position are a familiar theme in Senecan tragedy, in this play recurring at 259-63. Elaborately they are stated in the first ode of *Agamemnon* (e.g. 57-60 *o regnorum magnis fallax / Fortuna bonis, / in praecipiti dubioque locas / excelsa nimis*), concisely by the chorus in *Thy.* 391-2 *stet quicumque uolet potens / aulae culmine lubrico.* In another prologue, they are worded by Oedipus (again a leading character embodying from the outset the gloomy atmosphere of the play) *quisquamne regno gaudet? o fallax bonum, / quantum malorum fronte quam blanda tegis! / ut alta uentos semper excipiunt iuga / rupemque saxis uasta dirimentem freta / quamuis quieti uerberat fluctus maris, / imperia sic excelsa Fortunae obiacent* (*Oed.* 6-11). Other instances are found at *Thy.* 596-622, *Phae.* 1123-43. In *Oct.* 377-80, we meet Seneca himself on the stage, complaining *quid, impotens Fortuna, fallaci mihi / blandita uultu, sorte contentum mea / alte extulisti, grauius ut ruerem edita / receptus arce totque prospicerem metus?* Reading Tacitus' penetrative description of life under Nero, we cannot be surprised to hear Seneca repeat this theme in his prose as well: e.g. *Ep.* 9.12 *uarietate fortunae perterritus*, 94.73 *nam quae aliis excelsa uidentur ipsis praerupta sunt. itaque exanimantur et trepidant quotiens despexerunt in illud magnitudinis suae praeceps; cogitant enim uarios casus et in sublimi maxime lubricos*, *Dial.* 6.10.6, 9.10.5 [see B. Seidensticker, *Die Gesprächsverdichtung in den Tragödien Senecas*, Heidelberg 1969, 113, 137; A.L. Motto, *Guide to the thought of Lucius Annaeus Seneca,* Amsterdam 1970, 47].

An early instance of this theme in Latin literature is presented by Enn. *Ann.* 312-3 Skutsch (= 312-3 Vahlen^2) *mortalem summum Fortuna repente / reddidit e summo regno ut famul infimus esset.* It is worded again by Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.12-4 *ualet ima summis / mutare et insignem attenuat deus / obscura premens.* In the *Carmina Burana*, we also find some poems on this subject (see on 2 *leues*).

The chorus in *Agamemnon* after the summarizing *quidquid in altum Fortuna tulit, / ruitura leuat* (101-2) concludes: *modicis rebus longius aeuum est: / felix mediae quisquis turbae / sorte quietus / aura stringit litora tuta / timidusque mari credere cumbam / remo terras propiore legit.* The chorus in *Thyestes* rounds off with lines (393-403) that for me belong to the finest of Seneca's: *me dulcis saturet quies; / obscuro positus loco / leni perfruar otio, / nullis nota Quiritibus / aetas per tacitum fluat. / sic cum transierint mei / nullo cum strepitu dies, / plebeius moriar senex. / illi mors grauis incubat / qui, notus nimis omnibus, / ignotus moritur sibi.*

[On the *locus de Fortuna* as a rhetorical theme, see e.g. R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma (1949) on Verg. *Cat.* 3; R.G.M. Nisbet & M. Hubbard (1970) on Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.12; H.V. Levy (1971) on Claud. *Ruf.* 2.440-1 (quoted on 2 *leues*); R.J. Tarrant (1976) on *Ag.* 57-107; M. Billerbeck (1999) on *H.F.* 325-28]

1 quicumque: 'whoever'. A comparable generalizing opening is found in *Med.* 978-9 (Jason's entrance) *quicumque regum cladibus fidus doles, / concurre*; in a warning to kings the word is likewise used by Theseus at *H.F.* 745-6 *sanguine humano abstine / quicumque regnas.* The adjectival use of the word also occurs in this play, affording similar conspicuous openings at 861 and 1060. Of the non-Senecan plays in the *corpus*, *Octavia* has one such opening: 780-1 (Nuntius) *quicumque tectis excubat miles ducis, / defendat aulam*; in *Hercules Oetaeus*, Deianira shows a definite liking for it: 256-7 (her entrance) *quamcumque partem sedis aetheriae premis, / coniunx Tonantis*, 887-8 *quicumque fato ignoscit et parcit sibi, / errare meruit: morte damnari placet*, 896, 902, 929. For an instance in Neo-Latin tragedy, see Grotius' *Christus Patiens* 518-9 (Iudas at the beginning of Act III) *quicunque puras scelere seruatis manus / me fugite longe.*

Seneca's opening lines reflect the same mood as Hecuba's words at Eur. *Tro.* 1203-6 (transl. Way)

> A fool is he, who, in prosperity
> Secure, rejoices: fortune, in her moods,
> Like some wild maniac, hither now, now thither,
> Leaps, and none prospers ever without change.

regno fidit: 'puts his trust in royal power'; cf. *Med.* 221-2 (Medea to Creon) *confide regnis, cum leuis magnas opes / huc ferat et illuc casus*, and the variation *Thy.* 424-5 (Thyestes asking himself) *rebus incertissimis, / fratri atque regno, credis ... ?* Hecuba's words are echoed at the end of Ausonius' epitaph of the queen, *Epit.* 25.5-6 *fidite ne regnis et prole et stirpe parentum / quicumque hoc nostrum σῆμα κυνός legitis.* With some 175 occurrences, *regnum* is a key substantive in Senecan tragedy. *Fidere* is construed with the abl. or (more often) the dat. (K-S 1.399 f.); in Sen. trag. only *Oed.* 24 *parum ipse fidens mihimet* is unambiguous.

magna potens: emphatic juxtaposition of words (especially adjectives) of kindred meaning which bear various relations to each other, particularly that of cause and effect or the reverse, is often found in Seneca's tragedies. H.V. Canter, *Rhetorical Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca*, Urbana 1925, 173 lists from this play: 34 *lymphato furens*, 185 *uiolento furens*, 188 *superbo uictor*, 225 *fecunda pingui*, 237 *magni clara* (E, *clara magni* A), 315 *pauidus metu*, 478 *pollens opibus*, 695 *celsum altius*, 1148 *ardui sublime.*

magna potens / dominatur aula: for the combination and order of words, cf. *Thy.* 1077-8 *aetheriae potens / dominator aulae*, *Tro.* 771-2 *sceptra regali potens / gestabis aula*, *Oct.* 432 *dominatur potens.* As for the enjambment placing, see my note on 158 *tutis* [an extensive list of occurrences is given by Brigitte Seidler, *Studien zur Wortstellung in den Tragödien Senecas*, Diss. Wien 1955 (man.), 97-101].

2 **dominatur aula:** for the local ablative without *in*, cf. *Phae.* 185 *potensque tota mente dominatur deus*, *H.O.* 1590 *nulla dominetur aula*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.766 *unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba*, 7.70 *summa dominarier arce*. As a symbol of wealth and power, *aula* is used in a similar context at *Thy.* 391-2 (quoted on 1-6a), *Oct.* 34-5 *fulgore primo captus et fragili bono / fallacis aulae*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.5-8 *auream quisquis mediocritatem / diligit, tutus caret obsoleti / sordibus tecti, caret inuidenda / sobrius aula*. Matthew Gwinne in his *Nero* (1603) characterizes *aula* as follows (sig. E 9v. - E 10r.):

Est aula ludus; ludit, illudit: uide.
Est aula Siren; cantat, incantat: time.
Est aula cauea; claudit, includit: caue.
Est aula hyaena; comprimit, perimit: fuge.

[J.W. Binns, 'Seneca and Neo-Latin Tragedy in England', in C.D.N. Costa (ed.), *Seneca*, London and Boston 1974, 223].

nec: the preference of Sen. trag. for *nec* over *neque* (found only at *Oed.* 381 *neque ista*) is in line with the former's preponderance in later popular language [E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, I^2. Lund 1942, 331 ff. esp. 338: "In diesem Punkt gehen offenbar die Dichtersprache und die lebendige Sprache Hand in Hand"; on the use of *nec/neque* see also B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, Lund 1945, 116-118; H-Sz 451 f.; van Dam on Stat. *Silu.* 2.3.27].

leues ... deos: Caviglia, stressing the resemblance to the Euripidean prologue, thinks that "Seneca ha certo in mente il dialogo euripideo tra Posidone e Atena che svogliatamente parlavano dei regni umani predisponendo sconcertanti rovesciamenti di alleanza" (*Introd.* 25); Boyle also suggests that this may be a specific reference to them. With Gronovius, who compares Claud. *Ruf.* 2.440-1 *desinat elatis quisquam confidere rebus / instabilesque deos et lubrica numina discat*, and paraphrases "*Dii leves* fortuna inconstans et mutabilis", I rather take *deos* in a general sense: cf. below 262 *deos*, varied by 259 *Fortuna*, 273 *casus*, 275 *Fortuna*. Sen. trag. once more styles the gods *leues* ('fickle', *OLD* 15) at *Ag.* 605, where Tarrant compares *Ag.* 930 *dubios deos* and *Anth. Lat.* 415.17 [*spes*] *omnia promittit nota leuitate deorum*. Elsewhere he applies the adj. to *casus* (*Med.* 222) and to *fortuna* (*Med.* 219; cf. *Oct.* 452 *leuis est dea*, *Thy.* 617-8 *prohibetque Clotho / stare Fortunam*), which is also epithetized *dubia* (*Med.* 287 [*regnorum status*] *Fortuna uaria dubia quos agitat uice*), *velox* (*Phae.* 1142-3 *nec ulli praestat uelox / Fortuna fidem*), and *fallax* (*Ag.* 57); cf. *Oct.* 198 (Cupido) *leuis fallaxque...deus* [*ThLL* VII 2.1209.2 ff.].

On the *leuitas fortunae* (*Dial.* 11.9.4), cf. e.g. Publ. Syr. *Sent.* 295 *leuis est Fortuna: cito reposcit, quod dedit.* Later on, it is one of the main themes in the *Carmina Burana*, occurring e.g. 18.I *o Fortuna levis! cui vis das munera que vis,/ et cui vis que vis auferet hora brevis*, 18.II *passibus ambiguis Fortuna volubilis errat / et manet in nullo certa tenaxque loco; /*

sed modo leta manet, modo vultus sumit acerbos, / et tantum constans in levitate manet (after Ov. *Tr.* 5.8.18 *et tantum constans in leuitate sua est*), 17.1-3 *o Fortuna, / velut luna / statu variabilis* (Carl Orff's opening song) [*'Leues dei* in the *Troades'* is the significant heading A.L. Motto & J.R. Clark, *Senecan Tragedy*, Amsterdam 1988, give to the chapter on this play; see also W. Lesowsky, *Götter und göttliche Wesen in Senecas Tragödien im Lichte seiner Philosophie*, Diss. Wien 1950 (man.)].

metuit: rather present than perfect tense (Kingery's translation); like most poets, Sen. trag. avoids the perfect forms of the verb (Axelson [1945] 127, 149). He also shares their preference for forms of *timere* (in *Tro.* twenty times) over *metuere* (again 262 *deos*, 610 *auspicia*); he uses *uereri* only three times (not in *Tro.*).

3 animumque: for the sequence *nec...que*, 'and (on the one hand) not ... but (on the other hand)', cf. e.g. *H.F.* 70-2 *subdidit* (sc. Hercules) *mundo caput / nec flexit umeros molis immensae labor / meliusque collo sedit Herculeo polus*, Ov. *Met.* 3.524-5 *neque enim dignabere numen honore / meque sub his tenebris nimium uidisse quereris*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.91-2 *nec inulta dolebis / cognatisque utere fretis*; see K-S 2.48, quoting as first occurrence Cic. *Amic.* 104 *sed nec illa exstincta sunt aluntur que potius et augentur cogitatione.*

rebus ... laetis: 'prosperous affairs', complement of *dedit*, but by the order of words closely attached to *credulum* as well; for the dat. with *credulus* cf. e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.8 *carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.* Seneca uses the words in a comparable phrase at *Thy.* 938-9 (Thyestes) *proprium hoc miseros sequitur uitium, / numquam rebus credere laetis.* For instances in other poets, see e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 2.783, Ov. *Pont.* 4.4.15, Luc. 1.81; cf. also Sil. 17.142 *non umquam fidere laetis.* The alternative phrase *res secundae* is found below 303, *Phae.* 204 *quisquis secundis rebus exultat nimis*; cf. *Thy.* 615 *nemo confidat nimium secundis.*

credulum: just as the Trojans were 'too ready to believe' when they dragged the Wooden Horse into their city (*Ag.* 628), and just as the hope of lovers is, *Phae.* 634 *o spes amantum credula, o fallax Amor!* In Christian prose and poetry, the adjective denotes 'believing in God, faithful'; see *ThLL* IV 1152 f. s.v. *credulus* 2.

dedit: 'to devote (oneself, one's mind, body, etc., to a cause or pursuit)' (*OLD* s.v. *do* 22); cf. Pl. *Trin.* 838 *dehinc iam certumst otio dare me*, Cic. *Att.* 2.8.1 *ego me do historiae.* The paraphrase is more powerful than the simple *rebus credere laetis* in *Thy.* 939.

4 me ... te: the usual egocentric order; cf. *Med.* 513 *meque teque*, 535 *uel me uel istum*, *H.O.* 430 *meque natumque*, Cic. *Phil.* 11.34 *fuimus imperatores ego et M. Bibulus.* The emphasis that Hecuba puts on herself throughout the play is often strengthened by the conspicuous placing of the pronoun: cf. 40 *meus ignis iste est, facibus ardetis meis*, 62 *mea sors timetur*, 1060-62, 1171; likewise Hecuba at Ov. *Met.* 13.507-8 *soli mihi Pergama restant, / in cursuque meus dolor est.*

For the combination of her and Troy's fall, cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.576-7 *non uacat Aurorae ... / cladibus et casu Troiaeque Hecubaeque moueri.*

uideat: reminds of Eur. *Tro.* 36 'if anyone wishes to look on this unhappy woman'. The verb also underlines the difference between these prologues: there she is a part of a descriptive narration by Poseidon, here she directly urges the high and mighty to take a good look at her and Troy in order to realise the frailty of their own position. Hooft, *Achilles en Polyxena* (1614) 489-94 has this theme worded by Priam:

> Die door syn adel groot en scepter sich verstout,
> Die op een hooghe staet en machtich rijck betrout,
> En daerom niet en vreest dat 's hemels Goden waerdich
> Ghelijck de menschen zijn, verkeerd'lijck en lichtvaerdich,
> Maer stelt syn gheest gherust in voorspoet en gheluck,
> Die spieghel sich aen my in dit bedroefde stuck.

Cf. also Vondel, *Hierusalem verwoest* (1620) 595 ff. [J.A. Worp, *De invloed van Seneca's treurspelen op ons tooneel*, Amsterdam 1892, repr. Utrecht 1977, 93; 199]

non umquam: this emphatical opening of a statement occurs once more in Sen. trag., likewise after the hephthemimeres, in *Phae.* 219-21 *non umquam amplius / conuexa tetigit supera qui mersus semel / adiit silentem nocte perpetua domum*; in a choral song it is found at *H.O.* 1527 *unde non umquam remeabit ille.* The combination (in all 38x in poetry) occurs for the first time in Catullus 23.23 (W.D. Lebek, *Verba Prisca*, Göttingen 1970, 131, n. 55), and likewise occasionally in Vergil (*Aen.* 2.247, *Ecl.* 1.35), Horace (*Sat.* 1.1.97, 1.6.14), and other poets. For a late instance, see Reposianus (3rd cent.), *De concubitu Martis et Veneris* 1 *discite securos non umquam credere amores.* In prose, its use is confined to Livy 2.9.5, 9.37.2, and [Quint.] *Decl.* 16.11.5. *Haud umquam* (27x in poetry, 10x in prose) also occurs twice in the *corpus*: *H.F.* 678-9 *gradumque retro flectere haut umquam sinunt / umbrae tenaces*, *Oct.* 100-1 *toleranda quamuis patiar, haud umquam queant / nisi morte tristi nostra finiri mala* (note the similar placing).

5 documenta: Var. *L.L.* 6.62 *documenta, quae exempla docendi causa dicuntur*; 'proof' (Miller, Watling, Ahl, Boyle), 'Beweise' (Thomann), 'demonstration' (Fantham), but with the connotation of 'warnings' (Kingery). Cf. *OLD* s.v.: 'an example (serving as a precedent, warning, instruction, etc.)', and the various meanings of the word *exemplum*. It is mainly a prose word, occurring e.g. *Dial.* 3. 6.4 *ut documentum omnium sint* (sc. *damnati*), Caes. *Gal.* 7.4.10 *singulis effossis oculis domum remittit, ut sint reliquis documento*, Liv. 1.28.6, 5.51.8; in poetry it is already found in Pl. *Capt.* 752-3 *ego illis captiuis aliis documentum dabo, / ne tale quisquam facinus incipere audeat.* For the combination with *dare*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.579-80 (Pentheus to Acoetes) *o periture tuaque aliis documenta dature / morte*, and (like here with an ind. question) 1.415 *et documenta*

damus qua simus origine nati. As Anliker notes, Hecuba's sorrow is intensified by her realizing the exemplary character of her misfortune (K. Anliker, *Prologe und Akteinteilung in Senecas Tragödien*, Bern 1960, 21).

fors: cf. *H.F.* 354 *temptemus igitur, fors dedit nobis locum*. 'Chance' is also found personified (*Phoen*. 631-2 *et spes et metus / Fors caeca uersat*) and worshipped as a goddess, esp. in combination with *Fortuna*, for instance at Ter. *Ph*. 841 *o Fortuna, o Fors Fortuna*, Liv. 27.11.3 *intus in cella aedis Fortis Fortunae* (at Sen. *Dial*. 10.7.9 *de cetero fors fortuna, ut uolet, ordinet*, cited by *OLD* s.v. 1c, it is a conjecture; *foro* AR). She had an old temple in Trastevere, dedicated by Servius Tullius; in 293 B.C. the consul Sp. Carvilius had built a second one nearby (Liv. 10.46.14). In classical times she was identified with Tyche. In the native cult, however, she most likely was not a deity of chance or luck, but rather the 'bringer' of fertility or increase (for the derivation of ther name from *ferre*, cf. my note on 735 *Fortuna ferat*) [*OCD* s.v. *Fortuna* or *Fors*; Kurt Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München 1960, 179 f.]. Nonius 425.6 words the difference *fors est casus temporalis, Fortuna dea ipsa est*.

fragili: in its literal sense 'easily broken', the adj. occurs in *Med*. 302 *rate tam fragili*, picturing (like Hor. *Carm*. 1.3.10-2 *qui fragilem truci / commisit pelago ratem / primus*) the first vessel on which someone brave dared to cross the sea. Hence it is used with substantives like *res humanae* (Cic. *Amic*. 102), *diuitiarum et formae gloria* (Sal. *Cat*. 1.4), *fauor* (*Phae*. 489), *bonum* (i.e. *forma*, *Phae*. 774, Ov. *Ars* 2.113); cf. esp. *Oct*. 34-5 *fragili bono / fallacis aulae*. More appropriate adjectives with *loco* are found at *Ag*. 58-9 *in praecipiti dubioque locas / excelsa nimis*, *Oed*. 909-10 *quidquid excessit modum / pendet instabili loco*.

6 starent: the simple thematic image of the standing of the victor (e.g. 22, 31, 188, 265) as opposed to the falling or lying of the defeated (for instance 6, 15; see the note on 54 *iacentis*) is considered by D. & E. (B. Walker) Henry, *The mask of power. Seneca's tragedies and imperial Rome*, Warminster 1985, 149 ff. "the pivot on which the play's ambiguous statement of tragic experience is made to turn", comparing as such the image of flight and pursuit in *Phaedra*.

superbi: Vergil has Aeneas apply the adj. to Troy, *Aen*. 2.556-7 (*Troiam*) *tot quondam populis terrisque superbum / regnatorem Asiae*, 3.2-3 *superbum Ilium*. For the substantival use, cf. *Phae*. 518-9 *sollicito bibunt / auro superbi*, *Ag*. 83.

For the paradigmatic character of the fall of Troy and the sad fate of Hecuba as illustrations of the fickleness of Fortuna, see Man. 1.508-10 (quoted by Fantham) *quot post excidium Troiae sunt eruta regna! / quot capti populi! quotiens fortuna per orbem / seruitium imperiumque tulit uarieque reuertit*, *Carm. Bur*. 16.3 *Fortune rota volvitur: / descendo minoratus; / alter in altum tollitur; / nimis exaltatus / rex sedet in vertice – / caveat ruinam! / nam sub axe legimus / Hecubam reginam*, 14.4.1-6 *subsidio / Fortune labilis / cur prelio / Troia tunc nobilis, / nunc flebilis / ruit incendio?*

A clear echo of these opening lines is heard in Grotius, *Christus Patiens* 303-8 (Petrus)

robori quisquis suo
spes credit altas, nec dolos animi timet
frustra placentis, perfidis sed uiribus
incumbit, huc respiciat, exemplum graue
sortis caducae, quamque sint fragili loco
humana.

6b-27 *Troy, the prop of mighty Asia, built by the gods, aided by allies from various countries, has fallen and is now the victim of fire and plundering.*

For the sharp contrast between the former glory and the present misery, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 619-23 and *Tro.* 108-9 (transl. Way)

O stately halls, O home so happy once!
O rich in fair abundance, goodliest offspring,
Priam! — and I, a grey head crowned with sons!
How are we brought to nought, of olden pride
Stripped bare!
O proud-swelling sail of a kingly line reefed now! —
how a thing but of nought thou wast!

columen: according to Donatus ad Ter. *Ph.* 287, where the slave Geta is greeted as *columen uero familiae*, the word *columen* has a double meaning of 'top' (= *culmen*) and 'pillar' (= *columna*). As an architectural term ('ridge-pole'), it is found in Vitr. 4.2.1 *sub tectis si maiora spatia sunt columen ponitur in summo fastigio culminis*, and 4.7.5. *supraque eum fastigium, columen, cantherii, templa ... sunt conlocanda.* It is used of the top of a temple (Pl. *Trin.* 85) and of the peak of a mountain (Catul. 63.71); in this literal sense, it is found in Sen. trag. at *H.F.* 1000 *columen* (A, *culmen* E) *impulsum labet*, *Thy.* 54 *ornetur altum columen.* Hence it can denote the 'keystone' or 'crown' of something; a close parallel to its use here is found in Tac. *Hist.* 4.84 (*Memphin*) *inclutam olim et ueteris Aegypti columen* (Heraeus *ad loc.*: 'die Krone, die Perle'). In another Tacitean passage, *Hist.* 2.28 *victoriae columen*, the gloss *sanitas, sustentaculum* has sneaked into the text. Here Seneca deliberately may have chosen the ambiguous word to visualize *starent* (= *columna*) *superbi* (= *culmen*). Applied to a person, it occurs below 124 *columen patriae.* On the origin and meanings of *columen*, see J. Perrot, *Les dérivés latins en -men et -mentum*, Paris 1961, 171 f., 194 f.; Elaine Fantham, *Comparative Studies in Republican Latin Imagery*, Univ. of Toronto 1972, 45 f..

euersum: the verb is used of the overthrowing of trees (e.g. Verg. *Geo.* 1.256, 2.208) as well as of the destruction of Troy (below 41, 285, *Oct.* 817, Verg. *Aen.* 2.571, 2.746, 3.1, Ov. *Met.* 13.169); applied to people, it is found below 416, 431, 863, 888. For the combination with

occidere, cf. *Ag.* 912 *euersa domus est funditus, regna occidunt.*

It is also found in a passage (34-8) in *Octauia*, that in many ways resembles the opening lines of *Troades*:

> fulgore primo captus et fragili bono
> fallacis aulae quisquis attonitus stupet,
> subito latentis ecce Fortunae impetu
> modo praepotentem cernat euersam domum
> stirpemque Claudi.

occidit: of countries, institutions, etc. (*OLD* s.v. 3b), cf. e.g. *Ag.* 912 quoted in the previous note, Verg. *Aen.* 12.828 *occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia*. For other notions of the verb, see below on 287, 382.

Of the various line-structures (see the pioneering study by E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI*, Leipzig und Berlin [3]1934, 391-404), Sen. trag. applies the framing by two verbs (Norden 392 f.) quite often: in this prologue, it occurs again 19, 55, 58, 64. For this effective placing of two contrasting verbs, cf., for instance, *Ag.* 4 *fugio Thyestes inferos, superos fugo*.

7 **pollentis:** again below 478 *arx illa pollens opibus et muris deum*, *Thy.* 190 *haec ipsa pollens incliti Pelopis domus*; there is no need of Bentley's *potentis*, based on *Ag.* 785 *potentis Asiae* (cf. Zwierlein, *Kritischer Kommentar zu den Tragödien Senecas*, Stuttgart 1986, 75). At Ov. *Met.* 13.484, Hecuba is styled *Asiae florentis imago*.

caelitum: Neptune and Apollo had built the walls of Troy for Laomedon; see for instance Hom. *Il.* 7.452-3, Pind. *Ol.* 8.31, Eur. *Tro.* 5 (according to Hom. *Il.* 21.446-9 Neptune built the walls, while Apollo tended the flocks).

Note again the difference with Euripides' prologue. There Poseidon mentions the building of the walls to show his benevolence towards Troy (4-7); here Hecuba uses a concise apposition to contrast the former height to the present ruin. Likewise the chorus in *Ag.* mourns (649-52) *quid nunc primum, dolor infelix, / quidue extremum deflere paras? / moenia, diuum fabricata manu, / diruta nostra?*

The form *caelitum* is already found in Ennius (*Hecuba*, 171 J = 196 V[2]), and Plautus (*Rud.* 2). H.D. Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius*, Cambridge 1967, 307 comments on *templa caelitum*: "It is difficult to say whether *caeles* [...] was a sacral word or a poetic creation. It is absent from classical prose. Yet its second element is not common in poetic neologisms."

egregius: 'outstanding', relatively uncommon in poetry (see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.11 *laudes egregii Caesaris*). Sen. trag. uses the adj. also at *Phoen.* 80 *unde in nefanda specimen egregium domo*, *Med.* 202 (Creo to Medea) *sed fare, causae detur egregiae locus* (*OLD* s.v. d: "sarcastic"). Statius is rather fond of it; see Dewar on *Theb.* 9.47, Mulder on 2.203.

8 cuius: (*Troia*) *ad cuius arma uenit et qui ... bibit et qui ... inmiscet freto, et quae ... ferit, excisa ferro est.* A comparable long introductory relative clause on Troy is used in *Ag.* 615-23. For the variety of Troy's allies, cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.803-4 'all about the great city of Priam are many companions, / but multitudinous is the speech of the scattered nations' (transl. Lattimore).

arma: 'military force(s), troops' (*OLD* 7); likewise below 182, *Phoen.* 526 *hinc modo recedant arma*, *Oed.* 731 *feta tellus ... effudit arma.* See Canter, p. 133 for more instances of this "thing possessed for the possessor" metonymy; *ThLL* II 600.44-601.44. Cf. the use of ὅπλα at Soph. *Ant.* 115 (LSJ s.v. 4).

et ... et ... et (8-12): polysyndeton, again below 280; in a less emphatical form it is found e.g. below 29-32, 222-7, 288-9, 449-50.

qui ... / ... bibit: throughout the first part of the prologue, Hecuba does not simply mention persons by name, but makes use of periphrasis (see Canter p. 134-136 for a list of "only the most striking examples of Seneca's usage", and some definitions, e.g. *perifrasis est circumlocutio, quae fit, ut aut breuitatem splendide describat et producat, aut foeditatem circuitu euitet, Rhet. Latin. Minor.* 614.1). Here the auxiliaries of king Rhesus of Thrace are meant, one of the most commonly mentioned allies of Troy; cf. *Ag.* 216 *non bellicoso Thressa cum Rheso phalanx* in an enumeration, including - as here - Memnon and Penthesilea too. When Aeneas has arrived at Carthage and admires the pictures of the Trojan War in the temple of Juno, all three of them are described. Of Rhesus Vergil writes (*Aen.* 1.469-73):

> nec procul hinc Rhesi niueis tentoria uelis
> adgnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno
> Tydides multa uastabat caede cruentus,
> ardentesque auertit equos in castra, priusquam
> pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.

Hom. *Il.* 10.434 ff. relates how Rhesus and twelve of his men shortly after their arrival at Troy were killed by Diomedes and Ulixes; his famous white horses (it was said that if once they had tasted the pasture and water of Troy, the city would never be taken) were captured by them on that nightly expedition (it is the only Homeric episode that has become the subject of a preserved tragedy, *Rhesus*, ascribed to Euripides). If Rhesus was Hecuba's own brother (so Fordyce on Catul. 58b.4 *Rhesi niueae citaeque bigae*), it should be noted that the words *qui ... bibit* completely leave out this sensitive fact.

Against Leo, who preferred the E reading *quae* (see below), A's *qui* has been upheld by Bannier, *Rhein. Mus.* 73 (1920) 79-81; for the collective use of the rel. pronoun he compares *Ag.* 316-21, *Phae.* 58-9, *Oed.* 427, and passages from other authors. Zwierlein, who at first (1977, 149 f.) with Leo had advocated the E-reading, now also accepts *qui.*

qui ... ferit (8-13): usually such a series of relative clauses specifies a preceding noun; cf. *Med.* 707-19 (six relative clauses after 706 *congerit in unum frugis infaustae mala*), Verg. *Aen.* 7.681-5 (four relative clauses after *hunc legio late comitatur agrestis*), 712-7 (six relative clauses).

frigidum ... Tanain: the Tanais, now the Don, was a river in Scythia, hence *frigidum*; cf. *Phae.* 399 *frigidi Ponti, Oed.* 474-5 *Maeotis / ... frigido fluctu, H.O.* 158 *Sarmata frigidus,* Verg. *Geo.* 4.517 *Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque nivalem,* Claud. *Ruf.* 1.324 *gelidum Tanain.* Here it contrasts with *tepidum ... Tigrin* (11). The river was often characterized as the boundary between Europe and Asia, e.g. Ov. *Pont.* 4.10.55-6 *quique duas terras, Asiam Cadmique sororem, / separat et cursus inter utramque facit,* Luc. 3.272-6, Amm. 31.2.13.

However, there is a problem because Rhesus lives in Thrace, not near the Tanais; cf. F. Harder, 'Bemerkungen zu den Tragödien des Seneca', in: *Festschrift Johannes Vahlen,* Berlin 1900, 451 f. The Amazons did, and that is a likely reason why E has *quae.* Leo was faithful to the Florentine codex, his "unicum recensionis fundamentum" (*Observationes criticae* [1878] 15); he read *quae* in 8, and omitted 12-13 as a spurious repetition. But three allies is the least we may exspect in such enumerations of which Seneca is so fond (Canter p. 75 f.; cf. at the beginnings of other plays *Med.* 1-12, *Phae.* 1-30, *Ag.* 15-21). Moreover, Seneca shares the common inaccuracy of Roman poets in matters of foreign geography (Leo [1878] 202; W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur,* Stuttgart 1924, 294 f.: "Namentlich im Orient verfließt alles ineinander"), and probably mixed up the Don and the Danube (hence *septena*). He has made the same error, noted by Gronovius, at *Nat.* 6.7.1: *Danuuius ac Rhenus, alter Sarmaticos impetus cohibens et Europam Asiamque disterminans, alter Germanos ... repellens.* W.M. Calder III, 'Originality in Seneca's *Troades*', *CP* 65 (1970) 79, thinks Verg. *Geo.* 4.517-9 *solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque niualem / aruaque Rhipaeis nunquam uiduata pruinis / lustrabat* the common source of the error.

9 septena ... ora: some scholars have thought that the mistake was Hecuba's; for instance Delrius: "quod Istri est, mulier, cosmographiae ignara, Tanai tribuit: in quo praeclare Seneca decorum servavit." Gronovius saw that it was an error of Seneca himself. According to Plin. *Nat.* 6.7.19, the Tanais had two mouths; the Danube on the other hand was said to have seven: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.189 *septemplicis Histri,* Tac. *Ger.* 1.3 *Danuuius molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae iugo effusus pluris populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat; septimum os paludibus hauritur,* Stat. *Silu.* 5.2.136-7 *septenus Hister;* Sen. *Med.* 763 vaguely *Hister, in tot ora diuisus* (Costa: five Hdt. 4.47, six Pliny *Nat.* 4.79, seven Strabo 7.3.15). Nowadays the marshy delta has three main branches. The fact that the Nile *diuersa ruens septem discurrit in ora* (Verg. *Geo.* 4.291; cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.6.39 *septena per ostia Nilus, Met.* 1.422-3 *septemfluus ... Nilus,* Catul. 11.7-8 *septemgeminus ... Nilus,* Prop. 4.22.16 *septenas ... uias*), may have had its influence on other far away rivers.

On the quite common use of the distributive numeral for the cardinal, see B. Löfstedt, 'Zum Gebrauch der lateinischen distributiven Zahlwörter', *Eranos* 56 (1958), 71-117, 188-223, esp. 190; in Sen. trag. e.g. *Phoen.* 326 *septena ... castra*, 391 *septena ... bella*, *H.F.* 62 *terna ... colla*.

bibit: poets often use this verb to describe the dwelling by a river (*ThLL* II 1964.39-66; *OLD* s.v. 4), e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 1.62 *aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim*, *Aen.* 7.715, Hor. *Carm.* 3.10.1 *extremum Tanain si biberes*, 4.15.21, Luc. 8.213, Claud. *Ruf.* 1.312. In Sen. trag. this use is found again at *Phoen.* 127 *quisquis Eurotan bibis*, *Phae.* 58 *fera quae gelidum potat Araxen*, *Med.* 372-4 *Indus gelidum / potat Araxen, Albin Persae / Rhenumque bibunt*, *Oed.* 427, *Ag.* 316-9.

The Greek poets preceded for this device, for instance Hom. *Il.* 2.825, Aesch. *Ag.* 1157, Pind. *Ol.* 6.85-6. For variations on this theme, see e.g. *Med.* 80-1 *quas Aonius latex / Alpheosque sacer lauat*, Claud. *Ruf.* 2.111-3 *quos Rhodanus uelox, Araris quos tardior ambit / et quos nascentes explorat gurgite Rhenus / quosque rigat retro pernicior unda Garunnae*. Another late occurrence of the usage is found in Ennodius (A.D. 473/474-521), *Carm.* 2.80.1 *Marolus, extremae potator Tigridis undae*.

10 qui: Memnon, son of Eos and Tithonus, king of Ethiopia (Hes. *Th.* 984-5), and his soldiers. Homer only mentions his beauty (*Od.* 11.522) and his slaying of Nestor's son Antilochus (*Od.* 4.187-8), in addition to his descent from the Dawn Goddess. More important must have been his part in the *Aethiopis*, one of the lost poems of the Trojan circle, ascribed to Arctinus of Milete. Memnon's death by the hands of Achilles was mentioned by Pindar several times (*Ol.* 2.91, *Nem.* 3.63, 6.50, *Ist.* 5.40-1, 8.54) as one of that Greek hero's famous exploits. Cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 5.3 (transl. Frazer, Loeb): 'Memnon, the son of Tithonus and the Dawn, came with a great force of Ethiopians to Troy against the Greeks, and having slain many of the Greeks, including Antilochus, he was himself slain by Achilles.' When he was burned on the funeral pile, Jupiter complied with Aurora's urgent request and Memnon was transformed into a bird, while from his ashes also other birds (*Memnonides*) arose (Ov. *Met.* 13.576-622). Coming from the country of the 'Burnt-Faced Men', he is conceivably styled *niger* at *Ag.* 212 (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.489 *Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma*). Since his father Tithonus and king Priam were brothers (cf. *patrui* 239), he too had a special reason for coming to the aid of Troy. After the death of Penthesilea (see 12-3), he was the last defender of Troy (Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 4.714).

renatum ... diem: the first instances of *renasci* in extant literature are in an agricultural context (*OLD* s.v. 2a): Cato *Agr.* 54.3 *manibus carpito, id renascetur: quod falcula secueris, non renascetur*, Var. *R.R.* 1.44.4 *in eodem loco eodem anno nihil renascitur*. The first occurrences in poetry are in Lucretius (1.542, 674, 757). For its use here (*OLD* 3), cf. *H.O.* 861 (of Oeta) *haec, haec renatum prima quae noscit diem*, *H.F.* 127 *luce renata*, *Phae.* 285 *nascentem ... solem*. Horace in his *Carmen Saeculare* addresses the sun god, 9-11 *alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui / promis et*

celas aliusque et idem / nasceris; cf. also Verg. *Ecl.* 8.17 *nascere ... Lucifer*, Manil. 1.69-70 *renatis / sideribus*, and as a contrast Stat. *Silu.* 4.6.3 *iam moriente die*. Livy uses the verb for the renewal of war (9.12.1, 28.1.1), and in its literal sense of a person (26.41.25). For an instance in Neo-Latin tragedy, see Grotius, *Adamus Exul* 35-6 *parte ab illa, quae uidet / Solis renatum surgere Oceano iugum*. The verb is likewise used of seasons, for example, at Calp. *Ecl.* 5.21 *tunc florent siluae uiridisque renascitur annus*, Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 635 *renato uere*.

primus: cf. *Oed.* 116 *mundo ... primo*, denoting the Farthest East; Hdt. 3.98 (of the Indians) 'the first people towards the dawn and the quarter of sunrise'. Like Hom. *Od.* 1.23-4, Seneca pictures the Ethiopians as two tribes, living in the extreme eastern and western parts, *H.F.* 37-8 *qua Sol reducens quaque deponens diem / binos propinqua tinguit Aethiopas face*. Aesch. *Supp.* 284 ff. makes them extend to India. Memnon is also associated with Susa (e.g. Hdt. 5.54). For the shore of the *Rubrum Mare* as the birth-place of a new day, cf. *Oed.* 120-3 *litus intravit pelagi rubentis: / promit hinc ortus aperitque lucem / Phoebus et flamma propiore nudos / inficit Indos*.

11 **tepidum:** usually the rapidity of the Tigris is noted, e.g. *H.F.* 1324 *uiolentus ... Tigris*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.46 *rapidus Tigris*. Here, of course, *tepidum* contrasts with *frigidum* (8): the allies had come from all corners of the world.

rubenti Tigrin inmiscet: note the double occurrrence of identical syllables at the end and the beginning of consecutive words; single instances are found e.g. below 40 *ignis iste*, 58 *sortitur urna*, 143 *Priami miseranda*, 167 *effare, reduces* (see the note there, with ancient criticism of it). Cf. K-S 2.596, citing e.g. Enn. *uar.* 14 *splendet et horret*, Prop. 4.1.54 *uiuet et*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.27 *Dorica castra*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.95 *occurri rides*: "Das Zusammenstoßen gleicher Schluß- und Anfangssilben in zwei aufeinander folgenden Wörtern wird von den Alten zwar getadelt, findet sich aber oft genug"; see also N.I. Herescu, *La poésie latine*, Paris 1960, 42-59; G.Luck, *HSCP* 63 (1961) 260; J. Korpanty, 'Syllabische Homophonie in lateinischer Dichtung und Prosa', *Hermes* 125 (1997), 330-346.

rubenti ... freto: not the nowadays Red Sea (*sinus Arabicus*) between N.E. Africa and Saudi Arabia, but the Persian Gulf between Saudi Arabia and Persia. Herodot (e.g. 1.180, 189) uses the name for the Indian Ocean and its inroads, including the Persian Gulf. Plin. *Nat.* 6.28 quotes four theories as to the origin of the name: *inrumpit deinde et in hac parte geminum mare [in] terras, quod Rubrum dixere nostri, Graeci Erythrum a rege Erythra, aut, ut alii, solis repercussu talem reddi existimantes colorem, alii ab harena terraque, alii tali aquae ipsius natura* (the second explanation may be felt in the juxtaposition to *tepidum*; on the colouring of the sea by the rising sun, cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 13.581-2 *ille color, quo matutina rubescunt / tempora*). Other synonyms for the *mare Erythraeum* are *Oceano ... rubro* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.32), *rubro ... aequore* (Claud. *Ruf.* 1.278).

inmiscet freto: as a poetical license (= *uiuit ubi Tigris se inmiscet freto*) defended by P.H. Damsté, *Mnemosyne* II 47 (1919) 56 f. against Leo, whose suggestion *mero* was taken over by Herrmann and Thomann. Damsté refers to below 189 ("how could Achilles drag a whole city?"), and 284-5 the *uecors libido* of a sword; Zwierlein (1986) 75 compares passages like below 12-3, 538, *H.F.* 139-40 *pastor gelida cana pruina / grege dimisso pabula carpit* (see also R.L. Wertis, *L. Annaei Senecae Troades, ed. with a critical commentary*, Diss. Columbia Univ., New York 1970, *ad loc.*; M. Hillen, *Studien zur Dichtersprache Senecas*, Berlin - New York 1989, 201 f., 205 f.).

In antiquity, there was confusion whether the mouths of Tigris and Euphrates were distinct or not (see *RE* VI 1200.31 ff., II 6.1018.20 ff.). The Tigris was said to run underground on part of its course: cf. *Nat.* 3.26.4 *idem et in Oriente Tigris facit; absorbetur et desideratus diu tandem longe remoto loco non tamen dubius an idem sit, emergit*, Luc. 3.261-3 *at Tigrim subito tellus absorbet hiatu / occultosque tegit cursus rursusque renatum / fonte nouo flumen pelagi non abnegat undis*, and Nero's lines quoted there in a scholion *quique pererratam subductus Persida Tigris / deserit et longo terrarum tractus hiatu / reddit quaesitas iam non quaerentibus undas* (on this poem see M. Dewar, *CQ* 41 [1991] 269; E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, Oxford 1993, 357). Actually, the two rivers flow together north of Basra, completing the 160 miles to the Persian Gulf as Sjatt el-Arab.

12 quae: the Amazons who were led to the aid of Troy by their queen Penthesilea. Like Memnon, she is one of the leading figures in the *Aethiopis*, also coming from a mysterious borderland of the world of that time. Ares was said to be her father. She too, coming to Troy in the final stage of the war, was slain by Achilles (cf. 243). There was a story that Achilles, when lifting her helm, fell in love with her: cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 5.1 '(she) was afterwards herself killed by Achilles, who fell in love with the Amazon after her death and slew Thersites for jeering at him', Prop. 3.11.13-6 *ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis / Maeotis Danaum Penthesilea rates; / aurea cui postquam nudauit cassida frontem / uicit uictorem candida forma uirum*; Quintus Smyrnaeus expanded the story in his *Posthomerica* (see on 243 *saeua Amazon*). For two works of art, depicting this slaying, and for later accounts that she was killed after Achilles' death by his son Neoptolemus, see M.R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, New York and London 1964, 96 ff.

In the temple at Carthage (see on 8-9 *qui ... bibit*), Vergil pictures her: *Aen.* 1.490-3 *ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis / Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet, / aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae, / bellatrix, audetque uiris concurrere uirgo*; cf. *Ag.* 217-8 *picta pharetras et securigera manu / peltata Amazon*, *Phae.* 402-3 *lunata latus / protecta pelta*, *Med.* 214. Herodot records their migration to the north, their contacts with the Scythians (4.110), and their conspicuous mating habit (see below on *uiduis*).

For recent literature on the Amazons, see Josine H. Blok, *The Early Amazons, Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1995 (an adaptation of her Dutch *Amazones antianeirai*, Groningen 1991); Ken Dowden, 'The Amazons: Development and Functions', *RhM* N.F. 140 (1997), 97-128.

uagos ... Scythas: the nomadic life of the Scythians is constantly emphasized: cf. below 1104, *Thy.* 631 *uagi passim Scythae*, *Phae.* 168 *sparsus Scythes*, *H.F.* 533 *Scythiae multiuagas domos*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.9-10 *Scythae / quorum plaustra uagas rite trahunt domos*, 4.14.42 *profugus Scythes*, Aesch. *Pr.* 709-10. For an early and very interesting report on them, see Herodot's fourth book again.

uicina: here, as in *Phae.* 399 ff., Seneca locates the Amazons on the north coast of the Euxine, around the Maeotis; elsewhere they are connected with the Thermodon river on the south coast, e.g. *H.F.* 246 *regina gentis uidua Thermodontiae*, *Med.* 214-5 *cohors / inclusa ripis uidua Thermodontiis*.

prospiciens: 'seeing before one, seeing in front'; cf. e.g. below 897 *cum dimicantes lenta prospiceres uiros*, *H.F.* 133 *Titan summa prospicit Oeta*, *Oed.* 4 (*Titan*) *prospiciet auida peste solatas domos*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.184-5 *nauem in conspectu nullam, tris litore ceruos / prospicit errantis*, Ov. *Met.* 2.190. Ch. Guiraud, *Les verbes signifiant 'voir' en Latin*, Paris 1964, 18 f., notes that classical poetry returned to this literal sense, whereas older poetry and prose mainly used it in a transferred sense; Sen. trag. has one instance of the latter use: *Thy.* 1076 *uobis uota prospicient mea*.

13 cateruis: likewise of the Amazons, *Oed.* 481 *Thermodontiacae cateruae*, *Phae.* 399-401 *qualis relictis frigidi Ponti plagis / egit cateruas Atticum pulsans solum / Tanaitis aut Maeotis*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.611 *Amazoniaeue ... cateruae*. Of other groups, *Phoen.* 58 *cateruas ... Argolicas*, 544-5 *fulgentes procul / armis cateruas*, *Oed.* 588 *fratrum cateruae dente Dircaeo satae*, *Ag.* 600 *barbaricis equitum cateruis*.

uiduis: 'unmarried', a characteristic often added when the Amazons are mentioned (see on 12 *uicina*, cf. *H.F.* 542 *uiduis gentibus*). In order to provide for offspring, they met at random with men of another race (Hdt. 4.111 ff.); Theseus curses them for it in *Phae.* 909-11 *est prorsus iste gentis armiferae furor, / odisse Veneris foedera et castum diu / uulgare populis corpus*. Of the resulting children, they kept the girls but disposed of the boys; hence Hippolytus, the son of Theseus and the Amazon Antiope, is called *unicus gentis puer* (*Phae.* 577).

ferit: 'scourges', as they ride on horseback; cf. *H.O.* 1925-6 *Centauris Thessala motis / ferit attonitos ungula manes*, *Phae.* 400 *Atticum pulsans solum*, Enn. *Ann.* 242 Sk (224 V^2) *totam quatit ungula terram*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.659-60 *quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis / pulsant*, Hor. *Epod.* 16.11-2 *urbem / eques sonante uerberabit ungula*. Therefore, the conjecture *terit*, made by Markland on Stat. *Silu.* 4.8.51, can be left out of account.

Note the repeated alliteration (*u, p, c*), assonance (*-am, -is*) and anapaestic fifth foot, lending these two lines a melodious swiftness.

14 excisa: the predicate at last rounds off the tension building relative clauses. For *excīdere* 'to raze, destroy' (*OLD* 5a), cf. *H.F.* 1035 *excisa est domus*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.637 *excisa ... Troia*, 12.762 *excisurum urbem minitans*, Cic. *Phil.* 4.13 *maiores ... Karthaginem exciderunt*, *Sest.* 35 *urbem nondum excisam et euersam sed iam captam atque oppressam* (in the last passage, Halm and N-W III 568 wrongly take *excisam* from *ex(s)cindere*; Lahmeyer, *Philol.* 38 [1879] 150 ff., even proposes forms of *excissus* in this line and elsewhere). For the literal meaning 'to cut out/down', cf. *H.F.* 1285 *excidam nemus*, Enn. *Ann.* 176 Sk (188 V^2) *exciditur ilex.* The comparison to a falling tree is also found in Aeneas' report (see on *incubuit sibi*). Standing beneath a giant sequioa in the Redwoods, I realized its force.

Pergamum: (the citadel of) Troy, in the *Iliad* called *Pergamos* (e.g. 5.446). The Greek tragedians used the plural form, e.g. Soph. *Philoct.* 353, and so does Sen. trag. as a rule: cf. below 472, 889, *Ag.* 206. For the use of the singular, see also *Ag.* 421, Pl. *Bac.* 926. Vergil in his *Aeneis* always (18 times according to Sabbadini's index nominum) uses *Pergama,* as it is more fit for the dactylic hexameter. Jocelyn (1967) 227 on Enn. *Alex.* 18.61 *eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo*, tentatively suggests that the plural indicated the walls surrounding the citadel.

Gronovius, reading a full stop after *ferit*, considered *Pergamum* the subject of *excisa est*, for the feminine gender comparing Ov. *Met.* 14.466-7 *alta cremata est / Ilion.* The punctuation after *est*, however, more dramatically emphasizes the contrast between the manifold auxiliaries of Troy and its present destruction; moreover, *Ag.* 421 *Pergamum omne* makes Gronovius' view very unlikely.

incubuit sibi: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9.144-5 *at non uiderunt moenia Troiae / Neptuni fabricata manu considere in ignis?*, and Aeneas' description of Troy collapsing, 2.624-31 (Austin: "Seneca improves upon the idea")

> tum uero omne mihi uisum considere in ignis
> Ilium et ex imo uerti Neptunia Troia,
> ac ueluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
> cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
> eruere agricolae certatim, illa usque minatur
> et tremefacta comam concusso uertice nutat,
> uulneribus donec paulatim euicta supremum
> congemuit traxitque iugis auulsa ruinam.

The epigrammatic phrase *Pergamum incubuit sibi* is at the same time the summarizing conclusion of the preceding apostrophe and a concise announcement of the following description. For this device of an epigrammatic rounding off, cf. Fitch on *H.F.* 5 *tellus colenda est, paelices caelum tenent*, Töchterle on *Oed.* 5 *stragemque quam nox fecit ostendet dies.*

Note the repeated use of a compound after the hephthemimeres (*excipiens*, *inmiscet*, *prospiciens*, *incubuit*), that will be found throughout the play; see e.g. on 338 *exsoluit*, 615 *illacrimat*.

15 en: takes up the apostrophe of *Troia* (4). Having related the fact of Troy's fall and its significance, Hecuba with a gesture now draws the attention to the actual situation: "Un regista moderno potrebbe a questo momento aprire il sipario dietro di lei", Amoroso (1984) 103. *En* (Gr. ἤν) is a synonym of *ecce*, with which it is combined at *Phoen*. 42, *Oed*. 1004; the two words occur in consecutive lines below 57-8. *'En' habet vim indignationis post enarratam iniuriam*, Donatus comments on Ter. *Ph*. 348; it may have here. The interjection is sometimes added to an imperative to intensify the request (*OLD* s.v. 3), e.g. *Phae*. 54 *ades en comiti, diua uirago*; for its use in a sarcastic question (*OLD* 2e), see *Phae*. 684 (Hippolytus) *dignus en stupris ego?* Plautus and Terence use *en* merely in rhetorical questions in the collocation *en umquam* etc. (*OLD* s.v. 1; W.M. Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus*, repr. 1936, 138). On Vergil's use of it, see Austin on *Aen*. 4.534: "'See', or 'Lo!' in English does not really bring out its force, which is a mixture of exasperation and despair", and on *Aen*. 4.597. In Statius, it is found "nicht selten", F. Walter, *WS* 45, (1926/7) 240; cf. Fortgens on *Theb*. 6.150. Sen. trag. uses it 48x, most often in this initial position (20x), and in the arsis of the fourth foot (22x, e.g. below 58). On *en*, see A. Köhler, *ALL* 6.25-45; J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, Heidelberg 1926, 35; Allan Kershaw, '*En* in the Senecan dramatic corpus', *HSCP* 96 (1994) 241-250.

To the following description may be compared these lines from Ennius' *Andromacha* (84-86 J = 89-91 V^2): *cui nec arae patriae domi stant, fractae et disiectae iacent, / fana flamma deflagrata, tosti alti stant parietes, / deformati atque abiete crispa ...* (K. Liedloff, *Die Nachbildung griechischer und römischer Muster in Senecas Troades und Agamemnon*, Progr. Grimma 1902, 2, n. 9).

alta muri decora: is *muri* gen. sing. or nom. plur.?

Trevet seems to consider it a genitive: "*en alta decora* (= decorae altitudines) *muri congesti* (= destructi) *iacent adustis tectis* (= domibus); so did Gronovius, taking *congesti* by hypallage for *congesta*. Likewise it is taken as a gen. sing. in the indexes of W.A. Oldfather - A.St. Pease - H.V. Canter (Urbana 1918) and J. Denooz (Hildesheim - New York 1980), and by Miller (1917) and Thomann (1961). I rather favour the other conception for the following reasons:

1. Seneca's preference for the plural to denote the city-wall: 478, 622, 634, 785, 1063, 1118, *H.F.* 262, 416, *Phoen*. 209, 326, *Med*. 79, 370, *Ag*. 602, 621, *Thy*. 567; the singular is only found below 126, 1075, 1086, *Phoen*. 445, *Thy*. 233.

2. Seneca's arrangement of appositives 63 *turba captiuae mea*, 409 *maesta Phrygiae turba*, *H.F.* 552 *geminum Tyndaridae genus*, *Med*. 980 *fortis armiferi cohors*, *Phae*. 1105 *funebris famuli manus*, *Ag*. 800 *fida famuli turba*.

3. the use of *decora alta* as an appositive Verg. *Aen.* 2.448 *auratasque trabes, ueterum decora alta parentum,* 1.428-9 *immanisque columnas / rupibus excidunt scaenis decora alta futuris* (also at Stat. *Theb.* 5.424).

alta: epithet of the Trojan walls at Verg. *Aen.* 1.95, 3.322, 10.469. Here Hecuba probably not only refers to their structure (like Verg. *Aen.* 4.343 *Priami tecta alta),* but also to the elevated position of the citadel (Verg. *Aen.* 2.56 *arx alta,* Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.3 *Troiae ... altae,* Prop. 2.8.10 *altaque Troia,* cf. Hom. *Il.* 15.71): from the camp of the Greeks, where the Trojan women are kept in captivity, Hecuba looks up to the spot where the walls once stood.

congesti: I prefer the reading of A here; E has *congestis,* and *adusti* in the next line. Anliker (1960) 21 f. upholds *congestis,* also preferred by e.g. Giardina, Zwierlein and Chaumartin: "in 15 ff. malt die Worthäufung und Wortstellung, die mit den einfachen Sätzen der Umgebung und ebenso mit der klassischen Wortstellung des abschließenden Verses 21 kontrastiert, den Wirrwarr des Zusammenbruchs." Attractive as this may sound, in view of 622 *lapsis ... muris,* 1085 *semusta ... tecta,* and Seneca's predilection to keep the participle and the corresponding noun closely together (see the next note), the version of A seems more likely to me, even though it is a *lectio facilior.* H.T. Karsten, *Spicilegium Criticum,* Leiden 1881, 52, finding no notion of *ruina* in the other instances of *congerere* in Sen. trag. (he cites *H.F.* 506, 1216, *Med.* 706, 997-8, *Oed.* 871, *H.O.* 1153, but leaves out *Thy.* 842-3 *congesta ... turba deorum,* preceded by 830 *fatali ... ruina*), conjectured *compressis*; P. Koetschau, 'Zu Senecas Tragoedien', *Philol.* 61 (1902) 135 f. proposed *conlapsi*; Damsté (1917) 57 suggested *cum celsis.*

16 tectis adustis: for the placing of the abl. abs. at the beginning of the line, cf. below 20, 56, 180, 199, 206, 1078. Seneca usually puts the constituents of an abl. abs. in the same line; in the prologue again 31 *quo ... stante,* 35 *deo vetante.* The only exception in this play is found at 924-5.

Note the variety of words with which Hecuba describes the fire and its consequences, preluding 40 *meus ignis iste est, facibus ardetis meis.* The fire will run as a thread through the play: see 55-6, 86, 889, 899-900, 1053-4. Aeneas in his report to Dido also insistently dwells upon the burning of Troy (see R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik,* Stuttgart [4]1957, 27 f., and Austin's note on *Aen.* 2.289). In Euripides' *Troades,* Poseidon only hints at the firing of the city (8), whereas the actual order is announced by Talthybius (1260 ff.).

ambiunt: rather 'enclose' (*OLD* s.v. 11; *ThLL* I 1848.27), cf. *Oed.* 325 *ambitque densus regium fumus caput,* Aug. *Civ.* 21.4 *omnia, quae ambit et lambit* (sc. *ignis*), than 'wind through', as at *Phoen.* 608-9 *solum / quod Xanthus ambit* (see Hillen p. 151 f. referring to Kiessling-Heinze on Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.12-3). Sen. trag. uses the verb again at *H.F.* 593 (of the sun), *Oed.* 504 (of Oceanus), and *Ag.* 455 (*chorus*) *millesimam nunc ambit et lustrat ratem.*

17 omnis ... domus: Seneca throughout the play (e.g. 21, 201, 440, 778, 786, 795, 1008, 1118, 1156) uses an adjective and corresponding substantive to frame the line; as in other poets, the opposite framing subst. - adj. is much more rare (e.g. *Tro.* 438). Such framing is not unusual in Old Latin poetry, e.g. Pl. *Bac.* 599 *tuo ego istaec igitur dicam illi periculo*, Enn. *Ann.* 222 Sk (260 V^2) *sulpureas posuit spiramina Naris ad undas.* The Augustan poets applied the device more frequently, for example Hor. *Epod.* 2.43 *sacrum ... focum*, Ov. *Met.* 8.395 *inuitā ... Dianā*. Many postclassical prosaists even made a habit of it (H-Sz 691). Norden (^{3}1934) 391 f. notes a very limited use by Ennius and Lucretius, a much more frequent occurrence in Catullus (e.g. 21x in the 408 lines of his epyllion 64), and a middle course steered by Vergil (14x in the 901 verses of book 6).

L.P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry*, Cambridge 1963, 217 suggests that such a line be called a 'bronze line'. For the effectful placing of *omnis*, cf. *Oed.* 793 *omnem paterna regna discutient metum*; here its impact is yet strengthened by the juxtaposition *omnisque late.*

late: 'over a large area, widely'; in Sen. trag. again below 1088, *Oed.* 30 *strage tam late edita*, *Phoen.* 628 *licet arma longe miles ac late explicet*, *Phae.* 1093, *Thy.* 373.

fumat: another reminiscence of Aeneas' report, Verg. *Aen.* 3.3 *omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia*, 2.698 *late circum loca ... fumant.* Smoke will return twice: as a simile for the passing away of the spirit after death (392), and as a characteristic remainder of the city for the leaving mothers and children (1053).

Assaraci: Aeneas, in his address to Achilles before they start their fight, gives a circumstantial account of his genealogy, going all the way up to Zeus (see Hom. *Il.* 20.215 ff.):

	Zeus	
	Dardanus	
	Erichthonius	
	Tros	
Assaracus	Ganymede	Ilus
Capys		Laomedon
Anchises		Priam
Aeneas		Hector

The phrase *Assaraci domus* is found in a quite different context at Verg. *Aen.* 1.283-5 (Jupiter's prophecy) *ueniet lustris labentibus aetas, / cum domus Assaraci Pthiam clarasque Mycenas / seruitio premet ac uictis dominabitur Argis* (the tables are turned!). Assaracus is absent from extant Greek tragedy but is found again *Ag.* 878 and in other Latin poets besides Vergil, e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 28 Sk (= 30 V[2]), Hor. *Epod.* 13.13, Ov. *Met.* 11.756, Juv. 10.259.

18 non prohibet: "Verneinte Verba, die ja naturgemäß stärker betont sind, finden sich häufig in Inversion", Seidler p. 119; cf. below 25 *haut credit*, 758 *non uacat*, 1099 *non flet*, 1162 *non stetit*.

auidas ... manus: 'the greedy hands'. For the transferred use of the adj. (*OLD* 3), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 555 *Mors auidis pallida dentibus*, *Thy.* 2 *auido ... ore*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.19 *manus auidas ... heredis*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.7 *seruorum manus subitis auidae*. On synecdoche, see Canter p. 122-128; H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Stuttgart [3]1990, §§ 572-577. Below 26, Hecuba will return to the plundering.

The beginning of the line has a conspicuous hurried rhythm, as a result from the rather rare combination of a dactyl and a tribrach.

uictoris: note the general terms with which Hecuba refers to the Greeks (22 *uictor*, 26 *populator*). The fact of Troy's fall is important, not the way it was captured. Especially striking is the absence of the Wooden Horse: nowhere in the prologue does Hecuba mention it, nor does anyone elsewhere in the play (at *Ag.* 625 ff. the chorus does). In the Euripidean *Troades*, on the contrary, both Poseidon (9 ff.) and the chorus (516 ff.) describe it; in Aeneas' narrative, it is also mentioned at once (see Verg. *Aen.* 2.15 with Austin's instructive note).

19 diripitur ardens Troia: for the combination of firing and plundering, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.374-5 *alii rapiunt incensa feruntque / Pergama*, 2.763-4 *Troia gaza / incensis erepta adytis*. Lines 18-19a return in Neo-Latin tragedy at Grotius, *Sophompaneas* 613-4 *nec ignis auidas arcet inhiantum manus: / diripitur ardens Coptos*.

nec ... patet: poets often describe the clouds and smoke as a pall, e.g. Lucr. 5.466 *subtexunt nubila caelum*, 6.482 *et quasi densendo subtexit caerula nimbis*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.582 *caelum subtexere fumo*.

20 undante fumo: cf. *Oed.* 313 *fluctuante ... fumo*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.609 *mixtoque undantem puluere fumum* (Austin's note shows Vergil's varied use of the verb), 12.672-3 *flammis inter tabulata uolutus / ad caelum undabat uertex*, Sil. 9.445-6 *summaque in casside largus / undantes uoluit flammas ad sidera uertex*. Sen. trag. uses the simple verb only once more, *Oed.* 484 *sacer Cithaeron sanguine undauit*; the compound *exundare* occurs at *H.F.* 911 *pinguis exundet uapor*, *Phae.* 102-3 *qualis Aetnaeo uapor / exundat antro*.

nube ... densa: cf. *Oed.* 327 *et nube densa sordidam lucem abdidit*, Ov. *Met.* 11.572 (Lucifer) *densis texit sua nubibus ora*, Lucr. 1.185 *scilicet hoc densis fit nubibus*; for the whole picture, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.186-7 *subiectisque ignibus atris / conditur in tenebras altum caligine caelum*.

ceu: 'like', in Senecan tragedy found only here. The word is already used by older poets like Ennius (*Ann.* 361 Sk = 352 V^2) and Lucretius (e.g. 3.456). Catull (64.239) and Horace (*Carm.* 4.4.43) have it only once, Vergil 19x in the *Aeneid,* Ovid 9x in the *Metamorphoses*, but only once (*Am.* 3.9.25) in his elegiac verses. Seneca is the first to use it in prose: *Nat.* 6.24.4 *'ceu cum frigore inhorruimus, tremor sequitur, sic terras quoque spiritus extrinsecus accidens quassat.'* Statius is especially fond of it: 61 occurrences in the *Thebaid*, 6 in the *Achilleid* (Dewar on *Theb.* 9.44), 12 in the *Silvae* (van Dam on 2.3.4); Val. Flaccus uses it 30 times (Korn on 4.44). See Axelson (1945) 26; H-Sz 634; *ThLL* III 977.62 ff. A remarkable use of the word in Neo-Latin tragedy occurs in Grotius, *Soph.* 1060 *nihil est opus ceu uideo.*

obsitus: lit. 'planted with', e.g. at *Oed.* 277 *artis obsitum dumis iter*, *Nat.* 6.8.4 *limosa et obsita palus*, Lucr. 5.1378, Liv. 21.54.1 *erat in medio riuus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palustribus herbis.*

The word is often used of people 'covered with' dirt (cf. 21 *squalet*) or filthy garments, e.g. Liv. 2.23.3 *obsita erat squalore uestis*, 29.16.6 *legati ... obsiti squalore et sordibus*, Luc. 2.367 *obsita funerea celatur purpura lana*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.28 *inluuieque ac squalore obsitus*, cf. Gel. 2.6.24 *quicquid igitur nimis inculcatum obsitumque aliqua re erat ... id 'squalere' dicebatur.* Sen. trag. uses it again at *H.F.* 626-8 *unde iste, genitor, squalor et lugubribus / amicta coniunx? unde tam foedo obsiti / paedore nati?*

For other transferred uses of the word, cf. Ter. *Eun.* 236 *pannis annisque obsitum*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.307 *obsitus aeuo* ('overgrown with age'), *Culex* 274-5 *Tartara nocte cruenta / obsita*, Luc. 5.627-8 *latet obsitus aer / infernae pallore domus.*

Here it is placed at the beginning of a series of words picturing the funeral atmosphere.

21 ater: besides simply 'black' (of *fauilla*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.666, Ov. *Met.* 13.604), the adj. often denotes death and destruction; cf. J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique latine*, Paris ^{2}1946, 166, J. André, *Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine*, Paris 1949, 48 ff. Sen. trag. uses *ater* about three times as often as *niger.*

fauilla ... Iliaca: the *Iliaci cineres* of Verg. *Aen.* 2.431.

squalet: both 'is murky' (e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 1.646-7 *nubibus atris / et squalente die*, Sil. 5.36-7 *atrae noctis amictu / squalebat pressum picea inter nubila caelum*), and 'is in mourning' (*Oed.* 554 *squalente cultu maestus ingreditur senex*); similarly *Oed.* 2 *nube maestum squalida ... iubar.* For the effect of the many *a*-sounds, cf. *Oed.* 47 *sed grauis et ater incubat terris uapor*; see also below on 409.

dies: 'the light of day', cf. *Phae.* 675 *atris nubibus condat diem, H.F.* 821 *clarum diem.* Note the chiastic a B C b A composition (again 201), and the picturing force of the first two words in lines 19-21. The verbs at the beginning of lines 22-4 mark the shift from the conquered city to the proud conqueror.

22 stat: like a gladiator, looking down upon his defeated opponent lying on the ground. The placing of this monosyllabic verb at the beginning of the line is very effective: the camera, having registered the ruins, the fire and the smoke, is focused upon the steady figure of the victor. Damsté, *Mnemosyne* II 46 (1918) 368, has noted Seneca's predilection for placing *stat* at the beginning of the line; to his examples from *H.F.* (540, 554, 861, 1040) may be added *Ag.* 376, 908, *Thy.* 152 (391 *stet*), *Oed.* 131. For a similar use of the verb in a contrast with a turmoil, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.25 (the visit of Drusus to the mutinous legions in Pannonia): *postquam uallum introiit, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent: ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumueniunt. stabat Drusus silentium manu poscens. illi quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, rursum uiso Caesare trepidare* (see Furneaux' note). On the placing of the verb, see J. Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots dans la phrase latine*, II Le verbe, Paris 1938, 49 ff. "La position initiale apparaît comme exceptionnelle et significative"; Seidler p. 106 ff.

auidus irae: 'greedy of (the gratification of) his wrath' (Kingery): a splendid contrast with the following *lentum*. For the "omission" of the verb (gerundive), cf. e.g. Liv. 8.30.13 *dictatorem auidum poenae* (sc. *sumendae*). Fantham (1982) 93 compares Verg. *Aen.* 9.661 *auidum pugnae*; Axelson (in Zwierlein [1986] 76) refers to Stat. *Silu.* 5.5.56 *nimius fortasse auidusque doloris*.

lentum: as T. Düring, *Zur Überlieferung von Senekas Tragödien*, Leipzig 1913, 21 already noted, Trevet incorrectly interprets the adj. as *suo uigore et fortitudine deficientem*; it certainly must mean 'tough, tenacious', indicating Troy's lasting resistance, cf. Kingery 'slow to yield', Miller 'long-lingering', Mignon 'lente à tomber'. *OLD* s.v. 5: 'long-drawn-out, slow, prolonged', quotes this line with *Med.* 622-3 *Aulis ... / portibus lentis retinet carinas*. Fantham to her correct translation 'long-resisting' adds in her commentary: "*Lentus* as in 805 suggests inert exhaustion. Cf. *Ecl.* 1.4, *lentus in umbra*." In my view, the passages are too different. Here the adjective has a positive ring, whereas in 805 its use is scournful; in the Vergilian line it rather denotes 'at ease' (*OLD* 9, Page *ad loc.*). For other notions of the adj. see below 253, 275.

Ilium: like Vergil, Seneca always uses the Latin form; cf. below 31, 235, 412, 428, 911, 1053, *Ag.* 42, 190, 577, 794, 921. *Ilion* and *Ilios*, on the other hand, were preferred by Horace, Ovid, Propertius, Silius and Statius (Austin on *Aen.* 2.625).

23 metitur: 'to take the measure of, look over, look up and down, etc.' (*OLD* s.v. 4, quoting as previous occurrences Liv. 6.13.1 *oculis utramque metiens aciem temere proelium iniit*, Ov. *Ep.* 10.28 *aequora prospectu metior alta meo*); cf. also Soph. *Aj.* 5-6. The verb, like *stat* and *ignoscit* emphatically placed at the beginning of the line, concisely pictures the proud and precise way in which the victor looks at the greatness of his

opponent. As Nigel Holmes suggests, one may feel a subdued contrast with the actual land division and surveying with the *pertica* that often followed conquest (on surveyors in ancient Rome, see e.g. Daniel J. Gargola, *Lands, Laws & Gods*, Magistrates & Ceremony in the Regulation of Public Lands in Republican Rome, Chapel Hill & London 1995, 39-41; Brian Campbell, *JRS* 86 [1996] 74-99).

The verb may also recall Seneca's use of *remetiri*, describing his habit at the end of the day, *Dial.* 5.36.3 *cum sublatum e conspectu lumen est et conticuit uxor moris iam mei conscia, totum diem meum scrutor factaque ac dicta mea remetior; nihil mihi ipse abscondo, nihil transeo*; in the sequel of that passage, *ignosco* is also found.

ac: '(connecting a more particular or emphatic term or sentence) and ... too, and what is more' (*OLD* s.v. 1). It is a shortened form of *atque*; see M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977 (= [5]1926-28), 93: "Bei den meisten Zweisilblern ist die «Apokope» des *-e* lautlich als Ausdrängung (Synkope) in enger Wortgruppe zu verstehen, ... *atqu(e) tēd* > *ac tē*". This shortened form was avoided by several poets, according to Axelson (1945) 82 f. and H-Sz 477 f. In Sen. trag., however, *ac* considerably outnumbers *atque*: for *Tro.* the respective figures are 27 and 10 (see below 245), for the eight plays 145 and 84. As a contrast, *H.O.* has 8 and 15, *Oct.* 3 and 23 instances of *ac* and *atque*.

decem: from the outset at Aulis (the omen of the snake snatching nine birds in a plane-tree), Calchas had already prophesied the duration of the war; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.329-30, Ov. *Met.* 12.15-21. Prop. 3.9.40 has the ships return *decimo uere*. As for the moment of Troy's capture and burning, Williams on Verg. *Aen.* 3.8 speaks of "late winter or early spring"; Jebb on Soph. *Phil.* 1340 specifies "about the end of May, late in the Attic month Thargelion".

tandem: 'at last', with *ignoscit*. In the combination with *ferus* ('spite of his savage hate', Miller) there may be a trace of the original adversative notion, found in Nonius: *'tandem' significat et 'tamen'*; cf. H-Sz 497: "*tandem* = 'endlich' wäre aus *tandem iam* 'doch schon' verkürzt." Axelson's *nondum* seems no improvement.

Note the *-em* repetition in *decem tandem*, followed by three times -*am*(-) in lines 24-5.

24 ignoscit: 'forgives', not only because of what it has brought him at last (Kingery; cf. 26-7 *spolia ... rates*), but also because he realises that the conquering of such a foe (cf. 24-6 *horret ... uinci*) easily might have taken more time or even might have been impossible. Sad though Hecuba may be, there rings a sense of pride in her voice as she describes the resistance of her city.

Frederick Ahl, *Metaformations*, Ithaca and London 1985, 42 thinks the use of the verb here, as at Ov. *Met.* 8.491, a wordplay with the raging fire (*ignis*).

afflictam quoque: 'even now that she lies overthrown'. For the trans. use of *horreo* (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. e.g. below 241, 535, Verg. *Aen.* 10.880, Liv. 2.9.7 (see also on 262 *tremere*). Moricca's *afflicta*, also found in Thomann's text, seems to be an error. For this use of *quoque* (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. 350 *captis quoque*, 863 *euersis quoque*, *Dial.* 10.18.5 *obsessis quoque*.

25 uictam: note the repetition of the preceding words in a reversed order and in a varied form (*uictam / afflictam, uideat / horret*), resulting in a wordplay with *uinci* (paronomasia). For such a close combination of two different forms of the verb, cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.349 (Ulysses) *Pergama tunc uici, cum uinci posse coegi*, *Fast.* 1.523 *uicta tamen uinces ... Troia*. See also on 31 *stetit stante*.

quamuis: in Sen. trag. always (10x, e.g. below 525, 903) with the subjunctive. In his prose, Seneca like Lucretius, Vergil and Ovid, sometimes combines it with the indicative (H. Rieger, *Die konzessive Hypotaxe in den Tragödien des L.A. Seneca*, Tauberbischofsheim 1892, 11 f.). Of the other concessive conjunctions, *etsi* is found four times in Sen. trag, never *quamquam*; see also on 207 *licet*. On the use of these words by other poets, see Axelson (1945) 88, 123 f.

haut: this form occurs 19x in the manuscripts of Seneca's tragedies, *haud* 20x, in *Troades* at 310; on the *-d/-t* ending see N-W II 664 ff.; Leumann (1977) 229; *ThLL* VI 2558.52 ff. It is a high frequency in comparison to other poets: the word is not found at all in Hor. *Carm.*, Verg. *Ecl.* and Martial, only once in Tib., Ov. *Tr.* and Hor. *Epod.*, twice in Catullus (Axelson [1945] 91 f.). Seneca does not use it in his prose works; at *Ep.* 115.5 and *Nat.* 3.20.6 it occurs in a quotation.

The particle is often used to negate an adjective, an adverb, or forms of *quisquam* and *ullus*. With a verb, it already occurs in Old Latin, e.g. Enn. *scen.* 376 J = 175 V^2 *Hector qui haud cessat obsidionem obducere*, Pl. *Pseud.* 1222 *hau sinam*; especially it is found in the phrase *haud scio (an)*. Sen. trag. is rather fond of the combination with a verbal form; cf. below 310, *H.F.* 415, *Phoen.* 146, *Phae.* 96-7, 941.

Hofmann, p. 79 notes both the uncertain etymology and origin of the word and its disappearing from popular language because of its sounding like *aut*; on *haud*, see also H-Sz 453 f.

haut credit sibi: the phrase is also found at *Ag.* 393 *uix credens mihi*, Pl. *Am.* 416 *egomet mihi non credo*, *Rud.* 245-6 *uix mihi / credo*, Catul. 31.5, Ov. *Met.* 5.213 *credensque parum sibi*, Liv. 39.49.5. For an instance in Neo-Latin tragedy, see Grotius, *Chr. Pat.*, *Lectori* 21 *mihi quoque, nisi experto, uix crederem*.

26 populator: Sen. trag. uses the noun once more in *Ag.* 832 *Arcadii populator agri* (the Erymanthian boar; cf. Mart. 7.27.1 *Tuscae glandis aper populator*). The subst. occurs very frequently in Livy; for instance, in the first decade at 2.39.5, 3.68.13, 5.13.12, 5.43.5, 7.17.8, 10.21.5. In earlier poetry, it is found twice in Ovid: *Met.* 12.593 (Neptune to Apollo about Achilles) *operis nostri populator*, 13.655 *Troiae populator Atrides*. In the

Consolatio ad Liviam 433, it is again used of Achilles; in *Ciris* 111, of Minos. Some other occurrences: Luc. 4.92 *fallitur occultis sparsus populator in agris*, V. Fl. 1.683 *Calabri populator Sirius arui*, Sil. 1.408 *et uastae Nasamon Syrtis populator Hiempsal*, 7.158 *Campanas remeat notus populator in oras*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.382-3 *populator ... / belliger*. Instances from later poetry: Auson. 393.49 *floricoma quondam populator in Aetna ... ortus*, Prud. *Ham.* 228 *aut populator edet gemmantia germina brucus*, Claud. *Ruf.* 1.35 *Luxus populator opum*, 2.378 *aequoreus populator* (a fisherman), *VI Cons. Hon.* 440-1 *populator Achiuae / Bistoniaeque plagae*, Dracont. *Romul.* 5.211 *populatorem Romanae gentis Hannibalem*, 9.93 *Iliacae populator gentis Achilles*.

rapit: Hecuba's picture of the plundering frames the image of the proud victor. At first (18-9), she had stressed the fact that it went on despite the fire; now she accentuates the extent of the loot.

Note the combination of a dactyl (*-ci spoli-*) and a tribrach (*-a popu-*) in the middle of the trimeter, and the repetition of *p*, *l*, *r*, and *t*.

27 **Dardania:** 'Trojan' (also below 871), cf. 135 *Dardana*. Dardanus, the son of Jupiter and Electra, was the founder of the Trojan royal line; cf. Hom. *Il.* 20.215 ff., Verg. *Aen.* 8.134 *Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor.* Since he had set out from Italy to make a settlement abroad (Serv. *auct.* on Verg. *Aen.* 3.167), Aeneas *cum suis* - significantly called *Dardanidae* in the important oracle, Verg. *Aen.* 3.94 - had to go back to this country as his 'old mother' (see R.D. Williams on these two passages).

praedam: Eur. *Tro.* 18 more specific 'a lot of gold and the Phrygian spoils'. On the richness of Troy, cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.288-9 'Priam's city ... rich in gold, abounding in bronze', Eur. *Hec.* 492, *Tro.* 994-5.

mille: the traditional round number of Greek ships before Troy, again below 274, 370, 708; cf. e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 44-5, Eur. *I.A.* 174 (with Stockert's note: "schon die Scholien zu Or. 353 und Andr. 106 weisen darauf hin, dass 1000 nur eine Pauschalzahl darstellt"), *I.T.* 10.141, *Or.* 352, Pl. *Bac.* 928, Verg. *Aen.* 2.198, Ov. *Met.* 12.7, Stat. *Ach.* 1.34 (see Wölfflin *ALL* 9.182). Homer gives a total of 1186, Thucydides (1.10.4) the round number of 1200.

non capiunt: 'do not hold' (*OLD* s.v. 25); cf. below 992, *Ag.* 489 *non capit sese mare*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.46 *non tuus hoc capiet uenter plus ac meus*.

rates: 'ships', cf. Fest. 338-9 *rates uocantur tigna colligata, quae per aquam aguntur; quo uocabulo interdum etiam naues significantur.* This meaning already occurs at Enn. *Ann.* 515-6 Sk (= 497-8 V^2) *ratibusque fremebat / imber Neptuni.* With 54 occurrences in Sen. trag. (in *Troades* another 11 times), *ratis* greatly outnumbers the other words for 'ship': *puppis* 12x (in *Tro.* three times, see on 366), *nauis* 8x (*Tro.* 552), *carina* 6x (*Tro.* 707 in Andromache's aria, 1030 in a choral ode), *pinus* 2x (*Tro.* 72 in a choral ode).

28-40 *Hecuba testifies that she has foreseen this disaster and that the flames are actually hers.*

testor: 'I call to witness'; cf. e.g. below 644, *Med.* 439-40 *sancta si caelum incolis / Iustitia, numen inuoco ac testor tuum*, *Phae.* 604 *uos testor omnis, caelites*, 888, *Oed.* 14, *Thy.* 1102, *H.O.* 1022-3, *Oct.* 962. In 6b-27, she had worked out 4 *te, Troia*. Now, Hecuba fixes the attention on herself again: 28 *mihi*, 36 *prior Hecuba uidi*, 40 *meus ... meis*. For the first time she uses the first pers. sing. form; in other plays, such a form found in the beginning : *H.F.* 3 (Iuno) *deserui*, *Ag.* 2 (Thyestis umbra) *adsum*.

aduersum: '(of gods, etc.) unfavourable, unpropitious' (*OLD* 9c), e.g. [Tib.] 3.5.14, Prop. 1.1.8, Liv. 9.1.11, Ov. *Pont.* 3.2.18. Combined with a dative, the adj. also occurs at Ter. *Eu.* 324-5. A similar complaint regarding the adverse attitude of the gods is found in Verg. *Aen.* 2.622-3 *apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae / numina magna deum.*

29 patriae: at Eur. *Tro.* 106-7, Hecuba likewise mentions her home country before her husband and her children; in the same play 475 ff., the order is children (475, 479), Priam (481), the city (484).

cineres: for the invoking of the ashes or the bones of someone dear departed, cf. *Phae.* 868-70 (Phaedra) *eheu, per tui sceptrum imperi, / magnanime Theseu, perque natorum indolem / tuosque reditus perque iam cineres meos*, Sen. *Contr.* 1.1.3 *per cuius cineres iuraturus sum?*, 7. praef. 7 *iura per patris cineres*, Cic. *Quinct.* 97, Verg. *Aen.* 2.431-2 *Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum / testor*, Ov. *Ep.* 3.103 *per tamen ossa uiri subito male tecta sepulcro*, 8.119, Prop. 2.20.15, 4.11.37 *testor maiorum cineres.* The use of the plural may be after the analogy of κονίαι. For the use of the noun for the ashes of a single person, see below on 195.

te: even her husband Priam she does not mention by name.

rectorem: cf. 132 *rector Phrygiae*. The substantive denotes gods (for instance, *Phae.* 680 *diuum rector atque hominum*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.572 *diuum tu maxime rector* of Jupiter) as well as kings (e.g. again below 978 *regum ... maximus rector* of Agamemnon, Ov. *Met.* 12.364 *Dolopum rector ... Amyntor*). Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.37-40 *iure igitur genitorque deum rectorque uocatur, / iure capax mundus nil Ioue maius habet. / tu quoque, cum patriae rector dicare paterque, / utere more dei nomen habentis idem.*

Phrygum: at Hom. *Il.* 3.184-9 (in the *Teichoskopia*), Priam tells Helen how he came to the help of the Phrygians when they were attacked by the Amazons. In Greek tragedy (see e.g. Eur. *I.A.* 71 with Stockert's note) and Roman poetry (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.468), the Phrygians often appear as a synonym for 'Trojans', as here and elsewhere in the play; cf. 70 *Phrygius.*

30 toto ... regno: 'buried beneath thy whole kingdom'. Kingery compares the idea in 157 *secum excedens sua regna tulit.* A more close parallel is found at *Ag.* 742-3, where the A manuscripts have *te sequor, tota pater / Troia sepulte*; cf. also *H.F.* 1287-90 (Hercules) *tota cum domibus suis / dominisque tecta, cum deis templa omnibus / Thebana supra corpus*

excipiam meum / atque urbe uersa condar, Phae. 562 *et uersa ab imo regna tot populos premunt.* For a similar use of *totus,* cf. *Oed.* 110-1 *occidis, Cadmi generosa proles, / urbe cum tota.*

conditum: for the sense 'to bury' (*OLD* 5), cf. e.g. below 432, 509, Enn. *Ann.* 126 Sk (139 V^2) *heu quam crudeli condebat membra sepulcro,* Verg. *Aen.* 3.68. The participle has the same place in the trimeter below 432, 509, 580, 688.

tegit: in the context of burial (*OLD* s.v. 1b), the verb is also used below 971, 1109 (likewise at the end of the line); cf. *Ag.* 514-6 (*inuidet*) *Agamemno Priamo: quisquis ad Troiam iacet / felix uocatur, cadere qui meruit gradu, / quem fama seruat, uicta quem tellus tegit.*

31 tuos ... manes: the shade of Hector is addressed. For *manes* = the shade of one person (*OLD* s.v. 1c), cf. e.g. below 292, 645, 811, Verg. *Aen.* 3.63, 3.303. The word originally denotes the collective spirits of the dead; in a topographical sense (see below on 146) it is often applied by the poets. The use of it for the soul of individual dead persons, first found in Cic. *Pis.* 16, becomes frequent in Augustan writers; in prose, e.g. Liv. 3.58.11 *manes ... Virginiae, mortuae quam uiuae felicioris, per tot domos ad petendas poenas uagati, nullo relicto sonte tandem quieuerunt.* On *manes* in Sen. trag., see S. Walter, *Interpretationen zum Römischen in Senecas Tragödien*, Zürich 1975, 32-35 (see also *OCD* s.v., commentaries on Verg. *Aen.* 6.743).

quo ... Ilium: Hector's importance for the defence of Troy is stated more fully below 124 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 13.666 *per quem decimum durastis in annum* words the same. "Efficacissima è la *costructio ad sensum* al relativo, peraltro frequente nella lingua viva latina", Amoroso (1984) 104.

stetit stante: paronomasia; again of verbal forms, 193-4 *luit ... luet,* 948 *putabat ... putat,* 1099-1100 *flet ... fletur.* For a similar wordplay, cf. Cic. *Fam.* 7.2.3 *qui me stante stare non poterant.* Other instances of paronomasia are found below 257 *uictor ... uictus,* 301-2 *tumide ... timide* [see Canter p. 160-164, this type on p. 162; Lausberg (^{3}1990) §§ 637-639].

32 meorum liberum: the combination, evading intolerable *meorum liberorum,* is found once more in Sen. trag. at *Med.* 929-30 *egone ut meorum liberum ac prolis meae / fundam cruorem?*; note the similar placing of *meorum* in its other occurrences at *H.F.* 1183, *Phoen.* 230, 331, *Med.* 561, *Ag.* 742.

The *-um* termination of *liberum* (< *-ŏm,* <Indogerm. *-ōm,* cf. Gr. -ων) is the original form of the gen. pl. of the 2nd declension, found in old formulae like *pro deum fidem* and *deum uirtute,* but also in Enn. *scen.* 112 J (= 120 V^2) *liberum quaesendum causa.* It is not a contracted form, as has been supposed on the authority of Cic. *Orat.* 155 *contraxerat* (sc. *Ennius*). It is found with words denoting a class, e.g. *deum* (below 351), and with proper names, like *Danaum* (767). The *-orum* ending was introduced by analogy from the first declension *-arum* [see N-W I 166 ff.; Williams on Verg. *Aen.* 5.174; Leumann. p. 428].

magni greges: cf. Hom. *Il.* 24.495-6 (Priam in his address to Achilles, begging for Hector's body) 'Fifty I had when the sons of the Achaeans came; / nineteen were from one womb'. Not all accounts agree with Homer on 19 as the number of Hecuba's children: Theocr. 15.139, for instance, fixes it at 20, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.35.85 at 17 (*quinquaginta Priamus, e quibus septemdecim iusta uxore natis*). A total number of 50 children for Priam is also stated by Euripides (*Tro.* 135-6, *Hec.* 421); 54 is the number occurring at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5 and Hyg. *Fab.* 90, where they are all mentioned by name. Unlike Euripides, Seneca speaks of no definite number but uses descriptions like *regum* ... *gregem* (below 138), *turba* (958), *turba fraterni gregis* (*Ag.* 701, Cassandra speaking) for the children and *tot illa regum mater* (*Ag.* 705) for Hecuba.

33 umbrae minores: "gloria in primis et dignitate, quamvis et aetate" (Gronovius), in comparison with their father and their oldest brother. On *umbra* 'shade' (*OLD* 7; again 181, 256, 372, 460), see J. Nováková, *Umbra*, Berlin 1964, 44 ff.

quidquid adversi: repeated with *quaecumque* ... *mala* (34-5), another emphatical all-inclusive opening (see on 1). For the use of the part. gen. with *quidquid*, see below on 205 *quidquid* ... *morae*.

34 Phoebas: 'a priestess of Apollo or prophetess inspired by him' (*OLD*), of Cassandra again at *Ag.* 588, 710; cf. also Eur. *Hec.* 827, Ov. *Am.* 2.8.12, *Tr.* 2.400. Cassandra, daughter of Priam and Hecuba, had promised her love to Phoebus in return for the gift of prophecy; but having received his present, she broke her word (see e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1208, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5). Phoebus punished her by making her predictions disbelieved and disregarded; cf. 35 *credi deo uetante*. For a modern novel on her, see Christa Wolf, *Kassandra*, Berlin - Weimar 1983.

ore ... furens: the symptoms of Cassandra's frenzy when she is inspired are fully described by the chorus at *Ag.* 710 ff.; Cassandra herself uses words like *furor* (720) and *uesana* (724) for her state of mind. Cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.31.66 *inest igitur in animis praesagitio extrinsecus iniecta atque inclusa diuinitus. ea si exarsit acrius, furor appellatur, cum a corpore animus abstractus diuino instinctu concitatur.* As this resembles the ecstasy of the female worshippers of Bacchus, Euripides describes her as such, *Hec.* 121, 676-7, *Tro.* 169-70; likewise Sen. *Ag.* 724 *bacchor* (Cassandra). There is a similar picture of Medea, *Med.* 383 *maenas* ... 386 *furoris ore signa lymphati gerens*, and of the Sibyl, Verg. *Aen.* 6.77-8.

lymphato: (participle of *lympho*) 'frenzied, distracted, frantic', equivalent to Gk. 'caught by nymphs, frenzied' (e.g. Pl. *Phdr.* 238D). Cf. Paul. *Fest.* p. 120 M *lymphae dictae sunt a nymphis. uulgo autem memoriae proditum est, quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est effigiem nymphae, uiderint, furendi non fecisse finem; quos Graeci 'nympholēptous' uocant, Latini lymphaticos appellant* (the form *lymphatico* is here found in the A manuscripts, cf. also Sen. *Ep.* 13.9); Var. *L.L.* 7.87.

Several Latin poets use the adj. in the context of Bacchic worship: Catul. 64.254 *lymphata mente furebant*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.14 *mentemque lymphatam Mareotico*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.377 *inmensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem*, Ov. *Met.* 11.3-4 *nurus Ciconum, tectae lymphata ferinis / pectora uelleribus*. It is also found in historical prose, e.g. Liv. 7.17.3 *uelut lymphati et attoniti*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.32, *Hist.* 1.82, often of a panic.

For *lymphae* = *nymphae*, cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.97 *lymphis*; in Var. *R.R.* 1.1.6, *Lympha* is a water goddess.

35 credi ... uetante: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.246-7 *fatis aperit Cassandra futuris / ora dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris*, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5 'Apollo took away the persuading of her divination', Aesch. *Ag.* 1212 (Cassandra) 'I could make none in anything believe me, once I had committed this offense' (transl. Lloyd-Jones); Groeneboom ad *Ag.* 1212 refers to *TGF* adesp. 414 'for the god made me prophesy in vain'.

praedixit: the first book of Cicero's *De Divinatione* contains some prophecies of Cassandra from Ennius' play *Alexander* (1.31.66 and 1.50.114). The cause of all the trouble, Paris' birth, was announced to Hecuba in a dream (see next line); for Cassandra's warning that Paris would cause the destruction of Troy, cf. Eur. *Andr.* 293 ff. quoted below.

Homer does mention Cassandra's beauty (*Il.* 13.365), but not her gift of prophecy and her warnings; however, Leaf ad *Il.* 24.699 remarks that the fact that she is the first to discern the body of Hector may have suggested the idea to later imitators.

36 prior: i.e. before Cassandra did. For the use of the proceleusmatic (*prĭŏr Hĕcŭ*), in Senecan iambics occurring in the first foot only, cf. below 168, *Med.* 670 *pauet animus* (preceding a similar description), 488 *tibi patria* (H. Drexler, *Einführung in die römische Metrik*, Darmstadt 1967, 138).

uidi grauida: when Hecuba was pregnant with the child that would be called Paris or Alexander, she dreamed that she gave birth to a burning torch, and that the torch spread over the whole city and set it on fire (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5). Homer does not reveal any knowledge of this dream, but it is found at Pind. *Pae.* 8.27 ff.

Sophocles and Euripides have both handled the theme in a play called *Alexandros* (for a reconstruction of Euripides' play see Ruth Scodel, *The Trojan Trilogy of Euripides*, Göttingen 1980, Hypomnemata 60, Chapter I). The latter alludes to it, *Tro.* 919-22 (Helen; transl. Way):

> First, she brought forth the source of all these ills,
> Who brought forth Paris: then, both Troy and me
> The old king ruined, slaying not the babe
> Alexander, baleful semblance of a torch

Cic. *Div.* 1.21.42 has a fragment concerning this dream, that with much certainty may be ascribed to Ennius' *Alexander* (35-46 V^2):

> mater grauida parere se ardentem facem
> uisa est in somnis Hecuba, quo facto pater
> rex ipse Priamus somnio mentis metu
> perculsus, curis sumptus suspirantibus
> exsacrificabat hostiis balantibus.
> tum coniecturam postulat pacem petens
> ut se edoceret obsecrans Apollinem
> quo sese uertant tantae sortes somnium.
> ibi ex oraclo uoce diuina edidit
> Apollo puerum primus Priamo qui foret
> postilla natus temperaret tollere;
> eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo.

Vergil, in his *Aeneid*, hints at it twice: 7.319-20 *nec face tantum / Cisseis praegnas ignis enixa iugalis*, 10.704-5 *face praegnas / Cisseis regina*. In *Ag.* 706 *fecunda in ignes*, Seneca's description of Hecuba probably may be considered an ambiguity referring to this dream and the great numbers of pyres that had to be built for her killed sons.

nec tacui metus: Hecuba informed Priam of her dream, who thereon by way of his seers asked Apollo for its meaning; the priestess Cassandra advised to kill the boy immediately after his birth.

The trans. use of *taceo* (*OLD* s.v. 4) is found again below 534; it already occurs in Plautus: *Mil.* 265 *tacere nequeo solus quod scio*, *Trin.* 801 *nam pol tacere numquam quicquamst quod queat.*

37 et: perfectly combines *uidi* and *uates fui* (the words *nec tacui metus* may be considered a parenthesis); Bentley's *sed* or *at* and Viansino's *set* are not needed, even if one considers this line in contrast with *nec tacui.* For 'adversatives *et*', see H-Sz 481; *ThLL* V 2.893.4 ff.; *OLD* s.v. 14.

uana: Miller's translation 'unheeded' seems to be incorrect. Hecuba was believed, Apollo was consulted, the divine pronouncement was taken seriously and measures were taken accordingly. But it was a necessity that oracles had to be fulfilled despite all efforts to thwart them: therefore, Hecuba was a 'vain' prophetess, while Cassandra was so because she was never believed. In order to prevent the fulfillment of the oracle, Paris was exposed on Mt. Ida. It proved equally ineffective as in the cases of Oedipus, Cyrus (Hdt. 1.108 ff.), and Romulus and Remus (Liv. 1.4): he was found and brought up by a shepherd. At the end of the play (994 ff., 1005 ff.), Hecuba will resume this role as a prophetess.

38 cautus: 'cautious'; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.9 *saepe ferox cautum petiit Neptunus Vlixen*. Here it is a rather friendly epithet of Ulysses, coming from Hecuba. He was not susceptible to deceit (568 ff.), but full of tricks to deceive others (149, 613-4, *Ag.* 635-6 *subdolo / ... Vlixi*). Ajax scoffs at him: *furtis incautum decipit hostem* (Ov. *Met.* 13.104). Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.73 applies the adjective *cautus* to the fox. As Bömer notes on *Met.* 1.136, the adj. is rarely used by Vergil, Tibullus and Propertius.

Ithacus: 'the man from Ithaca'; so again below 317, 927, 980, 1089 (never as an adj. in Sen. trag.). For instances in other authors, see

Austin's note on Verg. *Aen.* 2.122 (add from later Latin Claud. *VI Cons. Hon.* 471).

Ithacus ... Ithaci: Seneca often repeats a noun in the same or next line with a change of case or number, a figure called polyptoton (from πτῶσις = *casus*); again with a substantive, below 233, 298-9, 327, 367, 397, 733, 869, 982, less often with adjectives (below 791; with change of degree 427). With proper names, he applies it again *H.F.* 16 *Bacchus aut Bacchi parens*, 482 *Eryx et Eryci iunctus Antaeus Libys*, 905 *Phoebus et Phoebi soror*, *Phoen.* 647-8 *Cadmus hoc dicet tibi / Cadmique proles* (note the ictus-shift in all instances!). In other poets, it is found e.g. Catul. 4.27 *gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.325 *Venus et Veneris ... filius*, *Ecl.* 3.62 *et me Phoebus amat; Phoebo sua semper apud me*, *Cat.* 4.7 *Phoebi chorus ipseque Phoebus*, Hor. *Epod.* 17.42-3 *Castor ... / fraterque magni Castoris*. For the phrase *Ithacus ... aut Ithaci comes*, cf. esp. Ov. *Ibis* 627-8 *Rhesus ... comites Rhesi*, 630 *Hyrtacides Hyrtacidaeque comes*, Hom. *Il.* 7.165, 8.263, 17.258 [on polyptoton, see Canter, p. 161; Lausberg §§ 640-648; Jeffrey Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry*, Oxford 1996, 219 f.].

Ithaci comes: Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, was the companion of Ulysses in such exploits as the capture of the spy Dolon (Hom. *Il.* 10.272 ff.), the attack upon Rhesus and his Thracians (10.469 ff.), and the capture of the Palladium; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.163 with Austin's note, Stat. *Silu.* 5.3.179 *Diomedeum furtum*. In Stat. *Ach.* 1.538 ff. we find them together as envoys to Scyros; Dilke (1954) 18 makes the neat comparison: "crafty Ulysses, the Sherlock Holmes who has Diomede as his Dr. Watson".

In the contest for Achilles' arms, Ajax taunts Ulysses for his dependence on darkness and Diomedes: *luce nihil gestum, nihil est Diomede remoto* (Ov. Met. 13.100), a taunt turned into honour by Ulysses (13.239-42): *at sua Tydides mecum communicat acta, / me probat, et socio semper confidit Vlixe. / est aliquid de tot Graiorum milibus unum / a Diomede legi.* Hecuba's reference to them here may be an allusion to their capture of Rhesus' horses (see above on 8), enabling the capture of Troy. According to Hom. *Od.* 4.280, both Ulysses and Diomede were in the Wooden Horse, but the latter is not found in Vergil's list (*Aen.* 2.261 ff.).

39 nocturnus: cf. below 755 *nocturne miles*, Ov. *Met.* 13.14-5 *sua narret Ulixes / quae sine teste gerit, quorum nox conscia sola est*, 13.100. The expedition mentioned above, for instance, took place during the later part of the night (Hom. *Il.* 10.251 ff.), while they were still protected by darkness (10.276). For the chiasmus *cautus Ithacus ... comes nocturnus*, followed by *fallax Sinon*, cf. below 64-5, 346.

fallax: Verg. *Aen.* 2.195 *periuri ... Sinonis*.

Sinon: having built the Wooden Horse, the Greeks sailed away, pretending they went home. But they had also left behind Sinon, who had himself taken prisoner by the Trojans, in order to persuade them by some crafty acting to bring the Horse into their city. In his report of the

capture of the city, Aeneas mentions him twice: *inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim / laxat claustra Sinon* (*Aen.* 2.258-9), and *arduus armatos mediis in moenibus astans / fundit equus uictorque Sinon incendia miscet / insultans* (2.328-30). Hecuba's words probably refer to the latter passage. On this episode and on Sinon, see Verg. *Aen.* 2.57 ff., Heinze ([4]1957) 7-12, 64-67, 79-81.

40 meus ... meis: position and repetition (with a shift of accent, see on 38 *Ithacus ... Ithaci*) of the pronoun are very effective, underlining and rounding off the invocation of 28-9 and the identification of 4 *me ... et te, Troia*. For the artistic device of a chiasmus to conclude (a part of) a speech cf., for instance, *Phoen.* 642-3 *libera patriam metu, / luctu parentes.*

ignis iste: see on 11 *rubenti Tigrin inmiscet*; the repetition *-is is-* is found again e.g. below 298, 435, *Phae.* 1157 *ensis iste*, *Ag.* 733 *agrestis iste.*

41-62 *Hecuba turns to the present sorrows: the death of Priam and the distribution by lot of his wife and daughters.*

sed quid: Hecuba breaks off her lament over the fall of Troy and the recollection of her dream. For this use of *sed quid*, cf. e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 314 Sk (= 314 V[2]) *sed quid ego haec memoro?*, Pl. *Merc.* 218 *sed quid ego hic in lamentando pereo, ad nauim non eo?*, Catul. 64.116-7 *sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura / commemorem*, 64.164, Verg. *Aen.* 2.101, Stat. *Theb.* 1.461. It is also found in prose, e.g. Sal. *Rep.* 2.9 *sed quid ego plura quasi de ignotis memorem?* In Greek tragedy, ἀλλά is similarly used to break off, for instance at Eur. *Tro.* 45, *Med.* 46; cf. also Ap. Rhod. 1.648-9 'But why need I tell at length tales of Aethalides?' (transl. Seaton, Loeb).

In the prologue of *Hercules Furens*, Juno likewise builds up a climax by distinguishing various stages of distress: 19 *sed uetera querimur*, 63 *leuia sed nimium queror* (to which Fitch compares *Ag.* 528 *ecce alia clades*, 557 *nos alia maior naufragos pestis uocat*).

ruinas urbis: again below 739, *Oed.* 32; cf. 824 *Troiae ruinis*, 428 *ruentis Ilii fatum*. In Hecuba's words at the end of the play, *ruina* will also return (1176).

42 uiuax: comparable to the praise for the true king, *qui tuto positus loco / infra se uidet omnia / occurritque suo libens / fato nec queritur mori* (*Thy.* 365-8), is the denouncing of the attachment to life: cf. e.g. *H.F.* 1026-7 (Amphitryon addressing himself) *cernere hoc audes, nimis / uiuax senectus?*, *Thy.* 883-4 *uitae est auidus quisquis non uult / mundo secum pereunte mori*, Ov. *Met.* 13.518-20 (Hecuba again) *quidue moror? quo me seruas, annosa senectus? / quo, di crudeles, nisi ut noua funera cernam, / uiuacem differtis anum?*, Luc. 2.65 *grauis uiuacia fata senectae*. Sen. trag. applies the adj. also to *irae* (*H.F.* 27-8), *flamma* (*Med.* 826), *hederae* (*Oed.* 455), and *ceruus* (*Oed.* 752). Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.53 uses it of an old woman, poisoned by her son who thinks she is too 'tenacious of life'.

senectus: 'old age', hence 'aged woman'. For the use of abstract nouns for concrete, cf. e.g. below 59 *coniugia*, *Med.* 253 *miserias*, *H.F.* 1027 (quoted on *uiuax*). For the apostrophe to herself, see on 107 *dolor.*

ad hos: according to Peter Hahlbrock, 'Beobachtungen zum iambischen Trimeter in den Tragödien des L. Annaeus Seneca', *WS* N.F. 2 (1968) 183, 86.8% of the 8480 lines of dialogue in these tragedies have a last foot consisting of a dissyllable; variation is given by trisyllabic words (1.3% without synaloephe, 10.3% with), e.g. 7 *occidit.* Very rare are quadrisyllables (60 *Antenoris*, 183 *Neptunium*, 195 *Polyxene*, 1080 *cacumine*) or two monosyllables as here: cf. *Phoen.* 234 *quid hic*, 495 *et hinc*, *Med.* 125 *in hanc*, *Phae.* 713 *et hic*, *Oed.* 1016 *sub hoc*; line 56 ends with the combination *est* + monosyllable.

43 luctus recentes: Hecuba now contrasts her personal (*hos*) sorrows of late with the fall of Troy, an ancient woe by now and not worthy of mourning any more (note the chiasmus); cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.774-6 *quid nunc antiqua recordor / damna mei generis? timor hic meminisse priorum / non sinit.* At Cic. *Tusc.* 4.8.18, *luctus* is defined as *aegritudo ex eius, qui carus fuerit, interitu acerbo* (*ThLL* VII 2.1740.33-35 lists this instance with below 1059-60 under 'exempla audaciora: de rebus adversis, eventibus sim.').

uetus ... malum: Ov. *Met.* 13.570 *ueterumque diu memor illa* (sc. Hecuba) *malorum.* So much has happened in the past hours, that the capture and destruction of the city (in the preceding night!) now seem long ago to Hecuba.

44 uidi: the fact that Hecuba has seen the killing of her husband before her very eyes intensifies her narrative; cf. below 170, and the comparable passages *Ag.* 611 *uidimus patriam ruentem*, 656-8 *uidi, uidi senis in iugulo / telum Pyrrhi uix exiguo / sanguine tingui*, *H.F.* 254-8, Eur. *Tro.* 481-3 (Hecabe, transl. Way)

> Their father Priam — not from other lips
> I heard and wept his doom, but these mine eyes
> Beheld him butchered on the altar-stone.

Verg. *Aen.* 2.499-502

> uidi ipse furentem
> caede Neoptolemum geminosque in limine Atridas,
> uidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras
> sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignis,

Enn. *scen.* 87-94 J (92-9 V^2)

> o pater o patria o Priami domus!
> saeptum altisono cardine templum;
> uidi ego te, adstante ope barbarica,
> tectis caelatis laqueatis
> auro ebore instructam regifice.
> haec omnia uidi inflammari,
> Priamo ui uitam euitari
> Iouis aram sanguine turpari

(lines from Enn. *Andromacha*, quoted at Cic. *Tusc.* 3.44-5 as a *praeclarum carmen* in defence of this *poeta egregius* against the *cantores Euphorionis*; O. Schoenberger, 'Zum Klagelied der Andromache', *Hermes* 84 (1956) 255 f., supposes that the above quoted Euripidean lines may have been Ennius' model). Cf. also Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.13 *uidimus*: "the appeal to experience is a familiar rhetorical device, and *uidere* is often used of unpleasant experiences"; Ernst Hansen, *Die Stellung der Affektrede in den Tragödien des Seneca*, Berlin 1934, 40 f.

For the preponderance of the eyes, cf. Pl. *Bac.* 469 *uidi, non ex audito arguo*, Sen. *Ep.* 6.5 *homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt*, Hdt. 1.8 (see more fully W.-L. Lieberman, *Studien zu Senecas Tragödien*, Meisenheim am Glan 1974, 30, n. 47).

execrandum: 'detestable', a Senecan coinage, also ocurring at *Phoen.* 639 (*bellum*) *in quo execrandum uictor admittit nefas*; in later prose, it is found at Plin. *Nat.* 17.96 *pessima atque execranda res*. Its use here may be explained by the analogous placing of *nefandum* (48), *nefandus* (*Phoen.* 644), *agendum* (*H.F.* 1277, *Thy.* 517); the more usual *ex(s)ecrabilis* is found e.g. at *Phoen.* 223 *nefandus incestificus exsecrabilis*, *Cl.* 1.11.4 *tyrannorum exsecrabilis ac breuis potestas*, 1.12.4 *illo exsecrabili uersu* (sc. '*oderint dum metuant*').

regiae caedis: genitive of definition. The use of an adj. instead of the gen. of a subst. (here a gen. obj., cf. e.g. below 309 *caede ... regia*, *Oed.* 217 *caedem ... regiam*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.5.2 *humanas ... caedes*) may be for metrical convenience (it here has the double adventage of avoiding a second ending *-is*), but is probably prior to the use of the genitive. It often concerns adjectives derived from a deity or an important person (see on 137 *Herculeas*), or indicating family-tie or social status. Christian Latin again shows a preference for the use of the adjective over the genitive [Löfstedt (1942) 107 ff.; A. Ernout - F. Thomas, *Syntaxe Latine*, Paris ^{2}1964, 44-46; A. Blaise, *Manuel du Latin Chrétien*, Strasbourg 1955, 20; Chr. Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des Chretiens* I, Roma 1958, 36, 169 ff.].

nefas: 'an offence against moral law, a wicked act, crime' (*OLD* s.v. 2), originally an offence against divine law. The word has a key-function in Seneca's tragedies: it occurs some 65 times (in *H.O.* 13x, in *Oct.* 9x). In this play, *nefas* is found again at 331 (the slaughter of Polyxena), 668 (the violation of a grave), 1065 (the *duplex nefas* of the two murders), 1086 (a spectator sitting on Hector's grave), 1119 (the death of Astyanax). In the other plays, it denotes crimes like matricide (*Phoen.* 356), parricide (*Med.* 261), fratricide (*Phoen.* 412), child-murder (*Med.* 931), and incest (*Oed.* 661); likewise the adjective *nefandus* (e.g. below 48).

For the combination *uidi ... nefas*, cf. e.g. *Phoen.* 497-8 *ueni ut arcerem nefas / an ut uiderem propius?*, *Oed.* 444 *uelut ignotum uidere nefas*, Ov. *Met.* 11.69-70 *matres Edonidas omnes, / quae uidere nefas*. With the sense of 'seeing, without doing anything', the verb is used in this combination at *H.F.* 632-3 *uidit hoc tantum nefas / defensus orbis*, *Thy.* 1047 *tale quis*

uidit nefas? [on *nefas*, see I. Opelt, *Der Tyrann als Unmensch in der Tragödie des L. Annaeus Seneca*, Diss. Freiburg i. Br. (1951) 92-95; 'Senecas Konzeption des Tragischen' (Originalbeitrag 1969) in: E. Lefèvre (ed.), *Senecas Tragödien*, Darmstadt 1972, 92-128, esp. 104-107; A.L. Motto & J.R. Clark, 'Nefas, the way of the world in Seneca's Troades', *Maia* 36 (1984), 157-163; C.A. Peeters, *Fas en Nefas, Een Semantische Studie*, Diss. Utrecht 1945, esp. 73-79, 89-96].

Note the careful structuring of the line: the appositional genitive or genitive of definition (cf. 289 *facinus atrox caedis*) is enclosed by the defining words, and the adjectives are juxtaposed to stress the detestable character of the crime.

45 ipsas ... : H.M.B. ter Haar Romeny, *De auctore tragoediarum, quae sub Senecae nomine feruntur, Vergilii imitatore*, Dotecomiae 1897, understandably begins with this passage and Vergil's description of Priam's death, *Aen.* 2.550-3:

hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem
traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
implicuitque comam laeua, dextraque coruscum
extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem.

W.S. Watt's proposal, *HSCP* 92 (1989) 331, to transpose 44 and 45, reading *malum. / ipsasque ... scelus / uidi*, in order to make *-que* combine the old woe and the fresh sorrow, seems no improvement: it disturbs the emphatical *uidi* opening, and epexegetic *-que* in my opinion perfectly combines 44 and 45.

ipsas ... ad aras: as in the dialects, e.g. Umb. *testre e uze* = *dextro in umero*, a most usual wordorder since the beginning of literature (see H-Sz 216, K-S 1.587); cf. e.g. below 158-9, 188, 323, 392. For the reverse order, see e.g. below 146.

aras: Sen. trag. uses the plural forms over 40x, never the singular; Vergil's preference for the plural, after the model of *altaria* (Löfstedt [1942] 42 f. "reine Analogiebildungen"), is noted by Austin on *Aen.* 2.663. In an open court of the palace was the altar of Zeus where Priam was murdered; Hecuba had taken refuge there with her daughters and persuaded Priam to give up resistance and join them (*Aen.* 2.512-25).

maius: Housman's *admissis* for *admissum*, and Leo's *admissumst fide*, taken over by Miller, but not found in Leo's text, both providing a complement to the comparative, seem superfluous suggestions; for Hecuba the recent killing of her old, helpless husband is a straight *nefas*, and because he was slain at the very altar, it belongs to the category of *maiora scelera*. Combined with *scelus*, *maius* is found again *Phoen.* 456-7 *si placuit scelus, / maius paratum est*, *Med.* 50 *maiora iam me scelera post partus decent*, *Oed.* 17 *aliudque nobis maius indicunt scelus*, *Ag.* 29 *sed maius aliud ausa commisso scelus* (on enlargement or intensification of evil as a common motif in Senecan tragedy, see below on 427).

admissum: 'committed' (*OLD* s.v. 13); with the same meaning and similarly placed, it is found in *Med.* 904-5 *quidquid admissum est adhuc / pietas uocetur, Oed.* 274-5 *sed quo nefandum facinus admissum loco est, / memorate.* There seems to be no difference with *committere*: cf. below 1104-5, *Phae.* 166-7 *nefasque quod non ulla tellus barbara / commisit umquam, Ag.* 278 *nil esse crede turpe commissum tibi.* J.D. Duff on Juv. 13.1 distinguishes in Cicero *admittere* of the moral guilt of an action, and *committere* of the injury to others, citing *Fam.* 3.10.2 *si quid a me praetermissum erit, commissum facinus et admissum dedecus confitebor,* Ter. *Ph.* 415, *Ad.* 682-3. For the indifferent use of the verbs by Seneca in his prose, he quotes *Cl.* 1.23.1 *uidebis ea saepe committi, quae saepe uindicantur.[...] multo minus audebant liberi nefas ultimum admittere, quamdiu sine lege crimen fuit.*

scelus: over 180 times in Sen. trag., in *Tro.* again 53, 339, 750, 871, 928, 1057, 1129; at *Phoen.* 327, *Phae.* 1210, the MSS are at variance: *scelus - nefas.*

46 Aeacius: the beginning of the line, transmitted *aeacis* E: *eacide* A, has constantly puzzled editors, although from the beginning it seemed plausible that it should contain a reference to Pyrrhus, great-grandson of Aeacus. *Aeacides* is the usual word to denote a descendant of Aeacus, e.g. Achilles (below 253, Verg. *Aen.* 1.99) or Pyrrhus (Verg. *Aen.* 3.296). Scaliger's *Aeacidis,* supported by Dracont. 5.155 *filius Aeacidis uel uindex Pyrrhus Achillis,* was accepted by most modern editors, despite the criticism of Leo ([1879] 377 "*Aeacidis* genetivum neutiquam probabilem habemus, cf. Neue I^2 p. 336") and Housman. Heinsius' *Aeacidae ab armis,* meeting the metrical objections raised by Gruterus and Gronovius against *Aeacidae armis,* won the support of Fantham, but is it correct? Her other instances of elided *-ae* (above 16, below 657, *Med.* 226, 256) all are before a long syllable; likewise *Phae.* 255 *Oed.* 11, 95, 934, *Thy.* 62.

The E reading resulted in Gronovius' conjecture *Aiacis*: "Cassandram in fano Minervae stupravit Ajax. [...] Grande nefas: sed majus, quam ad Minervae aram Ajax armatus edidit, ego meis oculis patratum vidi ad aram Iovis Hercei". Bentley elaborated this idea, substituting *ausis* for *armis.* But the absence of any indication of the name of Priam's murderer, makes these solutions less likely.

The conjecture *Aeacius* (Henneberger, Housman), prone to mutilation because of its rareness, but supported by Manil. 2.3 *pectoraque Aeacii,* Col. 10.175 *Aeacii flores,* Ov. *Ep.* 8.33 *at pater Aeacio promiserat,* Stat. *Ach.* 2.42-3 *heros / Aeacius* P, *Aeacides* EBKQR, seems justly accepted by Zwierlein, Boyle, and Chaumartin.

armis ... ferox: the combination of words is also found at *Oct.* 546 *ferox armis dea,* Sal. *Hist.* 2.39 *genus armis ferox.*

ferox: Pyrrhus, who will play an important part in this tragedy (debate with Agamemnon 203 ff., reported killer of Polyxena at the end), is introduced with the characterization 'fierce', that is elsewhere

applied to e.g. the militant Amazon (below 672-3), Hercules (721), Medea (*Med.* 186-7 *ferox / minaxque*, 442 *ferox ... corde*), but also to *Impietas* (*H.F.* 97), a bull (*Phoen.* 21, *Med.* 241, *Phae.* 1172, *Oed.* 610), and to geographical notions like Mysia (below 216), the Rhine (*H.F.* 1324) and Mt. Cithaeron (*Phoen.* 34 *semper cruente saeue crudelis ferox*).

In *Troades*, the epithet also denotes the unflinching attitude of Astyanax (1098) as well as Polyxena (1152) in the face of death. This seems symbolic for the idea of interchangeability of the victor/victim roles, worded by Agamemnon in this play (265-6 *stamus hoc Danai loco, / unde illa cecidit*), but occurring elsewhere as well: see *Ag.* 869 *uicimus uicti Phryges* with Tarrant's note, for the ironic reversal referring to Hdt. 8.102, Verg. *Aen.* 2.367-8.

saeva: in Hecuba's indignant account of the killing, the A reading seems most appropriate; cf. Zwierlein (1986) 78: "fügt sich vorzüglich in den Zusammenhang, in dem es mehr um das Ethos als um plastische Bildlichkeit geht". For the combination of *ferox* and *saeuus*, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 1082-3 *en fusus humi saeua feroci / corde uolutat somnia*; the combination *saeua manu* is also found below 985, *Oed.* 1029, *H.O.* 522. Axelson (Zwierlein, *Philol.* 113 [1969] 265) styles *scaeua* (E) "wohl lediglich eine orthographische Variante zu *saeua*"; cf. *H.F.* 1123 *ulti saeuos* A *uilisceuos* E, *Med.* 512, *Thy.* 6 *sisyphi* A *siscyphi* E, and for the reverse *Tro.* 339 *scyros* A *syrus* E, *Med.* 483 *scythae* A *sithae* E (Zwierlein [1986] 499). For another instance of this confusion, see Auson. *Ephem.* 3.77.

With Chaumartin, 'Observations critiques sur quelques passages des tragédies de Sénèque', *RPh* 69 (1995) 96, I think it most likely that it is a "correction" made by a scribe remembering Vergil's description, a variation of his *laeva* (*Aen.* 2.553). For this use of the left hand, cf. *Phae.* 706-8 *stringatur ensis, merita supplicia exigat. / en impudicum crine contorto caput / laeua reflexi*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.535-6 *sic fatus galeam laeua tenet atque reflexa / ceruice oranti capulo tenus applicat ensem*, 12.301-2 *super ipse secutus / caesariem laeua turbati corripit hostis*. The word would then combine the literal meaning (cf. the subst. *scaeua* 'a left-handed person') with the transferred sense 'perverse'. The adjective *scaeuus*, however, is found nowhere else in these tragedies; it is a conjectural reading at *Benef.* 5.12.6 *animus scaeuus*, but occurs mainly in Apuleius' prose, e.g. *Met.* 2.13 *fortunam scaeuam an saeuam uerius dixerim*, 9.14 (*femina*) *saeua scaeua uirosa ebriosa*, always in a transferred sense.

J.F. Gronovius noted that Seneca maybe wrote *laeua*, but his son printed *saeua* in his edition of 1682. Fantham with Zwierlein, (1969 *Ph*) 265, preferred *laeua*, the other editors *scaeua*.

47 coma ... torta: cf. *Phae.* 707 *crine contorto*. H.J. Schweizer, 'Zur Lektüre von Senecas Dramen', in: *Seneca im Unterricht*, Heidelberg 1974, 74-119, under the heading 'Vergil und Seneca' rightly notes, p. 113: "*torquere* und *reflectere* sind stärkere Verben und drastischer im Ausdruck als *implicare*".

reflectens: 'bending back'; cf. *Phae.* 708, Verg. *Aen.* 10.535-6 (see on 46 *saeua*), Apul. *Met.* 3.6 *me ... manibus ambabus capillo adreptum ac retro reflexum.* In a much more friendly context, applied to the subject's head, the verb occurs at Catul. 45.10 *Acme leuiter caput reflectens*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.633 *tereti ceruice reflexa.*

48 alto: of a wound (*OLD* s.v. 4c) again *Oed.* 346 *altas ... plagas* (at *Oed.* 140, cited by *OLD*, it is conjectured by Richter), Verg. *Aen.* 10.857 *alto uulnere.* The prolepsis is emphasized by the placing of the adjective.

nefandum: cf. *nefas* 44. The adj. occurs 33 times in Sen. trag.; in *Tro.* it is found again at 518 (of Ulysses' approach), and 651 (of Astyanax' death), in the same position in the trimeter.

uulneri: in N-W I 370 it is listed under 'alte Lokative' with *lateri* (Verg. *Aen.* 2.553 with *abdidit ensem*, 4.73 with *haeret letalis arundo*, Ov. *Met.* 12.482 with *recondere luctatur gladium*), and *carceri* (Vell. 2.91.4 with *abditus*). Austin on 2.553, after quoting *Tro.* 48, refers to Norden on 6.350 "for other examples of a dative replacing a metrically intractable ablative". I would rather like to label it a poetic dative of direction (= *in uulnus*; cf. Sen. *Suas.* 6.2 *cum gladium in pectus abdidisset*), like *caelo ... educere* (Verg. *Aen.* 2.186), *it clamor caelo* (*Aen.* 5.451) [see Löfstedt (1942) 180 ff., H-Sz 100 f.].

abdidit: 'buried'; cf. below 1155 *ut dextra ferrum penitus exactum abdidit*, *Thy.* 722 *in uulnere ensem abscondit*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.553 *lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem*, 9.347-8 *pectore in aduerso totum cui comminus ensem / condidit adsurgenti et multa morte recepit*, Sen. *Suas.* 6.2 (see on *uulneri*). Note the a b A B C structure, also found below 460.

49 penitus: 'deeply' (*OLD* s.v. 2a); again in the same context below 1155, *Thy.* 722-3 *penitus premens / iugulo manum commisit*, Sis. *Mil.* 10 *ut eum penitus utero suo recepit.*

recepisset: the line allows of two interpretations, resulting from divergent meanings of the compound: either (emphasizing the preposition) 'to pull out, withdraw' (*OLD* s.v. 11), or (stressing the verb) 'to be penetrated by, allow to penetrate (a weapon, point, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 4b); there is a comparable problem below 1156 *recepta morte.* For the latter meaning, cf., for instance, *Thy.* 740-1 *pueri ... / pectore receptus ensis*, *Phoen.* 47 *mortemque totam recipe*, *Ep.* 57.5 *alii gladium facilius recipiunt quam uident*, Luc. 2.194 *ense recepto*, and the cry *recipe ferrum* (e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 2.17.41) of the spectators to a vanquished gladiator whom they were not inclined to spare: at *Dial.* 9.11.5 *at tu et uiues diutius et morieris expeditius qui ferrum non subducta ceruice nec manibus oppositis sed animose recipis*, Seneca uses the same verb in the analogy of gladiators and *sapiens* facing death. Gronovius on *Phoen.* 47 also compares *Ep.* 30.9 *accessus mortis quam perturbationem adferat, optime hi dicent, qui secundum illam steterunt, qui uenientem et uiderunt et receperunt*, likewise G. Carlsson, *Zu Senecas Tragödien, Lesungen und Deutungen*, Lund 1929, 9, n. 3. With Priam as subject, such is the view of Thomann, Zwierlein, van Leijenhorst, Caviglia, Fantham, Stroh and Boyle.

For a long time I have sided with this interpretation; but looking at the context, I feel two objections: the rapid changes of subject and the opposed views on Priam's death. Although such changes are as old as Homer's poetry (e.g. *Il.* 7.186-9 alternately the herald, Ajax, the herald, Ajax), the sequence Pyrrhus - Priam - sword seems extremely harsh to me. Secondly, Priam's death is a *luctus* to Hecuba; a remark that he 'gladly received' the sword, seems out of place in her sorrowful and embittered report (cf. her continuation 51 ff.; below 142 ff., on the other hand, there is a functional shift from grief to consolation).

Therefore, I prefer to take *recipere* = *educere*; for this sense of the verb, cf. *Aen.* 9.348 quoted on 48 *abdidit* (Servius *ad loc.* compares 10.383-4 *hastamque receptat / ossibus haerentem*). Fantham's objection to the use of the pluperfect tense is understandable, but to me not decisive: the sword had to be drawn out completely, before the embarrassing conclusion could be made that it was dry up to the very point. In favour of this view, I would like to add that in the comparable passage *Thy.* 722-3 the messenger also proceeds with *educto ... ferro.*

libens: when taken with Priam, it reminds of the true king, described in the second choral ode of *Thyestes*, who *occurrit ... suo libens / fato nec queritur mori* (367-8), and of Socrates, who *uenenum laetus et libens hauriet* (*Dial.* 1.3.13); cf. *Ep.* 61.2 *ante senectutem curaui ut bene uiuerem, in senectute ut bene moriar; bene autem mori est libenter mori* [on Seneca's views concerning death, see A.D. Leeman, 'Das Todeserlebnis in Senecas Denken', *Gymnasium* 78 (1971), 322-333]. In the other view, it describes the lust (*libido*) with which Pyrrhus performs the killing; *penitus* expresses the same state of mind, I think (is there a sexual undertone? Cf. below 987 *miscet*). It then offers a striking contrast both with the embarrassing result here (50) and with his attitude at the sacrifice of Polyxena, 1154 *nouumque monstrum est Pyrrhus ad caedem piger.*

A third interpretation was offered by M. Müller, *Philol.* 60 (1901), 261 f. He proposed to put a comma between *recepisset* and *libens*, adding: "scilicet a Pyrrho reductus ensis libens redit, utpote qui in extenuato et enervato iugulo senis non haeserit". It was approved of by Peiper-Richter, Moricca, Anliker, Viansino, Giardina, and Amoroso (Herrmann prints the comma after *libens*, but states in his app. crit. *sic dist. M. Müeller*). In my opinion, it was rightly rejected by Zwierlein (1986) 78 f. for two reasons: the transition from subordinate to principal clause just before the final foot would be harsh (but not unparallelled, cf. e.g. 534 *tamen*), and in the other passages in Sen. trag. where *libens* occurs, the word - always placed at the end of the line - usually is preceded by the matching subject/predicate: *H.F.* 1037 *persolui libens*, 1319 *amplector libens*, *Phoen.* 104 *deserui libens*, 332 *laudo et agnosco libens*, *Ag.* 385 *cape dona libens*, 933 *furabor libens*, *Thy.* 367, 1021 *accipe hos potius libens* (but as a correction of Zwierlein it should be noted that *Ag.* 806-7 *libens / ... colam* is an exception).

50 ensis: the predominant word for 'sword' in poetry. Sen. trag. uses it 36 times, in *Tro.* again 312, 351 and 939; he has *gladius* below 284 and 1174, in the other plays three more times. The respective figures for Vergil are 64 : 4, Hor. 8 : 1, Prop. 5 : 0, Ovid 95 : 32. Like Cicero, Seneca in his prose only uses *gladius* [see *ThLL* V 2.608.40 ff, Axelson (1945) 51, Bömer on *Met.* 12.130].

siccus: cf. *Ag.* 656-8 *uidi, uidi senis in iugulo / telum Pyrrhi uix exiguo / sanguine tingui.* The idea does not occur in Euripides', Ennius' or Vergil's description of the murder (*Aen.* 2.662 even *iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus*), but Ov. *Met.* 13.409 has *exiguumque senis Priami ... cruorem,* 7.315 (of old Pelias) *exiguo ... sanguine.* Cf. also V. Max. 3.85 *propter exiguum senilemque sanguinem,* Luc. 2.128-9 *paruum sed fessa senectus / sanguinis effudit iugulo,* Stat. *Theb.* 5.237 *egentem sanguinis ensem.* The notion returns in Racine, *Andromaque* IV.5.1335-6 (Hermione describing Priam's death): 'Tandis que dans son sein votre bras enfoncé / Cherche un reste de sang que l'âge avait glacé.'

Slavitt offers a translation that differs remarkably from this traditional view: 'and butchered / the old king with a slash so quick the blade / came away dry.'

A striking contrast to *siccus* will be offered by the killing of Priam's daughter below 1156-7 *subitus ... prorupit cruor / per uulnus ingens.* Tacitus' record of Seneca's own death happens to supply another illustration of the concept that in old age blood flows more sluggishly: *Ann.* 15.63 *quoniam senile corpus et parco uictu tenuatum lenta effugia sanguini praebebat.*

'Bloodless' is an obvious example of hyperbole. When S.F. Bonner, *Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire,* Liverpool 1949, 164 f., comments on rhetorical exaggeration as one of Seneca's characteristics which probably owe much to the schools of declamation, he records this instance with below 481-2 (there is not enough left of Troy even to hide a child) and 1160-1 (the Greeks bewailed the death of Polyxena even more loudly than the Trojans!) as examples from *Troades.*

On hyperbole, see also Canter p. 138 f. with the definition *hyperbole est dictio fidem excedens augendi minuendiue causa, Rhet. Lat. Min.* 615.27; Lausberg § 579, §§ 909-910. In his prose, Seneca describes its character and aim in *Ben.* 7.23: *in hoc omnis hyperbole extenditur ut ad uerum mendacio ueniat* (7.23.1), *numquam tantum sperat hyperbole quantum audet, sed incredibilia adfirmat ut ad credibilia perueniat* (7.23.2). Austin in his note on *Aen.* 2.550 thinks that this Senecan line "contains all the worst horrors of the silver age ethos".

redit: a contracted perfect form (*redît*), cf. below 348, 460, 493, 806. It is also found in Senecan prose, e.g. *Ep.* 56.9 *desît,* 91.2 *diutius illam tibi perisse quam perît narro, Dial.* 4.34.4 *quam saepe ueniam qui negauit petît* (see e.g. N-W III 446 ff.; Fitch on *H.F.* 244).

The A b a B C structure is found again below 779, 966, 1131.

51 placare ... a: 'appease and hold back from' (Kingery).

quem: the old commentators differed on the interpretation of the pronoun. Farnabius made it refer to the sword or to Pyrrhus; Gronovius considered it the beginning of a rhetorical question. Fantham has two reasons for siding with the first view: "not only the peculiar inversion of *quem*, but the movement of the thought away from the issue." I prefer Gronovius' interpretation. For the placing of the interrogative pronoun may be compared e.g. below 58 *praeda quem uilis sequar?* (A), *H.F.* 1153-5 *arma quis uiuo mihi / detrahere potuit? spolia quis tanta abstulit / ipsumque quis non Herculis somnum horruit?*, *Phoen.* 459-60 *sollicita cui nunc mater alterna prece / uerba admouebo? misera quem amplectar prius?*; the rhetorical question seems to me more in tune with the preceding hyperbole and the following paradox than a relative clause.

potuit: 'could have'. For the use of the indicative where one might expect the subjunctive mood, see Ernout-Thomas ([2]1964) 247 f., H-Sz 327 f.. For the singular predicate in combination with a compound subject, see Ernout-Thomas ([2]1964) 129.

effera: 'barbarous' (*OLD* 2a); cf. *Phoen.* 264-5 *facinus ... efferum / quod populi horeant*, *Med.* 45-6 *effera ... mala*, 395 *magnum aliquid ... efferum immane impium*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.483-4 *infandas caedes, ... facta tyranni / effera.*

52 cardinem: the word is found four times in Seneca's tragedies. Once (*Med.* 177) it occurs in its original meaning, denoting 'the pivot and socket upon which a door was made to swing at the lintel and the threshold' (LS); see Costa's note on *Med.* 17, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.5. Three times (*H.F.* 1139, *Phae.* 963, *Thy.* 877) it is used for the point about which heaven turns, a pole (*OLD* 3).

Here *cardo extremus* clearly denotes 'the end of one's life' (*OLD* 4d), as in Luc. 7.380-1 *ultima fata / deprecor ac turpes extremi cardinis annos*; cf. also Sil. 9.140 *miserae ... cardine uitae.* This meaning seems derived from the four *cardines* in the zodiacal orbit, described by Man. 2.788 ff., of which the fourth *ultimus, emenso qui condit sidera mundo / occasumque tenens submersum despicit orbem, / pertinet ad rerum summas finemque laborum, / coniugia atque epulas extremaque tempora uitae / otiaque et coetus hominum cultusque deorum* (836-40).

For a parallel use of *cardo* in Seneca's prose, cf. *Ben.* 4.22.1 *quid est, quare grati uelimus esse, cum morimur, quare singulorum perpendamus officia, quare id agamus in omnem uitam nostram memoria decernente, ne cuius officii uideamur obliti? nihil iam superest, quo spes porrigatur; in illo tamen cardine positi abire e rebus humanis quam gratissimi uolumus.*

premens: from the use of the verb I gather that Seneca takes *cardo* in the sense of 'boundary-line' (*OLD* 8; e.g. Liv. 37.54.23 *quidquid intra eum cardinem est*, 40.18.8 *ut promunturium iis Mineruae uelut cardo esset*) or 'threshold/door' (Caviglia 'soglia', Thomann 'Tor') without any astronomical connotation.

53 quondam: the reading of some *recentiores*. It was accepted without comment by Gronovius; more recently it has been defended by Carlsson and Fantham. The former, *Class. et Med.* 10 (1948) 43, points out that a suspiciously tame note is struck in this passionate outburst by *quoddam*, whereas *quondam* confirms admirably with the implications of *iacentis* 'what was once the sanctuary of the realm that now lies in ruins'. For the attributive use of the adverb, he compares Verg. *Aen.* 1.198 *ignari sumus ante malorum,* Tib. 3.1.23-4 *haec tibi uir quondam, nunc frater, casta Neaera, / mittit* (cf. H-Sz 171; K-S 1.218; Bömer on *Met.* 2.490).

At first, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 763, Zwierlein had supported that view with a reference to Verg. *Aen.* 2.556-7 (Troy) *tot quondam populis terrisque superbum / regnatorem Asiae.* Now in his text, he has decided in favour of *quoddam*: " ... *quondam* ... paßte allenfalls, wenn auf eine fernere Vergangenheit hingedeutet werden sollte; der Sturz Trojas aber wird eben erst vollzogen" (cf. [1986] 79). In my opinion, reliance on the gods and inviolability of an altar for Hecuba <u>are</u> reminiscences of a remote past (like 413 Andromacha's *olim*); moreover, after the pathetic words *mortalis ... sceleris*, one expects a more pointed description of the altar than the vague *quoddam sacrum.* Thirdly, as Axelson has noted with a reference to *Ep.* 55.4 *philosophia sacrum quiddam est et venerabile*, we rather would have expected *quiddam.*

On the vanishing of religious values and protection at the capture of a city, cf. *Ben.* 7.27.1 *si tibi uitae nostrae uera imago succurret, uidere uideberis tibi captae cum maxime ciuitatis faciem, in qua omisso pudoris rectique respectu uires in concilio sunt uelut signo ad permiscenda omnia dato. non igni, non ferro abstinetur; soluta legibus scelera sunt; ne religio quidem, quae inter armas hostilia supplices texit, ullum impedimentum est ruentium in praedam.*

54 iacentis: of a defeated and sacked city, again *Ag.* 870-1 *bene est, resurgis Troia; traxisti iacens / pares Mycenas*, Ov. *Met.* 13.505 *iacet Ilion ingens*, *Ep.* 1.3 *Troia iacet.* Liebermann, p. 133 has an extensive note on the verb: "Welche Bedeutung ein im Gegenständlichen angesiedelter Begriff für Seneca bekommen kann, zeigen vielleicht am deutlichsten die *Troerinnen*, die gänzlich durch das Wort *iacere* bestimmt sind. Es tritt nicht nur häufig, sondern auch in den verschiedensten Zusammenhängen auf und vermag in der Tat aufs beste das Geschehen dieses Stücks bildlich wiederzugeben: *Tro.* 54, 121, (199), 223, 238, 312, 320, 347, 407 f., 455, 550, 603, 668, 732, 742, 752, 805, 894, 1022, 1116."

regum: 'princes' (*OLD* 6); cf. below 138, Man. 2.2 (Priam) *quinquaginta regum regemque patremque*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.223 *regem* (of Ascanius), Hom. *Il.* 4.96. The words *ille ... parens* are not just a phrase in an obituary, but provide a contrast with *caret sepulcro*: of Priam's so many sons there is no one left to bury him. Juv. 10.258-61 pictures Priam's burial if he had died "in time": *incolumi Troia Priamus uenisset ad umbras / Assaraci magnis sollemnibus, Hectore funus / portante ac reliquis fratrum ceruicibus inter / Iliadum lacrimas.*

55 caret sepulcro: note the contradiction with above 30 *quem Troia toto conditum regno tegit.* There were various accounts of Priam's death. According to Arctinus, he was killed at the altar of Zeus ἑρκεῖος, in the version followed by Pacuvius (see Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 2.506 and 557), he was captured by Pyrrhus in his palace but killed at the tomb of Achilles and dragged near the promontory of Sigeum.

Vergil combined the two stories and Seneca could not but follow him (cf. below 140-1): the atrocity of murdering such an old man is intensified by the fact that he is left unburied on the shore (cf. Heinze [[4]1957] 44, n. 1).

Ausonius records a different version, that is also found in Delrius' note "truncus eius, cum aliquandiu in litore abiectus iacuisset, tandem Hectoris sepulcro illatus": *Hic Priami non est tumulus nec condor in ista / sede; caput Danai deripuere meum. / ast ego cum lacerum sine nomine funus haberem, / confugi ad cineres Hectoreos genitor. / illic et natos Troiamque Asiamque sepultam / inueni et nostrum quicquid ubique iacet.* (*Epit.* 23), *Qui tumulum Priami quaerit, legat Hectoris ante; / ille meus, nato quem prius ipse dedi. / Hectoris et patris simul est commune sepulchrum, / amborum quoniam iuncta ruina fuit.* (*Epit.* 24)

On the similar fate of Pompey's corpse (Servius on *Aen.* 2.557: *Pompei tangit historiam*), see Plut. *uit. Pomp.* 80.1, Luc. 8.698 ff.; S. Mariner Bigorra, 'Séneca tragico en Lucano o viceversa?', in: *Hommages Bardon*, Bruxelles 1985, 271, compares these lines 55-6 to Luc. 8.713-4.

Lack of burial or cremation was a most serious disgrace in other cultures as well. Cf. *Ecclesiastes* 6:3 (did the author have Priam in mind?): 'A man may have a hundred children and live a long life; but however many his days may be, if he does not get satisfaction from the good things of life and in the end receives no burial, then I maintain that the still-born child is in better case than he.' At Hom. *Il.* 23.71 ff., Verg. *Aen.* 6.323 ff. (see below 895) burial/cremation is held essential for access to the lower world.

caret ... indiget: the difference between the verbs is illustrated by Sen. *Dial.* 7.7.2 *uoluptas ..., qua uirtus saepe caret, numquam indiget*: 'virtue often lacks pleasure, and never needs it' (transl. Basore). The former verb indicates the lack of a good that is merely desirable, *egere* and *indigere* are used of the want of something necessary; cf. *Ep.* 9.14 (*sapiens*) *eget nulla re; egere enim necessitatis est.* In my view, Seneca has chosen the "progressive" order *caret ... indiget* in order to stress the following paradox.

Axelson (1945) 69 notes the prosaic character of *indigere*, with 897 *dimicare*. M. Billerbeck, *Senecas Tragödien. Sprachliche und stilistische Untersuchungen*, Leiden 1988, 85 lists it as such with *aceruare* (*H.F.* 1216), *auspicari* (*Med.* 285, *Ag.* 8, 174, *Thy.* 657), *haesitare* (*Phoen.* 29), *multare* (*Med.* 192), *obsecrare* (*Med.* 150), *reputare* (*Ag.* 23), *stabilire* (*Thy.* 568), *uapulare* (*Ag.* 93).

flamma: "non habet, qui ipsi rogum extruat" (Farnabius).

56 ardente Troia: 'though Troy is burning' there is no fire for Priam.

Seneca is fond of paradox; cf. e.g. below 1128-9 *magna pars uulgi leuis / odit scelus spectatque*, *H.F.* 565 *et mortis dominus pertimuit mori*, *Phae.* 190-1 *et qui furentis semper Aetnaeis iugis / uersat caminos igne tam paruo calet.* In his prose, it is found for instance at *Ep.* 7.3 (*redeo*) *inhumanior, quia inter homines fui*, 18.1 *December est mensis: cum maxime civitas sudat*, 62.3 *breuissima ad diuitias per contemptum diuitiarum uia est*, 115.3 *in homine rarum humanitas bonum.*

In *Epistula* 87, he makes mention of the *Stoica paradoxa*, on which Summers notes: "the celebrated Stoic maxims 'All good actions equally good', 'Every fool mad', 'The wise man a king' etc.". He mentions them also in *Ben.* 2.31.1: *hoc ex paradoxis Stoicae sectae minime mirabile, ut mea fert opinio, aut incredibile est eum, qui libenter accipit, beneficium reddidisse.* On this topic, see A.G. Lee, *M. Tulli Ciceronis, Paradoxa Stoicorum*, London 1953, xi f.: "The Stoics ... appear to have been particularly attracted by his (sc. Socrates') use of the paradox. Zeno ... and Chrysippus ... both employed paradox in their teaching, and the Stoic Hecaton of Rhodes (2nd century B.C.) composed a work on the subject"; E. Lefèvre, 'Die Bedeutung des Paradoxen in der römischen Literatur der frühen Kaiserzeit', *Poetica* 3 (1970) 59-82.

non ... sat est: the phrase introduces the second of the *luctus recentes*: the distribution by lot of the captive women; 57 *Priami* forms the link with 44-56. For the insatiableness of the gods, cf. *Ag.* 519-20 *quisquis es, nondum malis / satiate tantis, caelitum*, *Oed.* 199-201 *delubra petunt, haut ut uoto / numina placent, / sed iuuat ipsos satiare deos*, *Dial.* 1.2.12 *non fuit dis inmortalibus satis spectare Catonem semel*, Ov. *Met.* 10.214 *non satis hoc Phoebo est*, 11.85 *nec satis hoc Baccho est.* For another way of expressing that the ultimate limit - esp. of evil things - has not yet been reached, see on 888 *hoc derat unum.*

The combination of *est* and another monosyllable occurs three more times at the end of Seneca's trimeter: *sat est* again below 475, *Oed.* 938 (in *H.O.* 4x), *quid est* at *Phoen.* 205 (for other line endings with two monosyllables, see on 42 *ad hos*). In other feet of the trimeter, *sat est* is found at *Phoen.* 356 (A), *Med.* 126 (A), 957, *Thy.* 889, 895. Preceded by an elided trisyllable, *est* ends line 911 below.

M. Wilson, *Seneca's Agamemnon and Troades: A Critical Study*, Diss. Monash University 1985, 267 f. and Boyle think that this is the most apposite moment for the chorus to enter the stage. In my view (see also on 63-66), the chorus has been present from the beginning, mourning in the background. The women stop their lament when they hear the ominous words *non tamen superis sat est*, anxious to know what new disaster lies ahead.

superis: the active part played by the gods in the fall of Troy is described to Aeneas by his mother Venus (*Aen.* 2.601-18); it is also found at the very beginning of his report to Dido (3.1-2) *postquam res Asiae Priamique euertere gentem / immeritam uisum superis.*

57 ecce: 'look' ("sometimes, for dramatic effect, referring to what is not actually present", *OLD* s.v. 1); it is a combination of **ed* (*id*) and *ce* (Hofmann p. 133). Like other playwrights, Seneca uses the particle to call attention to the appearance of a new actor, e.g. *H.F.* 329-31 *sed ecce saeuus ac minas uultu gerens / et qualis animo est talis incessu uenit / ... Lycus*. It thus introduces some remarkable scenes in his plays like *Med.* 738-9 *sonuit ecce uesano gradu / canitque. mundus uocibus primis tremit* (Medea's incantation), and *Thy.* 918-9 *ecce, iam cantus ciet / festasque uoces, nec satis menti imperat* (Thyestes at the table). *Ecce* is also found "(in vivid narrative), introducing a new event, usu. a sudden or surprising one" (*OLD* 4), e.g. *H.F.* 793-4 *ecce latratu graui / loca muta terret*, *Ag.* 528 *ecce alia clades*; cf. Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 2.270: *hac particula utimur quotiens repentinum aliquid volumus indicare*. A third use: "calling attention to an illustrative example or other amplification of a previous statement" (*OLD* 5). Here, after the sorrow of Priam's death and lack of burial, elaborating *non ... est*, it focuses the attention upon the unexpected and miserable action that is taking place right now, introduced by the hated word *dominum*.

Priami ... natis: another characteristic difference from the Euripidean prologue. Hecuba emotionally singles out the lot of her daughters (in law), emphasizing the antithesis between their former dignity and incumbent slavery; Poseidon specifically relates (Eur. *Tro.* 28-35) that some captive women have already been apportioned by lot, while the others – including Helen – are kept apart for the leaders of the army.

nuribus ... natis: for the alliteration of closely connected words (alliteration in its restricted sense), cf. 694-5 *placidus ... / patiensque*, 1011 *luctus lacrimaeque*, 1073 *et ferro et face*, 1148 *mirantur ac miserantur*. Some instances from other plays: *domibus ... / dominisque* (*H.F.* 1287-8), *uerbere ac uinclis* (*Phae.* 882), *fraude ... et furto* (*Ag.* 207), *et fas et fides* (*Thy.* 47), *aut perdet aut peribit* (*Thy.* 203) [Canter, p. 163; Marouzeau (^{2}1946) esp. 45 ff.].

legens: 'to choose, select, pick' (*OLD* s.v. 6); again below 482, 497. Translators rightly take it as the main verb, either subordinating *sortitur* (Miller: 'by lot is choosing'; Thomann: 'wählt ... durch das Los') or skipping it (Fantham: 'is choosing'; Caviglia: 'sceglie'; Boyle: 'picks').

58 sortitur: 'to assign or appoint by lot' (*OLD* 2). Elsewhere, Sen. trag. uses the verb of the 'allotting' of sentences (*H.F.* 732), or with the notion 'to obtain by lot', 'to receive as one's portion' (*H.F.* 53, *Phoen.* 245, *Thy.* 628). Cornelissen's suggestion *torquetur* understandably has found no following.

urna: cf. 974 *uersata dominos urna captiuis dedit*. The Greek procedure of drawing lots is described by Hom. *Il.* 7.175-89, when Hector has challenged the Greek heroes to fight him in single combat and nine have proved willing to do so. There the helmet of Agamemnon is used for the shaking of the potsherds.

For the Roman use of the urn in this respect (*OLD* s.v. 2a), cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.3.25-7 *omnium / uersatur urna serius ocius / sors exitura*, 3.1.14-6 *aequa lege Necessitas / sortitur insignis et imos, / omne capax mouet urna nomen*. In Vergil, we find both the helmet (*Aen.* 5.490-1 *conuenere uiri deiectamque aerea sortem / accepit galea*) and the urn (*Aen.* 6.22 *stat ductis sortibus urna*, 6.432 *quaesitor Minos urnam mouet*). Another method made use of an urn with water (*sitella*), narrow at the top; the one lot floating on the surface was taken out (Pl. *Cas.* 296 ff.). The urn was also used with voting (*OLD* 2b), e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.47, Juv. 13.4. Ovid, *Met.* 15.41 ff., relates the *mos antiquus* of putting white (for acquittal) and black (for condemnation) stones in it.

Fantham suggests that the sole function of the urn here is to decide the order in which the Greek leaders make their choice, but to me this seems to clash with Seneca's wording (62 *mea sors*, 974, 980-3).

praeda ... vilis: 'as an unprized spoil' because of my age; cf. below 62, 980 *praeda ... breuis*, Ov. *Met.* 13.485 *praedae mala sors*. At Eur. *Tro.* 193, she styles herself 'corpse-like, a feeble adornment of the dead' (transl. Barlow). For the use of *praeda* of human beings in the context of military conquest, cf. also below 150, *Phoen.* 578 *mater triumphi praeda fraterni uehar?*, *H.O.* 1789 (Alcmene) *ego praeda ducar*. For its use of people in other contexts (*OLD* 2b: 'prey, game'), cf. *Phoen.* 15 (of Actaeon) *noua praeda canibus*.

praedaque en: for the use of *-que*, probably to avoid the inversion of *et*, cf. *H.F.* 602 *aciem reflectat oraque in caelum erigat*, *Med.* 26 *querelas uerbaque in cassum sero*, *Phae.* 1175, *Oed.* 99 (O. Zwierlein, *Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der Tragödien Senecas*, Wiesbaden 1984, 223).

en: see on 15, esp. Donatus' *'en' habet vim indignationis post enarratam iniuriam*. The E reading has been upheld justly, I think, by Leo (1878) 34 f.: "*praeda quem uilis sequar* sententiae progressum turbat. nempe non in eo Hecubae oratio versatur ut sciscitetur qualis sibi dominus eventurus sit, sed ut queratur quod sola ut anus defecta ne cui contingat a victoribus timeatur"; Zwierlein (1984) 223 followed him. Eur. *Tro.* 190 ff., to which Leo refers, may have helped to create the A reading. Watt's objection, p. 331 f., that *en* is usually combined with the pres. or perf. tense and is out of place with the fut. tense, is not momentous enough for me to choose the apparent *lectio facilior*. Moreover, there is a parallel use at Liv. 3.17.6 *primus en ego consul ... te ac tua uestigia sequar* (at V. Fl. 3.670 *en egomet quocumque uoces sequar*, both *en* and *sequar* are corrections) (Kershaw, p. 245)]. As for this placing of *en*, I have counted some twenty instances in the other plays.

sequar: probably ambiguous; not only sc. *dominum*, but also at the lottery. It seems a logical sequence (cf. Herodot's description, 1.196, of the Babylonian wedding-market) that the attractive young women are the first to be raffled, and Hecuba at the end; but it implies an overthrow of the traditional relationship, in which Hecuba is used to lead the way (cf. 81 *sequemur*).

59-60 hic ... hic ... hic: for *hic* ... *hic* 'the one ... the other, this ... that (this)' (*OLD* 13), cf. *Dial.* 3.16.4 *pro cuiusque morbo medicina quaeratur, hunc sanet uerecundia, hunc peregrinatio, hunc dolor, hunc egestas, hunc ferrum*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.473-4 *hunc decus egregium formae mouet atque iuuentae, / hunc ataui reges, hunc claris dextera factis*, *Eleg. Maec.* 133-4 *hic tibi Corycium, casias hic donat olentes, / hic e palmiferis balsama missa iugis*. A varation is found below 1082 *hunc* ... *illum* ... *hunc*. The plural is used in a similar way 1078 ff. (see the note there on the frequent occurrence of this *distributio* in Neo-Latin tragedy), 1126-7, 1144-5. The totally different use of anaphoric *hic* is found below 419-422.

coniugia: 'wife' (*OLD* s.v. 3a). Like *senectus* (42), it is an example of the metonymical use of abstract for concrete; cf. below 90 *coniugio*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.579 *coniugium* (of Menelaus), 3.296 *coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi* (of Andromacha) [see *ThLL* IV 325.16 ff.; *OLD* s.v. 3a; Canter, p. 130; H-Sz 748]. The plural is poetic, of course, like 61 *thalamos*.

Hector's wife, 'Andromache, daughter of great-hearted Eetion' (Hom. *Il.*6.395), would fall into the hands of Pyrrhus (see below 976) with her brother-in-law Helenus. With his prophetic powers (see next line), Helenus foresaw the dangers that would befall those Greek leaders who attempted to return by sea: on his warning, Pyrrhus decided to return by land and reached Epirus safely. Pyrrhus' regard for him seems to have been high: setting out for Sparta to seek the hand of Hermione, he gave Andromacha and a portion of his kingdom to Helenus. Pyrrhus was murdered by Orestes, Hermione's fiancé; when Aeneas reached Buthrotum, he found Helenus ruling and married to Andromacha (Eur. *Andromache*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.293 ff).

despondet: the technical term when a Roman father betrothed his daughter to her husband: *qui spoponderat filiam, despondisse dicebatur quod de sponte eius, id est de uoluntate exierat*, Var. *L.L.* 6.71. For the rare use with *sibi* ('espouses to himself'), cf. Cael. ap. Cic. *Fam.* 8.7.2.

60 Heleni: Helenus, one of Priam's sons, was the best of augurs (Hom. *Il.* 6.76) but he also took part in the fighting (*ibid.* 13.576 ff.). His gift of prophecy ultimately proved very useful (see on 59 *coniugia*; Ov. *Met.* 13.720-1 *regnataque uati / Buthrotos Phrygio*). One of his prophecies was directed to Aeneas regarding the future greatness of Rome (Verg. *Aen.* 3.374-463, Ov. *Met.* 15.436-49). Neither the name nor even the existence of his wife is found in other writers.

Apollod. *Epit.* 5.9 states that Helenus and Deiophobus after Paris' death quarrelled over which of them would marry Helen; since Deiophobus was preferred, Helenus left Troy and abode on Mt. Ida.

coniugem: with some eighty occurrences, this is the most usual word for 'wife' (again below 364, 453, 501, 698), or 'husband' (see below 418) in Sen. trag. His preference for it over *uxor*, only found at *Med.* 663, *Ag.* 881, *Thy.* 564, is in accordance with the very limited use of the latter by epic poets: Vergil has it only once (in the *Eclogues*), Silius Italicus and Valerius Flaccus avoid it completely; Ovid does not use it in

the *Metamorphoses*, but does admit in the elegiacs. In Catullus, *coniu(n)x* predominates markedly in the longer poems (13 : 2), but in his lyrics and epigrams it is no more frequent than *uxor*. Horace uses both nouns with similar frequency (in his *Odes* eight times), but with a preference for *coniu(n)x* in epic contexts and for *uxor* in satire.

The character of the word is evident from its use in the early Republic: in comedy only once (Pl. *Am.* 475), in tragedy seven times. In prose from the late Republic onwards, it is often found in combination with *liberi*. As an "emotive and eulogistic term" (Adams), Seneca applies it so e.g. *Ep.* 82.20 *exercitum pro coniugibus ac liberis mortem obiturum*, 98.5, *Dial.* 12.7.3 *liberos coniugesque et graues senio parentes traxerunt*, 3.19.2; Adams notes only three other uses in Seneca, at *Ben.* 1.9.3 (twice), *Nat.* 1.17.7 [see Axelson (1945) 57; J.N. Adams, 'Latin Words for «Woman» and «Wife»', *Glotta* 50 (1972) 252-254; P. Watson, 'Axelson revisited: the selection of vocabulary in Latin poetry', *CQ* 35 (1985) 431-432].

Antenoris: Antenor was one of the wisest and most important cousellors of the Trojans. He received Ulysses and Menelaus when they claimed Helen back (Hom. *Il.* 3.207), and advised his countrymen to return her to her Greek husband (*ibid.* 7.347 ff.). Like Aeneas he left Troy when it was taken and became the founder of Patavium (Verg. *Aen.* 1.242-9); Livy, a native of Patavium, mentions him in the very first chapter of his book: *iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saeuitum esse Troianos; duobus, Aenea Antenoreque, et uetusti iure hospitii, et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerant, omne ius belli Achiuos abstinuisse*. From *Il.* 6.298 ff. we know that Antenor's wife, Theano, was the priestess of Athena in Troy. As she was the daughter of Cisseus (*ibid.* 6.299), she could be Hecuba's sister (see Leaf on *Il.* 16.717); if so, the family-tie is again (see on 8) left out by Hecuba. We catch a glimpse of her (*Il.* 5.69-71) when Megès has killed Pèdaios, 'a bastard son of Antenor, whom noble Theano reared carefully, like her own children, gratifying her husband'.

Harder (1900) 451 thinks it most remarkable that she is mentioned here, since as a rule Antenor's fortunate escape with his family is emphasized. He refers to Polygnotus' painting ('Ilioupersis') in the Lesche at Delphi, where his house (with marks protecting from the Greeks) and wife and children are depicted (Paus. 10.27.2). But in the turmoil, the news of their escape easily may not have reached the Greek leaders nor even Hecuba. As Kingery notes, Helenus and Antenor are named here simply as representative Trojans.

61 dest: in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 500, *Oed.* 68, 694. Dissylabic *dēēst* is found at Stat. *Theb.* 8.236, 11.276, 10.236 [see Williams on 10.236; Dilke, *CR* (1949) 51].

tuos: Hecuba addresses one of her daughters who may be thought present in the chorus. The apostrophe enlivens the enumeration (cf. 29 ff.), and at the same time provides a contrast with the emphatically placed *mea* in the next line.

Cassandra: Agamemnon would get her; cf. below 978, *Ag.* 188-91.

qui: *traiectio* of the pron. rel. is quite common, cf. below 344, 354, 391 979, 1030. It is already found in early authors, e.g. Pl. *As.* 226 *in ludo qui fuisti tam diu*, Ter. *Ph.* 671 *fac ut illam ducat, nos quam uolumus* (K-S 2.614).

thalamos: originally the Greek noun could denote any appartment but the megaron. Homer applies the word to an underground store-room (*Od.* 2.337), the women's room (*Od.* 4.718), Telemachus' bedroom in the courtyard (*Od.* 1.425), and the bedroom of Odysseus and Penelope (*Od.* 23.178 ff.). Likewise *thalamus*: cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 2.737-9 *pars secreta domus ... / tris habuit thalamos, quorum tu, Pandrose, dextrum, / Aglauros laeuum, medium possederat Herse*. Here, as often, the word is used with metonymy for 'marriage' (*OLD* s.v. 2b; Canter, p. 132) .

62 mea ... metus: note the resemblance, by the effective placing of the pronoun, between this line and above 40, both being conclusive lines of main parts of the prologue (63-66 form the transition to the next scene).

sola sum: Seneca uses this contrast 'conspicuous individual - surrounding (or former) group' likewise in the case of Astyanax (1099-1100), Polyxena (960), and of the tower from which Astyanax is hurled down (622, 1068). It will also return in Hecuba's address to death (1171-75, esp. 1173 *me solam times*). A similar contrast is found in Andromache's description of Hector's appearance to her (435 *communis - proprie*). On this theme, see Liebermann, p. 62 f.. Lucan likes to apply this device too; see e.g. Hunink on 3.113 *unum* and 3.148 *sola*.

Danais: like Vergil (see Austin on *Aen.* 2.5), Seneca uses this name most often for the Greeks: in *Tro.* some twenty times; seven times in *Ag.* Less frequent are *Achivi* (below 853, 1119, the adj. *Med.* 227), *Argiui* (444; the adj. 277, *H.F.* 1124, 1180), *Danaidae* (607, 757), *Graii* (526, 551; the adj. form 70, 135, 147, 774, 804 and 866, in the other tragedies six times), and *Pelasgi* (597, 753, *Ag.* 9, 633, *Med.* 528, 697; the adj. 353, 628, 737, 876, 1007, four times in *Med.*).

For the dative in combination with a substantive, see e.g. Hes. *Th.* 326, Eur. *Tro.* 814, Enn. *scen.* 61 J (= 46 V^2) *eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.21-2 *exitium tuae / genti*. For the use of the genitive in this respect, see e.g. below 892-3 *pestis exitium lues / utriusque populi*.

metus: the noun metonymically denotes 'a person or thing inspiring fear' (*ThLL* VIII 299.50 ff.; *OLD* s.v. 5b; Canter, p. 130), again below 243, 742, *Med.* 516-7 *est et his maior metus / Medea*, *H.F.* 230, *Phae.* 29, *Thy.* 1049.

G.O. Hutchinson, *Latin Literature from Seneca to Juvenal: a critical study*, Oxford 1993, 82-85, noting the ingenious wit densely strewn throughout Seneca's tragedies, cites this line with other instances to demonstrate that "continually in the tragedies moments of wit make a fissure between the extreme emotion of the characters and the distancing unseriousness of the author's ingenuity" (p. 85). About this line he notes:

> Rhetorically the line brings out her humiliation; but the first half creates for the reader an almost amusing bathos. The unattractiveness of an old woman, thus expressed, comes oddly as the culmination of woes that have superseded the fall of Troy. The second half brings in a fresh audacity. It makes a bold link with a passage earlier in the speech; that passage had described with superb grimness, wit, and subtlety the Greeks' feelings on ending the war and their lingering fear (22-26). Now they have nothing left to fear save getting Hecuba. The effect borders on humour, though the daring and compression exclude actual comedy; the grandeur in the superficial meaning of the clause enhances the author's wryness. The emphasis has shifted from the dramatically convincing expression of feeling; indeed the decisiveness of movement in the line would scarcely accord with such expression (p. 84-85).

Fantham and Boyle think of the words as an allusion to the bad luck accompanying her and consequently striking her new owner (cf. below 993-8, 1005-8), rather than a rewriting of *praeda uilis*. With Hutchinson, I think that "this would need to be explained" (p. 85, n. 13); I prefer to take 59-62 as an elaboration of 56-8.

63-66 *Hecuba urges the chorus of Trojan women to resume the mourning.*

Hecuba now turns to the chorus. As noted on 56, I assume that the women, below 83 addressed as *fidae ... comites*, have been present in the background all the time. The situation has been compared to Eur. *Supplices*, where Aethra voices a monologue, surrounded by a chorus of suppliant women. K. Heldmann, *Untersuchungen zu den Tragödien Senecas*, Wiesbaden 1974, 80, n. 220, thinks the chorus present from line 67. In the prologue of *Oedipus*, we encounter a comparable problem: is Iocasta present from the beginning, or does she enter at 71?

In no other Senecan tragedy do we find such a smooth transition from the prologue to the first choral ode as here. The odes usually start abruptly, both at the first appearance of the chorus and later on; the chorus is seldom invited to participate in the action (only Tiresia's exhortation at *Oed.* 401-2 is comparable), the appearance of the chorus is rarely announced (*H.F.* 827-9, *Ag.* 586-7).

63 lamenta cessant?: cf. Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 323-4 *heu cessant adhuc / lamenta?*

turba captiuae mea: see on 15 *alta muri decora*. Other poets also use this interlocking wordorder: Verg. *Ecl.* 3.3 *infelix o semper, oues, pecus, Geo.* 4.168 *ignauum fucos genus, Aen.* 1.435 *ignauum fucos pecus*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.20.5 *clare Maecenas eques*, Mart. 11.5.5 *ueteres, ingentia nomina, patres*; see G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry*, Oxford 1968, 317 f. and 726 ff., citing *Anth. Pal.* 5.199.5 and Pl. *Am.* 1077 as possible starting-points for Vergil.

A different view was upheld by d'Alfonso (1910) 38, taking *captiuae* as a 'gen. attributivo di *mea*'.

64 ferite ... date: framing of the trimeter by two imperatives is found again below 452, 502, 517, 883.

ferite palmis pectora: a common sign of mourning, cf. *H.F.* 1100-1 *nunc Herculeis percussa sonent / pectora palmis*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.481 (*Iliades*) *tunsae pectora palmis*, Ov. *Met.* 3.481 *nudaque marmoreis percussit pectora palmis*, 5.473 (note the *p* alliteration in all instances), Eur. *Tro.* 627.

planctus date: 'offer your wailing'. For this use of *dare* with a subst. to paraphrase a verb, cf. e.g. *Thy.* 1057 *ferro uulnera impresso dedi.* Vergil is very fond of it; see Williams on *Aen.* 3.191, 5.276, Fordyce on *Aen.* 8.570-1. It is also found in Lucretius (see Ernout-Robin on 1.288) and Ovid, e.g. *Met.* 2.341 *dant lacrimas*, 2.346 *plangorem dederant* (Bömer on *Met.* 2.165 has a list of nouns to which the verb is thus applied). Sen. trag. uses *dare* likewise with an adj. e.g. *Phae.* 629 *illum ... reducem dabunt.* The noun, not found in poetry before Seneca, is used again below 79, 93, 108, 130, 132, 902, *H.F.* 1114, *Phae.* 1158, *Thy.* 1045-6 *pectora inliso sonent / contusa planctu* (Tarrant's note there, referring to the parody in Petr. *Sat.* 87.2 *uerberabam aegrum planctibus pectus*, should be corrected into 81.2).

For Hecuba's role to urge on the acts of mourning, Fantham refers to Homeric passages like *Il.* 22.429-30 and 24.723; for the beating and lacerating of the breasts, to Catul. 64.350-1 and Verg. *Aen.* 1.480-1. R. Jakobi, *Der Einfluß Ovids auf den Tragiker Seneca*, Berlin - New York 1988, 20, thinks Ovid's picture of Hecuba mourning for Polyxena (*Met.* 13.491 *consuetaque pectora plangit*) Seneca's immediate model (note the congruency *consueta* - 67 *non rude*).

65 iusta: 'due observances, ceremonies; esp. things which are due to the dead, obsequies, funeral offerings' (*OLD* s.v. 3). The word is already found in an old law (*Font. iur.*, p. 8) *homo si fulmine occisus est, ei iusta nulla fieri oportet.* In Sen. trag. occurs again *Med.* 999-1000 *coniunx socerque iusta iam functis habent / a me sepulti*, *Phae.* 1245 *nunc iusta nato solue*, *Oed.* 998 *iusta persolui patri.*

Troiae: Fantham, p. 95 lists it in her instances of case ambiguity; her conclusion: "probably dative", based on Ov. *Fast.* 3.560, 5.480, 6.492, is most certainly affirmed by the other occurrences in Sen. trag. quoted on *iusta* (see also the next note).

iusta ... facite: cf. *Ep.* 122.3 *iusta sibi faciunt*, Pl. *Cist.* 176 *ille uxori iusta fecit*, Sal. *Jug.* 11.2 *postquam illi more regio iusta magnifice fecerant.* There are several verbs with which the subst. can be combined (cf. the note on *iusta*), e.g. *Dial.* 11.17.4 *iusta sorori non praestitit*, Prop. 3.7.9 *iusta piae dare debita terrae*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.80 *matri proxima iusta tuli.*

iamdudum: 'now after all this time' (*OLD* s.v. *dudum* 3). When the word is used with an imperative or jussive subjunctive, it implies that what is ordered is overdue, and it is often translated 'without further

delay, immediately'. With an imperative, it occurs for example at *Med.* 191 *monstrumque saeuum horribile iamdudum auehe* (see Costa's note), *Oed.* 80 *profuge iamdudum ocius*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.103, Ov. *Met.* 11.482, 13.457; in Seneca's prose, e.g. *Ep.* 75.7 *iamdudum gaude si sufficis rebus*, 84.11 *relinque ista iamdudum ad quae discurritur.* With a subjunctive, it is found in Catul. 64.374 *dedatur cupido iamdudum nupta marito*, Ov. *Ars* 2.457. For a comparable use with the indicative, cf. *Ep.* 17.9 *si necessitates ultimae inciderint, iamdudum exibit e uita et molestus sibi esse desinet*, Ov. *Ars* 1.317-8. The meaning 'for a long time (up to the present)' (*OLD* 2), is found *H.F.* 1279-81 *iamdudum mihi / monstrum impium ... / oberrat.*

sonet: 'let resound (with lamentations)' (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. below 108, *H.F.* 1114 *uno planctu tria regna sonent*, *Phae.* 1276 *Mopsopia claris tota lamentis sonet*, *H.O.* 1895 *gelidusque sonet planctibus Hebrus*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.554-5 (*OLD* s.v. incorrectly 3.535) *balatu pecorum et crebris mugitibus amnes / arentesque sonant ripae*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.207 *ardua iamdudum resonat tinnitibus Ide.*

66 fatalis: the fatality of Mt. Ide is explained by the second half of the line: it was the dwelling-place of Paris (see on 36-7), who there had given the verdict that had become so fatal to Troy; cf. *Ag.* 730-1 *Idaea cerno nemora: fatalis sedet / inter potentes arbiter pastor deas*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.19 *fatalis incestusque iudex.*

Actually, this was not the only way in which Ide was fatal. The mountain also provided the timber for Paris' fleet (cf. below 72, Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.1-2 *nauibus Idaeis*) and for the Horse; see Austin on *Aen.* 2.15, R. Turcan, *Sénèque et les religions orientales*, Bruxelles 1967, 27. Sen. trag. uses the adj. three more times: of the Horse (*Ag.* 627), of Phaedra's passion (*Phae.* 113), and *Thy.* 233 *fatale ... pascuum.*

Ide: a high (1049 *celsa*) mountain near Troy. It was supposed to have derived its name from the synonymous mountain in Crete; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.104-5 *Creta Iouis magni medio iacet insula ponto, / mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae*, 111-2. It is associated with 'sight' (ἰδεῖν; cf. schol. Hom. *Il.* 4.475 "Didymos calls all mountains 'Ide', because one can see everything from them") as well as 'timber-tree' (ἴδη) (see Michael Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid*, Semantic Relations and Proper Names, Oxford 1997, 94). As the Greek name is Ἴδη, a Latin poet may choose between *Idă* and *Idē*; cf. Charis. 1.15 S. 46 (I 62.20), cited by N-W I 65 f. dealing with the Greek feminine nouns: "Feminina quoque e littera finiuntur, sed, ut supra dictum est, Graeca tantum modo, et quidem e producta, veluti *Andromache* [...]; quae quoniam Graeca sunt, Graece declinari debent [...]. Sed si Latine quis volet, Graecum e in a nostrum mutare debet, dicetque *haec Andromacha* [...], ut *grammatice* et *rhetorice* facit *grammatica, rhetorica*, quae declinantur Latine ex forma a littera terminatorum nominum". The Augustan poets notably brought the Greek forms (acc. *-en*, abl. *-e*) into vogue. For a list of instances of *Ida/Ide*, see N-W I 76 f.; Sen. trag. uses only the latter form (73, 74, 1049). For other such names, see below 195, 533, 854, 857.

iudicis diri: Paris, again 921 *iudici*. The judgement of Paris has been a famous theme throughout the centuries: see, for instance, Scherer (1964) 3-23. Homer touches on the subject only briefly, *Il.* 24.28-30 (if the lines are his, see Leaf, and Ameis-Hentze-Cauer *ad loc.*). In the tragedies, it is found e.g. Eur. *Tro.* 924-34, where Helen tries to convince Menelaus that the Greeks wouldn't have been better off if Aphrodite had not won. Medieval romances customarily interpreted the judgement of Paris as a dream; in fact, it had already been suggested as early as the second century A.D. by Dio Chrysostom. The abduction of Helen, the consequence of his judgement, made the Greeks launch their enormous fleet. Herodot 1.4 words the view of the Persian historians that the abduction of Helen by Paris was a wrongdoing, but that it had been unwise of the Greeks to make such a fuss about it.

Less known is the fact that the whole chain of events leading to the Trojan War started with a deliberate decision of Zeus. It is mentioned in a fragment of the *Cypria*, quoted in the scholion on *Il.* 1.5: 'There was a time when the countless tribes of men, though wide-dispersed, oppressed the surface of the deep-bosomed earth, and Zeus saw it and had pity and in his wise heart resolved to relieve the all-nurturing earth of men by causing the great struggle of the Ilian war, that the load of death might empty the world' (Scherer, p. 3). This cause of the War is found twice in Euripides (*Hel.* 39-40, *Or.* 1641-2), and in the *Epitome* 3.1-2 of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*. It is remarkably absent from extant Latin literature. It turns up again in two plays by George Peele (1556-1596); see John D. Reeves, 'The cause of the Trojan War: a forgotten myth revived', *CJ* 61 (1965-'66) 211-214.

diri: 'dreadful'; the epithet is applied to (things regarded as) omens, and to foes as Hannibal (Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.36, 4.4.42) and Ulixes (Verg. *Aen.* 2.261, 762). Sen. trag. uses the adj. 50 times (*H.O.* 21x), e.g. *dira Furiarum cohors* (*Thy.* 250), *diro ... Iovi* (*H.F.* 608, of Pluto), *dirae Stygis* (*Ag.* 493, *Thy.* 666). Here it is a horrible word from the lips of a mother for her son. On Vergil's use of it, see e.g. Fordyce on *Aen.* 7.324; Statius uses it 51x in his *Thebais*, and applies it to Oedipus, his sons, and to Thebes (see Smolenaars on 7.215-6).

Note in these lines the many *a-* and *ae-* sounds (cf. below 409 ff.), the assonance *-menta cessant*, the *p* alliteration in 64, the repeated *u* sounds (taken over immediately by the chorus in its *ululatio*) and the harsh *d* alliteration in the final lines (like *Med.* 120 *deserere durus*).

FIRST CHORAL ODE (67-163)

This *carmen amoebaeum* is a kommos ('a dirge, sung alternately by one or more of the chief characters and the chorus', Arist. *Poet.* 1452^b 24); the Greek noun actually denotes the beating of the head and breast in lamentation, e.g. Aesch. *Ch.* 423. In this form it is not found in Euripides' *Troades* or *Hecuba*, but passages like *Tro.* 145-96, 511-76, 587-93, show some resemblance.

A genuine kommos is found at Aesch. *Ch.* 306-478: its central part (315-422) has the structure ABA' a CB'C' b DED' a' FEF', in which Orestes sings ACDF, Electra A'C'D'F', and the chorus BB' and EE' (aba' are stanzas recited by the chorus). Seneca's ode lacks such a strict symmetrical pattern, as is evident from a survey of its contents:

67- 82	The chorus replies, that they are not unfamiliar with sorrow and will join Hecuba in mourning (30 metra).
83- 98	Hecuba gives instructions for the mourning, which at the end is focused on Hector (29 metra).
99-116	The chorus carries out Hecuba's instructions (35 metra).
117-131	Hecuba bewails and eulogizes Hector; at the end she directs the chorus to shift the mourning to Priam (30 metra).
132-141	The chorus bewails the king (20 metra).
142-155	In a sudden turn Hecuba calls Priam happy because of his death (29 metra).
156-163	The chorus echoes her words (15 metra).

The first section, a reaction to Hecuba's exhortation (cf. especially 64 *planctus date* – 79 *ite ad planctus*), sets the tone for the kommos: for ten years not a single day has been without mourning. It forms a unity in itself, characterized by the ring-composition *non rude uulgus lacrimisque nouum lugere iubes* – *non indociles lugere sumus.*

The thematic congruency between the second and third section is most obvious in their respective beginnings: *fidae casus nostri comites, soluite crinem* – *soluimus omnes lacerum multo funere crinem*, and the similar ending *Hectora flemus*. But there are also parallels in between, as the following survey shows:

84 soluite crinem	99 soluimus ... crinem
85 per colla fluant capilli	100 coma dimissa est libera nodo
86 tepido ... puluere	101 cinis feruidus
87 exertos ... lacertos	104 umeris ... apertis
88 ueste remissa	104 cadit ... uestis
88 substringe	105 suffulta

89 uteroque tenus pateant artus	105 imumque tegit ... latus
90 pectora uelas	106 nuda ... pectora
97 solitum flendi uincite morem	115 non sum solito contenta sono
98 Hectora flemus	116 Hectora flemus

Since the transposition of three metra would result in two sections of equal length, it is not surprising that such a suggestion has been made. Moreover, the distribution of lines varies in the MSS: 102b *complete manus* - 116 *Hectora flemus* are attributed to the chorus in E, to Hecuba in A; 117-129 to Hecuba in E, to the chorus in A.

Haase's transposition (*Miscellaneorum philologicorum liber III*, Vratislaviae 1861, 12 f.) of 102b-3 *complete manus, / hoc ex Troia sumpsisse licet* after 86 *tepido Troiae puluere turpes*, has won the support of Leo, Zwierlein (1979) 173 f., Fantham and Boyle; as Zwierlein points out, the scribal error finds an easy explanation in the occurrence of *Troiae* in the preceding line. This suggestion seems preferable to the one made by Peiper and Richter: they place 102b-103 after 95 *agnosco Troada turbam*, resulting in the symmetrical location of *complete manus* and 113 *saeuite manus*. It was revived by Owen, *Hermes* 98 (1970) 365 f., and met the support of Hiltbrunner, *ANRW* II. 32.2 (1985) 990 f.

However, despite the comparable beginnings and the similar ending of the two sections, I am not convinced that they were of equal length. As Leo (1878) 135 already noted, we find such symmetry only in the 2 x 7 couplets of *Med.* 579-669. In another ode where one might expect this, viz. the first ode of that play (the wedding-hymn for Jason and Creusa), there are seven glyconic lines (75-81) to praise the beauty of the bride, but eight (82-89) to glorify the groom (the following similes, on the other hand, concern only her outstanding beauty, not his). Therefore, I have left them in their transmitted place; as a "second thought" remark I rather think them in place there than amid Hecuba's instructions.

Herrmann attributes the second half of this section: 107 *Nunc, nunc uires exprome, dolor* ... 116 *Hectora flemus*, to Hecuba; Amoroso (1984) 112 modifies: 108 *Rhoetea sonent litora planctu* ... 123 *rupta cicatrix* to Hecuba, since it results in a "simmetrica rispondenza": *Soluimus ... dolor* (nine lines Chorus) — *Rhoetea ... flemus* (nine lines Hecuba).

The fourth section (117-131, 30 metra) consists of two parts: a hymn on Hector (117-129, 26 metra) and the transition to Priam (130-131). It is generally with E attributed to Hecuba. Herrmann, however, in spite of 120 *maternis*, gives 117-29 to the Chorus and only 130-1 to Hecuba; Amoroso suggests that 117-23 could be thought of as sung jointly by Hecuba and the chorus.

In the fifth section (132-141, 20 metra), closely linked to the preceding one by the repetition of the words *planctus* and *fletus*, the Chorus executes Hecuba's order to bewail Priam.

The sixth section again consists of two parts: Hecuba's turning away from mourning (142-144, 5 metra) and her makarismos on Priam (145-

155, 24 metra). Owen, *Hermes* 98 (1970) 363 f., considering the fourth and sixth section a strophe and antistrophe like the second and third, suggests - in order to reach couplets of equal length - that at the end some phrasing, perhaps *felix Priamus*, has been lost (the chorus' prompt repetition would account for the loss). He styles the first, fifth and seventh couplet 'anodos', 'mesodos' and 'epodos' respectively.

In the last section (156-163, 15 metra), the chorus repeats and widens the makarismos. The parallelism noted between the second and third section returns here:

145 'Felix Priamus' dicite cunctae	156 'Felix Priamus' dicimus omnes
146 manes ... ad imos	158-9 Elysii nemoris ... umbris
146 uadit	157 excedens
147-8 non ille duos uidet Atridas / nec fallacem cernit Ulixem	160 Hectora quaerit

The close connection of this ode with the prologue is without parallel in Senecan tragedy. In the other plays, the chorus is absent during the prologue and the shift from the prologue to the first ode is much more loose. The nearest resemblance is found in the two other plays in which the prologue is spoken by a human being/main character: in *Med.* 56-115 it is the wedding-hymn for the nuptials of Jason and Creusa, in *Oed.* 110-201 the chorus describes the effects of the plague.

Such active participation of the chorus in the dialogue is also rare in these tragedies; the only comparable instance is found at *Ag.* 589-781, where a chorus of Trojan women likewise in alternate form with Cassandra sings a lament on their country's fate and their own unhappy lot (in *H.O.* 104-232 the same is done by Iole and the chorus).

The identity of the chorus, as in *Agamemnon*, is also much more clear than in the other plays; as F. Leo, 'Die Composition der Chorlieder Senecas', *RhM* 52 (1897) 511 already observed: "Die Chöre sind in der Regel nicht charakterisiert, meist nicht einmal als männlich oder weiblich" [see also Zwierlein (1966) 74-76; P.J. Davis, *Shifting Song: The Chorus in Seneca's Tragedies*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1993, 39-63].

Another difference is that in the other plays the chorus is often hostile towards or critical of the play's central character(s), whereas in *Troades* the chorus sympathizes with some of its principal participants. This is also the only play named for its chorus-members (Davis, p. 220 f.).

Colometry

In the A MSS, this kommos consists of anapaestic dimeters with an occasional concluding monometer and one trimeter (153b-154 *Agamemnonios aurea dextra uincula gestans*). E has Hecuba's lines (83-98, 117-131, 142-155) in trimeters, with twice a dimeter at the end (98 *uincite*

morem Hectora flemus, 155 *latis fiet pompa Mycenis*). This colometry of E is taken over only by the Italian editors; the others print Hecuba's lines in dimeters and monometers too. Leo (1878) 138 properly objected to a different disposition of the sections in view of their congruencies, and interpreted the lines (p. 101) as dimeters, with an occasional monometer (see the next page).

G. Richter, *Kritische Untersuchungen zu Senecas Tragödien*, Progr. Jena 1899, 32-47, stressed the function of the monometer: "Er dient zunächst der Ausgleichung der Satzgliedern mit dem Metrum, gewinnt aber zuweilen durch die Hervorhebung bedeutsamer Wortgruppen einen stark rhetorischen Charakter". His edition, in co-operation with Peiper, is characterized by a greater number of monometers on the basis of sense-correspondence. Similarly W. Marx, *Funktion und Form der Chorlieder in den Seneca-Tragoedien*, Köln 1932, thinks that their purpose is two-fold: on the one hand the underlining of some parts which the poet wishes to accentuate, on the other the syntactical balance, viz. the harmonisation of syntax and verse.

Modern editors vary in this respect. In general, Fantham has adopted Leo's colometry with monometers at 72 *sacra Cybebae*, 82 *lugere sumus*, 91 *captiue pudor*, 98 *Hectora flemus*, 102 *feruidus ora*, 116 *Hectora flemus*, 156 *pompa Mycenis*, 163 *consumpta tulit*. She adds four monometers: 84 *soluite crinem* and 100 *funere crinem* in view of the obvious symmetry between these openings, 111 *uerba remittat* (with Peiper-Richter) as a terminal monometer, and 113 *saeuite manus* as an answer (without exact numerical correspondence) to *complete manus* (transposed after 86).

Caviglia has followed Giardina: the lines of the Chorus in dimeters (78-79 *causa ministrat: ite ad planctus* in one line) and two concluding monometers (116 *Hectora flemus*, 163 *consumpta tulit*), but Hecuba's lines in trimeters and two concluding dimeters. It should be noted, however, that after citing Owen on the strofe-antistrofe character of 83-98 and 99-116, Caviglia adds: "Dopo quanto esposto, la colometria di A risulta forse meglio fondata. Tuttavia, in questa sede - soprattutto per esigenze editoriali - manteniamo la colometria di E".

In his *Prolegomena* (1984) 182-202, Zwierlein has dealt extensively with 'Die Kolometrie der Anapäste', and concludes "daß die Anapäste des Dramencorpus nach Maßgabe der metrischen Gesetze (Vermeidung von Hiat und brevis in longo im Versinnern) und der Kongruenzregel (größtmögliche Entsprechung von syntaktischer und rhythmischer Struktur) abzuteilen sind - auch dort, wo die (vielfach divergierenden) Hss eine andere Kolometrie überliefern" (p. 198 f.). In addition to the clausulae *Hectora flemus* (98, 116) and *satis Hector habet* (131b), he takes *felix Priamus* (161bis) and the four imperatives *ite ad planctus* (79), *complete manus* (102b), *saeuite manus* (113b) and *uertite planctus* (130) - all four aiming at the action and sounding alike - as monometers, but he does not exclude that they might be justified as the first element of a trimeter (p. 196). He cites several lines from the other plays, where one

may waver between a grouping of trimeters or a combination of dimeters and monometers (p. 198). In his edition (1986), he favours the latter; cf. *praef.* VII "... cum haud paucos eorum qui in codicibus inueniuntur trimetrorum non auctori sed librariis tribuendos esse constet, cautius me acturum duxi si ubique pro trimetris uel dimetros cum monometris uel monometros cum dimetris coniunctos redderem".

This wavering is not found in J.G. Fitch, *Seneca's Anapaests, Metre, Colometry, Text and Artistry in the Anapaests of Seneca's tragedies,* Atlanta, Georgia 1987. His general conclusion (p. 44) is that the original colometry of Seneca's anapaests consisted of dimeters, frequently interspersed with monometers. For this ode, it is illustrated in Appendix I (p. 55), showing monometers at 68 *lugere iubes,* 70 *ex quo tetigit,* 71 *secuitque fretum,* 79 *ite ad planctus,* 84 *soluite crinem,* 91 *captiue pudor,* 94 *furibunda manus,* 95 *placet hic habitus,* 98 *Hectora flemus,* 99 *soluimus omnes,* 102 *complete manus,* 110 *non, ut solita est,* 113 *saeuite manus,* 116 *Hectora flemus,* 120 *laniata patent,* 123 *rupta cicatrix,* 126 *tu murus eras,* 126 *umerisque tuis,* 128 *tecum cecidit,* 129 *patriaeque fuit,* 130 *uertite planctus,* 131 *satis Hector habet,* 135 *bis pulsari,* 138 *regumque gregem,* 144 *mors, Iliades,* 147 *nec feret umquam,* 152 *post terga dabit,* 158 *nunc Elysii,* 160 *Hectora quaerit,* 161 *felix Priamus.* He even thinks it quite conceivable (p. 61) that we should write two consecutive monometers at 124 *columen patriae, mora fatorum,* as at *H.F.* 1072.

On the basis of seven principles summed up in his Appendix I, Boyle comes close to Zwierlein's approach, steering a middle course between Fantham ("too niggard in her use of monometers with the result that Seneca's anapaests seem more monotonous than they might") and Fitch ("far too radical in his use of monometers, producing rather formless - and surprisingly drab - anapaestic lyric in his commitment to a *total* correspondence of sense and metrical units"). His deviations from the *OCT* are: 79 *ite ... leua* as a dimeter, 82 *lugere sumus* as a monometer, 94-5 *furibunda ... turbam* as two dimeters, 128 *tecum cecidit* as a monometer instead of 130 *uertite planctus,* 135 *bis pulsari* and 141 *litora truncus* as monometers instead of 136 *moenia ferro* and 138 *regumque gregem,* 153-5 *post terga ... fiet* as three dimeters and *pompa Mycenis* as a monometer, 163 *consumpta tulit* as a monometer instead of 161 *felix Priamus.*

Chaumartin has not altered Herrmann's colometry, with monometers only at (in his numbering) 72 *sacra Cybebae,* 82 *lugere sumus,* 97 *Hectora flemus,* 99 *funere crinem,* 101bis *complete manus,* 115 *Hectora flemus* (at 155 *pompa Mycenis* and *Felix Priamus!* are taken as one line).

In this subjective matter, in which only hiatus and *breuis in longo* are certain criteria marking the end of a monometer or dimeter, I have followed Zwierlein's colometry, although I do not exclude that Seneca did use trimeters (cf. Tarrant's colometry of *Thy.* 789-884, 920-69 in his Appendix I, admitting trimeters "where a sense-unit seemed to extend without a break over three metra").

This choral ode is one of the fragments of Seneca's tragedies found in

the *Excerpta Thuanea* in the codex Parisinus Lat. 8071; unfortunately their value for the text and the colometry does not correspond with their age (9th cent.) [see, for instance, R.J. Tarrant in L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission, A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford 1993, 379].

Metre and contents

The use of anapaestic dimeters and monometers in songs with a plaintive character is well-known from Greek tragedy. For instance, in the comparable part of Euripides' *Troades*, after the dialogue between Pallas Athena and Poseidon, Hecuba sings her lament (98 ff.) in this metre.

Marx (1932) has studied the relation between the metres and the contents of the choral odes. About the anapaests, he states (p. 14) that their use is essentially confined to the catastrophe odes (short for: the odes with the catastrophe as theme, e.g. *H.F.* 1054, *Phae.* 959) and the odes with a philosophical tenor.

The subject has been taken up again by J.D. Bishop, 'The Meaning of the Choral Meters in Senecan Tragedy', *RhM* N.F. 111 (1968) 197-219. He criticizes Marx' catastrophe-anapaests connection on the ground that the designation 'catastrophe ode' can refer only to the position of the ode in the play (sc. the end). However, in addition to *H.F.* 1054-1137, *Phae.* 959-988b, 1123-1153, *Oed.* 980-997, *Thy.* 789-884, there are also some anapaestic odes at the beginning, notably *Ag.* 57-107 and *H.F.* 125-203. Bishop (p. 202) classifies them in three groups, leaving only *Ag.* 310-407 out of account:

1. Odes of lamentation over death and destruction.
2. Odes expressing change of fortune, generally understood to be for the worse, as is proper for tragedy.
3. Odes of disaster, past, present, or future.

67-82 *The chorus of Trojan women replies: we are not unfamiliar with sorrow and will join you in mourning.*

67 non rude: for the use of *non* negating an adjective, cf. e.g. below 82, 404, *Med.* 915 *non rudem*, *Phae.* 274 *non miti*, 994 *non imparatum*.

rude: 'inexperienced (in mourning)', in a ring-composition taken up with 82 *indociles*, just as the following *uulgus* is repeated at 81. For this sense of the adj. (*OLD* s.v. 5c), cf. Paul. *Fest.* p. 264 M (Lindsay 321.8) *hominem quoque imperitum rudem uocamus*. In Sen. trag. it occurs again below 217, *Med.* 908-9 *quid manus poterant rudes / audere magnum?*, 915 *ad omne facinus non rudem dextram afferes*, *Thy.* 300 *liberos eius rudes*. It is also found repeatedly in Ovid, e.g. *Fast.* 2.292 *artis adhuc expers et rude uulgus erat*, *Pont.* 3.7.18 *ad mala iam pridem non sumus ulla rudes*, *Tr.* 3.3.57-8 *mala ... / ad quae iam pridem non rude pectus habes*.

uulgus: here not contemptuous, rather with a touch of pity; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.796-8 *atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse nouorum / inuenio admirans numerum, matresque uirosque, / collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile uulgus*. The noun is often used of a multitude in contrast with its leader(s), e.g. below 81, 1098, Verg. *Aen.* 1.189-90 *ductoresque ipsos primum ... / ... sternit, tum uolgus.* In other instances, it is praised for its *sanos ... affectus* (*Phae.* 212), or blamed for its inconstancy, e.g. *H.F.* 170 *fluctuque magis mobile uulgus, Phae.* 488 *uulgus infidum bonis, Thy.* 351-2 *numquam stabilis fauor / uulgi praecipitis.*

lacrimis: not surprisingly, the subst. is found more often (eleven times) in *Troades* than in any other Senecan play (all together some forty occurrences). For a possible derivation from IE **drak'ru (-r)*, see Eric P. Hamp, 'Latin *dacrima, lacruma* and Indo-European «tears»', *Glotta* 50 (1972), 291-99.

novum: '(w. dat.) new (to), not expert (in)' (*OLD* s.v. 16); cf. *Thy.* 821 *insueto nouus hospitio*, Sil. 6.254 *nouusque dolori*, Tac. *Agr.* 16.3 *exorabilior et delictis hostium nouus eoque paenitentiae mitior.*

In addition to the many *u* sounds in 67-8, already noted at the end of the prologue, the repetition of the consonants in these lines sets the melancholy tone of this ode.

69 hoc ... egimus: a clear echo of this passage is heard in Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 1273-5 *lugere uobis forte Iohannes nouum est: / ego nata in hoc sum: ter decem annis amplius / non aliud egi.*

continuis: 'undivided by an interval of time, successive' (*OLD* s.v. 4), e.g. *Dial.* 12.9.7 *per annos decem continuos*, Pl. *Am.* 314 *continuas has tris tristes noctes peruigilaui*; in Sen. trag. the adj. occurs only here.

continuis ... annis: such "rhyme" is not uncommon in Seneca's anapaestic dimeters; cf. 70-1 *Graias ... Amyclas*, 74-5 *nostris ... rogis /... Sigeis ... campis,* 115 *solito ... sono,* 120 *maternis ... palmis, H.F.* 132-4 *iam caeruleis euectus aquis / Titan summa prospicit Oeta; / iam Cadmeis incluta Bacchis.* These examples show that the homoeoteleuton results from the placing of the adjective before the caesura and the corresponding substantive at the end of the anapaestic dimeter [see J. Mantke, 'De Senecae tragici anapaestis', *Eos* 49 (1957/58) 105 f.; on the use of rhyme in Latin literature, see e.g. J. Marouzeau (^{2}1946) 58-65, with the striking example of Ov. *Fast.* 2.533 ff.; on the difference between rhyme and homoeoteleuton, see Herescu (1960) 167-180].

The ablative of duration of time (instead of the accusative) is not uncommon in Seneca's tragedies and prose: cf. below 911 *annis decem*, 1057-8 *bis quinis ... / ... annis*, 1175 *tota nocte*, *Phoen.* 501 *longo tempore*, *Dial.* 11.12.4 *diebus ... ac noctibus*, 12.20.2 *omnibus saeculis*, *Ep.* 15.5 *noctibus ac diebus*, *Nat.* 6.17.3 *non exiguo tempore*, *Cl.* 1.9.11 *duabus horis*. It occurs very rarely in early Latin (e.g. Pl. *Mil.* 212 *totis horis*), occasionally in authors of the Republican period (Caes. *Gal.* 1.26.5 *tota nocte*), and becomes more common during the Empire (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.53 *quattuordecim annis*) [K-S 1.360 f.; H-Sz 148].

70 ex quo: (sc. *tempore*) 'since (the time that)' (*OLD* s.v. *qui* 15c; s.v. *ex* 9). The chorus in Euripides' *Hecuba* likewise reaches back to the very beginning of the misery, 629-33 (transl. Way):

My doom of disaster was written,
The doom of mine anguish was sealed,
When of Paris the pine-shafts were smitten
Upon Ida, that eathward they reeled,
To ride over ridges surf-whitened

(on the topic of the 'beginning of evils' see e.g. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.2).

tetigit: 'arrive at, reach' (*OLD* s.v. *tango* 7); cf., for instance, below 391, 1149, Pl. *Am.* 203 *ut illo aduenimus, ubi primum terram tetigimus*, Catul. 63.2 *Phrygium ut nemus citato cupide pede tetigit*, and esp. Verg. *Aen.* 4.657-8 (Dido's lament) *felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum / numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.*

tetigit ... secuitque: poets often place the important thing first (here: the destination of the voyage), appending an explanatory clause paratactically. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.293-4 *mater delira necabit / in gelida fixum ripa febrimque reducet* (Kiessling-Heinze *ad loc.*: "ein starkes Prothysteron - denn der Tod ist die Folge des Rückfalls -"), Verg. *Aen.* 2.353 *moriamur et in media arma ruamus* (but T.E. Page and Austin object to the term hysteron-proteron), and the first lines of Euripides' *Medea* (Denys L. Page: "not an hysteron-proteron, but a logical sequence of thoughts"'): 'Would that the Argo had never winged its way to the land of the Colchians through the dark blue Symplegades. Would that pine-trees had never been felled in the glens of Mount Pelion' (transl. Kovacs). On the device, see H-Sz 698: "Die Figur ist ihrer Entstehung nach volkstümlich; das psychologisch Wichtige drängt an die Spitze, das zeitlich Frühere folgt ergänzend nach, wobei die Einheitlichkeit der Vorstellung die Inversion der Glieder ermöglicht und zugleich entschuldigt; auch rhythmische Gründe sind im Spiel"; G. Williams (1968) 728; Lausberg §§ 891-892.

Phrygius ... hospes: a curious periphrasis of Paris, coming from the lips of these Trojan women (some of them may be relatives of his!); Seneca seems to regard the antithesis with *Graias* as more important than the relationship between Paris and the chorus. For the effective juxtaposition of geographical epithets may be compared 135 *Dardana Graio*, *Ag.* 194 *Pelopia Phrygiae*. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.26 styles him *famosus hospes*. For *Phrygius* = 'Trojan' (*OLD* s.v. 2), see above on 29 *Phrygum*; cf. e.g. Catul. 61.18-9 *Phrygium ... iudicem*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.618 *Phrygii ... Simoentis*, Ov. *Met.* 13.720-1 *uati / ... Phrygio* (sc. Helenus).

Graias: like Vergil, Seneca never uses *Graecus*. For its use by other poets, see Austin on *Aen.* 2.148, Axelson (1945) 51 f., Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 357 (= 356 V^2) *contendunt Graecos, Graios memorare solent sos.*

As for the orthography, from *gratias* Th and *graias* EA, Housman deduced *Graiias*, comparing Catul. 66.58 where Baehrens restored *Graiia* from *gratia*; Fordyce *ad loc.* adds: "so Cicero (according to Quintilian 1.4.11) wrote *Maiia* for *Maia*". However, *Grāĭas* does not fit here.

For the confusion in the MSS, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 12.203, Stat. *Silu.* 2.295 (*grata* for *Graia*), Auson. *Ordo* 91 (*uersa graia* PH, *uersa grana* V).

71 Amyclas: Hom. *Il.* 2.584 mentions Amyclae as one of the towns in Laconia ruled by Menelaus; it also occurs at Eur. *Tro.* 986. It was situated *c.* 5 km south of Sparta, the usual home of Helen and Menelaus (cf. below 853-4, 919). On the use of *Amyclae* for *Sparta*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.314 with Bömer's note. Jakobi, p. 20 with Delrius suggests that Ov. *Ars* 2.5-6 *talis ab armiferis Priameius hospes Amyclis / candida cum rapta coniuge uela dedit* may have been in Seneca's mind; in the same context it is also found at Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.213-4 *Amyclaeis minus exsultauit harenis / pastor ad Idaeas Helena ueniente carinas*, *Ach.* 1.20-1 *soluerat Oebalio classem de litore pastor / Dardanus incautas blande populatus Amyclas.* Did these poets think it situated on the coast, and is there a possible confusion with the synonymous harbour on the southern coast of Crete?

secuit: 'cleaved' (*OLD* s.v. 5); cf. e.g. below 919, 1027, 1166, *Med.* 305 *dubioque secans aequora cursu*, *Phae.* 530 *nondum secabant credulae pontum rates*, *Ag.* 430, *Thy.* 590, Verg. *Aen.* 5.218, Ov. *Met.* 7.1. As often, Homer preceded, e.g. *Od.* 3.174. In Latin poetry, the first occurrence of this use of the verb is found in Cic. *Arat.* 128-9 *non aliae naues ut in alto ponere proras / ante solent, rostris Neptunia prata secantes.* At *Oed.* 390 *nec alta caeli quae leui pinna secant*, 605 *caelum secans*, Seneca applies the verb likewise to birds in the sky. In addition to *sulcare, findere, arare*, adduced by Tarrant on *Ag.* 430 *secent*, the verbs *scindere* (*OLD* 2b, e.g. *H.O.* 552-3) and *proscindere* (*OLD* 1b, e.g. Catul. 64.12) also have the same double meaning of 'ploughing' and 'sailing'.

72 pinus: a common metonymy ("material for object") for *nauis*. Sen. trag. uses it so once more in *Med.* 335-6 *bene dissaepti foedera mundi / traxit in unum Thessala pinus.* The pine-tree has been used as material ever since the first ship - the Argo, according to tradition - was built; cf. Catul. 64.1 *Peliaco ... prognatae uertice pinus*, Ov. *Am.* 2.11.1-2 *prima malas docuit, mirantibus aequoris undis, / Peliaco pinus uertice caesa uias*, *Met.* 1.94-5, Eur. *Med.* 4, Verg. *Geo.* 2.442-3 *utile lignum / nauigiis pinos.*

The forests of Mt. Ida were not only responsible for Paris' ships, they also enabled Aeneas to build a fleet (Verg. *Aen.* 3.5-6). Cybele's concern for those ships is worded by Verg. *Aen.* 9.85-9 *pinea silua mihi, multos dilecta per annos, / lucus in arce fuit summa, quo sacra ferebant, / nigranti picea trabibusque obscurus acernis. / has ego Dardanio iuueni, cum classis egeret, / laeta dedi; nunc sollicitam timor anxius angit.* After a vain appeal to Jupiter to make them indestructible, she gets his promise that those ships which reach Italy will be transformed into sea-goddesses: cf. 10.230-1 *nos sumus, Idaeae sacro de uertice pinus, / nunc pelagi Nymphae, classis tua.*

matri: Cybele is very often called (*magna*) *mater* or *genetrix*, e.g. *Phae.* 1135-6 *Phrygiumque nemus / matris Cybeles*, Lucr. 2.598-9 and 610-1 *hanc uariae gentes antiquo more sacrorum / Idaeam uocitant matrem*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.788 *magna deum genetrix*, Ov. *Met.* 10.103-4 *pinus / grata deum matri.* For *sacer* + dative, cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.623 *sacra Ioui quercus*, 10.109-10 *sacer nymphis ... ceruus.*

Cybebae: to meet the demands of metre, poets had two alternative forms at their disposal: *Cybĕle* and *Cybēbe.* Since a word of bacchiac shape is required here, the Th reading seems plausible, but *metri gratia* lengthening of the penultimate *e* in *Cybele* cannot be excluded [see J.B. Hall, *Claudian, De Raptu Proserpinae*, Cambridge 1969 (on 1.212); Camps and Richardson on Prop. 3.17.35; J.D. Bishop (1985) 269 n. 2].

Sen. trag. mentions this nature-goddess, who was especially associated with Mt. Ida and Mt. Dindymus, again at *Phae.* 1136 (quoted on *matri*) and refers to her in *Ag.* 688 *turritae ... parenti.* In his prose, we meet her in *Dial.* 2.18.6; Antisthenes, taunted with having a barbarian (Thracian) woman for his mother, replies *et deorum matrem Idaeam esse.* Her ecstatic cult, portrayed by Catul. 63 and Lucr. 2.600-660, was brought to Rome at the end of the third century B.C. In 205, after twelve years of unsuccessful warfare against Hannibal and the repeated ill omen of a shower of stones, the *libri Sibyllini* were consulted. According to a *carmen* in them, a foreign foe who had invaded Italy could be driven out, *si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam aduecta foret* (Liv. 29.10.4). Envoys were sent to king Attalus of Pergamum and received from him the holy stone, *quam matrem deum esse incolae dicebant* (id. 29.11.7). On April 4th, 204, it arrived in Rome, where it was carried to the temple of Victoria on the Palatine hill. There it remained, until in 191 B.C. on April 10th the temple of the Magna Mater was erected on that hill; the *ludi Megalenses* in her honour were then included in the State calendar [see E.O. James, *The Cult of the Mother Goddess*, London 1959; Turcan (1967) 25-27; M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis. The Myth and the Cult*, London 1977; Eugene N. Lane, *Cybele, Attis and related cults: essays in memory of M.J. Vermaseren*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1996].

73 **niuibus:** cf. *Phoen.* 609 *Xanthus ... niuibus Idaeis tumens.* In the northern part of Mt. Ida, the snow did not melt till the end of April (*RE* s.v. *Ida*, IX 863).

canuit: 'was covered in white'; cf. *Phae.* 7-8 *colles semper canos / niue Riphaea*, 935 *canas niues, Thy.* 117-8 *Cithaeronis iuga / stant parte nulla cana deposita niue*, Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.41. Cf. André (1949) 67 f.: "Pour la neige, les emplois de *canus*, *canens* sont deus fois plus nombreux que ceux de tous les autres termes signifiant «blanc» réunis. C'est même alors un équivalent de *candidus* plutôt que d' *albus*, puisque l'éclat de la neige est inséparable de sa couleur". Sen. trag. uses the verb only here, *albeo* also once at *Oed.* 94 *albens ossibus sparsis solum.* Apart from the instances cited above, *canus* occurs again below 184, and six more times in the other plays; *albus* is absent from the whole *corpus.*

For this way of describing the lapse of time, cf. below 547-8, *Phoen.* 370-2 *bruma ter posuit niues / et tertia iam falce decubuit Ceres, / ut exul errat natus*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.4 *seu plures hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam*, Juv. 4.92-3, Stat. *Theb.* 5.112 *tertia canet hiems.*

74 Ide: with Stuart, *CQ* 5 (1911) 33, and Zwierlein, I prefer this sensitive epanalepsis (CSV) to a repeated *decies* (ETh). The latter reading would imply that the Trojans burnt their dead but once in each year and on each occasion stripped the whole of Mt. Ida.

The device goes back to Homer (*Il.* 20.371-2) and was cultivated by the Alexandrinians (Call. *Hymn.* 1.33, 4.118, 5.40, Theocr. 9.2). It is often found in Lucretius (5.298-9, 950-1), Catull (see Fordyce on 64.26-7 *Iuppiter ipse, / ipse ... diuum genitor*), and Vergil (e.g. *Ecl.* 6.20-1 *superuenit Aegle, / Aegle Naiadum pulcherrima*). On epanalepsis, see e.g. H-Sz 811: "Die ... Figur beruht auf der fortführenden (nicht steigernden) Wiederholung eines oder mehreren am Schluß oder an einer anderen markanten Stelle eines Verses (Satzes) stehender Wörter (bes. der Eigennamen) am Beginn des zweiten. Sie ist in erster Linie dichterisch und dient dem Zweck, die Darstellung lebendiger und ausdrucksvoller zu gestalten"; Lausberg § 619; Wills, p. 124 ff.

For the epanalepsis of a geographical notion, not found elsewhere in Sen. trag., cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.849-50, 21.157-8, Verg. *Ecl.* 9.27-9 *'Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis, / Mantua uae miserae nimium uicina Cremonae, / cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni'*, *Aen.* 10.200-1, Prop. 4.1.63-4 *ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Vmbria libris, / Vumbria Romani patria Callimachi*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 12.546-7 *domus alta sub Ida, / Lyrnesi domus alta.*

Decies, probably an interpolation to supply the loss (by haplography) of the second *Ide*, has been preferred by most editors, e.g. Fantham: "both the hyperbole and the repeated numerical adverb are characteristic of Seneca", and by Fitch, *EMC* 19 (1985) 451 f., *CP* 84 (1989) 245, n. 30: "Zwierlein's overly literal interpretation of the reading *decies*".

nostris nudata rogis: "spoliata arboribus ad comburenda interfectorum e nostris cadavera" (Farnabius).

75 Sigeis: Sigeum was the name of a promontory (and a town) in Troas, at the point where the Dardanelles widen. Achilles and Patroclus were both buried there, cf. e.g. Cic. *Arch.* 24 *cum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum astitisset.* Trevet explains the name in the same way as Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 2.312 *Sigea ... freta*, and Isid. *Orig.* 14.7: "dictum a taciturnitate eo quod hercules prohibitus hospitio a laomedonte rege troianorum simulavit abcessum et inde contra troiam venit cum silentio quod grece dicitur sige". The combination *Sigeis ... campis* is also found Verg. *Aen.* 7.294, Ov. *Met.* 12.71-2 has *Sigea ... / litora.*

trepidus: 'agitated', because the Greek warriors may turn up at any time ("ne deprehenderetur a praedatore hoste", Farnabius). In the description of the summers the adjective offers the painful association, just as the pyres and the bare spots on Mt. Ida do in the preceding line.

Sen. trag. uses *trepidus* 18 times, in *Tro.* again at 499. On Statius' predilection for the adj., see e.g. Dewar on *Theb.* 9.35.

76 decumas ... aristas: 'the tenth ears' = 'ten harvests'. Similar expressions, borrowed from agricultural life, are found in Greek tragedies, e.g. Eur. *Tro.* 20 'after ten sowing times', *El.* 1154 'after ten years' seed-times'. Cf. also below 548 (*post*) *totidem ... messes*, *Oed.* 783 *decima iam metitur seges*, *Phae.* 838-41 (cited on 77 *ut*), Verg. *Ecl.* 1.69 *post aliquot mea regna uidens mirabor aristas*, Petr. 89 (*sed uideo te totum in illa haerere tabula, quae Troiae halosin ostendit. itaque conabor opus uersibus pandere:*) *iam decima maestos inter ancipites metus / Phrygas obsidebat messis*. U. Schindel, 'Meliboeus redux', *Hermes* 97 (1969) 480 f. quotes as later instances Claudianus 8.372 *decimas emensus aristas*, Ennodius, *carm.* 2.1.15 *bis denas hiemes, totidem transcendit aristas*; cf. also Claud. VI *Cons. Hon.* 388-9 *iam flauescentia centum / messibus aestiuae detondent Gargara falces*.

The variation *decies ... decumas* has a parallel in *Phoen.* 370-1 *ter ... tertia*. The placing of the adjective at the beginning, with the corresponding substantive at the end (see on 17), is frequently applied in this ode: again 80, 83, 97, 105, 112. As for the form *decumas*: the MSS usually have forms on *-imus*, e.g. *maximum* 311, 422, 599; E has *optume* below 486 and at *Phoen.* 151.

messor aristas: the simple picture of the summer-activity might have a grim association for an audience remembering Catul. 64.353-5 *namque uelut densas praecerpens messor aristas / sole sub ardenti flauentia demetit arva, / Troigenum infesto prosternet* (sc. Achilles) *corpora ferro*.

77 ut: 'since'. For this use of *ut* with the present tense, cf. *Phoen.* 370-2 quoted on 73 *canuit*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.6.19 *ut patria careo, bis frugibus area trita est*, 5.10.1 *ut sumus in Ponto, ter frigore constitit Hister*, Tac. *Ann.* 14.53 (Seneca addressing Nero) *quartus decimus annus est, Caesar, ex quo spei tuae admotus sum, octavus ut imperium obtines*. It can also be combined with the perf. tense, e.g. *Phae.* 838-41 *iam quarta Eleusin dona Triptolemi secat / paremque totiens libra composuit diem, / ambiguus ut me sortis ignotae labor / detinuit inter mortis et uitae mala*, *Oed.* 715-7 *ut primum magni natus Agenoris ... constitit* (see H-Sz 635 f.; *OLD* s.v. *ut* 27). Fantham rightly notes it as a less common variant of inverse *cum*; to her Vergilian examples (*Aen.* 3.646 and 5.627) may be added Pl. *Aul.* 4 *iam multos annos est quom possideo*. Cf. the similar use of ἐπεί with the present tense, for instance at Aesch. *Ag.* 40, *Ch.* 609, Soph. *Aj.* 490, *Ant.* 15, Pind. *Ol.* 1.26.

nulla dies: in the nominative sing., the feminine form is found where it is of metrical advantage: *H.F.* 586 *clara ... dies*, 875 *laeta dies*, *Med.* 223 and *Phae.* 771 *nulla ... dies*, *Oed.* 689 *nec ulla dies*. Seneca ordinarily uses the masculine forms in the nominative (21, 128, 374, 1142) as well as in the oblique cases (e.g. 10, 240, 756) [in general, see E. Fränkel, 'Das Geschlecht von *dies*', *Glotta* 8 (1917) 24-68; for Vergil's use, see Austin on *Aen.* 2.324 and 4.169].

maerore: the word is defined by Cic. *Tusc.* 4.8.18 as *aegritudo flebilis.*

caret: see on 55 *caret ... indiget.*

Vondel's translation of 77-8: 'Dat geen dag voorbij en glee, / Of hij broght zijn droefheid mee; / Of de daaglijkse ongenuchten / Gaven oorzaak om te zuchten', is commented on by J.A. Nijland, 'Vondels «De Amsteldamsche Hecuba»', *Hermeneus* 17 (1946) 83: "Hoe vaak heb ik die woorden niet stil voor mij heen gefluisterd, als we weer gekweld werden door zorg, overstelpt van smart over zoveel jonge levens geknakt in het bloeiendst van hun jaren."

78 sed: Fantham convincingly has advocated the linking of 78 to 77 by pointing out that "Seneca likes to express an idea first in a negative, then positive form, introduced by *sed* in such a way that each half occupies a complete line". She quotes as examples *Oed.* 46-7 *nullum serenis noctibus sidus micat / sed grauis et ater incubat terris uapor*, 52-3 *nec ulla pars immunis exitio uacat / sed omnis aetas pariter et sexus ruit*, *Ag.* 505-6 *nec rectus altas malus antemnas ferens / sed trunca toto puppis Icario natat* (see also Töchterle on *Oed.* 37).

noua: cf. *Ag.* 60-3 *numquam placidam sceptra quietem / certumue sui tenuere diem: / alia ex aliis cura fatigat / uexatque animos noua tempestas*, *Thy.* 29-30 *nec uacet cuiquam uetus / odisse crimen: semper oriatur nouum* (Fantham).

From *nulla dies*, for this line *omni die* has to be deduced, just as in *Ag.* 63 *semper* has to be added from 60 *numquam.*

ministrat: 'furnishes, supplies' (*OLD* s.v. 3); Sen. trag. uses the verb only here and in *Phae.* 516-7 *et fraga parvis uulsa dumetis cibos / faciles ministrant.*

79 ite ad planctus: '(w. *ad* or *in*+ acc.) to proceed or resort to a given action, mode of conduct, etc.' (*OLD* s.v. *eo* 14); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.413 *ire ... in lacrimas*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.193 *ibant in lacrimas.* On Seneca's extended nonspatial use of *ad* (again below 93, 316, 877, 1154), see Fantham, p. 93.

In view of the connection with the following line, older editors (Rutgers, Gronovius) proposed *ito.* At first, Zwierlein (1969 *Ph*, 262 f.) defended the suggestion, although he already mentioned the difficulty that the imperative in *-to* is absent from both Seneca and Lucan. Damsté (1919) 57 f. conjectured *itera planctus.* But why shouldn't the women stimulate each other to resume the mourning, after Hecuba has ordered them to do so, and then turn to their queen for guidance?

Because the subjunctive *eamus*, which we would normally expect, is metrically impossible, the plural imperative is a logical substitute. A parallel can be found in the second choral song of *Agamemnon*, where the chorus likewise exhorts itself (310) *canite, o pubes inclita, Phoebum!* There, they proceed with the descriptive *tibi festa caput turba coronat* (311); in another line they also use the first person: 342 *colimus* (cf. 315 *nostros*).

80 leua ... manum: Farnabius' note "tuque o regina praeito nobis et more praeficae ('a woman hired to lament at the head of a funeral procession') elevata manu modum luctus et planctus signo dato" may have inspired Kingery to his comparison of the conductor of a modern orchestra handling his baton. Calder (1970) 77 attacks this view, stressing the fact that the queen raises her hand to greet the dead, not the chorus: cf. Aesch. *Ch.* 8-9, Eur. *Alc.* 767 ff., *Supp.* 772. I rather think that the request to the queen to lift her hand denotes the starting-point for Hecuba to beat her breast; cf. d'Alfonso *ad loc*: "Anche tu che eri regina, alza, misera al pari di noi ... , la mano per percuoterti il petto". Anyhow, the queen leads the way: cf. Eur. *Tro.* 147-8.

The placing of the adjective, the alliteration, and the assonance give this line and the following one a tender touch.

81 uulgus: see on 67. For this use of an apposition with the unexpressed *nos*, cf. *Ag.* 341 (the chorus to Iuno) *tua te colimus turba Mycenae.*

uulgus dominam: an effective juxtaposition (see on 70) of words of opposite significance, more often found with adjectives, e.g. below 221, 253, 537, 1019.

dominam ... sequemur: echoes 57-8 *dominum ... sequar.*

uile: echoes 58 *uilis*; for *uulgus ... uile*, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.372 *nos, animae uiles, inhumata infletaque turba*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.2.129 *uilis turba*, *Theb.* 1.191-2 *nos uilis in omnis / prompta manus casus.*

82 non indociles: resumes and extends *non rude* (67): they are familiar with mourning but also willing and capable to follow Hecuba's instructions. For the epexegetic/complementary inf. after the adj., cf. e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.18 *indocilis pauperiem pati*, Luc. 5.539 *indocilis priuata loqui*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.313; likewise *Phae.* 814 *dociles spicula figere* (of the Cretans) [H-Sz 350].

83-98 *Hecuba gives instructions for the mourning, which at the end is focused on Hector.*

83 fidae ... comites: *fidus* is found very often in this context, e.g. *H.F.* 1334-5 *o fidum caput, / Theseu*, *Phoen.* 105 *si fida es comes*, *Med.* 568-9 *tu, fida nutrix, socia maeroris mei / uariique casus*, *Phae.* 432 *o fida nutrix*, 725 *fida famulorum manus*, *Ag.* 800, *H.O.* 601, Stat. *Silu.* 2.3.23-4. Cf. Walter (1975) 109: "Zweifellos existiert dieses Treueverhältnis zwischen Herrn und Diener auch in der griechischen Tragödie. Römisch ist jedoch die Akzentuierung und Ponderierung des fides-Begriffs, der als iuristisch-politischer und sakral-ethischer Terminus in Sprache und Denken der Griechen kein Aequivalent besitzt"; contrast Eur. *Med.* 49 'old house-property of my mistress' and Ennius' version *scen.* 237 J (= 255 V^2) *antiqua erilis fida custos corporis.* Hecuba's address may be taken as a "correction" of the words of the Chorus, substituting *fidae* for the modest *uile,* and the warm *comites* for the vague *uulgus.*

In his tragedies, Seneca clearly shows a preference for *fidus* (18x, in *Tro.* again 453, 476) over *fidelis* (4x, in *Tro.* at 502). In his prose, on the other hand, there are only three occurrences of *fidus* (*Ben.* 6.33.2, *Cl.* 1.13.1, 1.13.2) and fourteen of *fidelis*. Tarrant on *Ag.* 284 *fidus* (the only substantival use of the adj. in Seneca) notes a similar contrast between the figures for Seneca trag. and those for comedy.

For the wordorder *fidae casus nostri comites*, cf. e.g. below 152 *adsuetas ad sceptra manus*, 195 *desponsa nostris cineribus Polyxene*, 255-6 *nobiles clari ducis / ... umbras*.

casus: see on 6 *starent.*

nostri: = *mei* (*OLD* s.v. 2: "esp. in formal language, from modesty, metri gratia, etc."), again below 117 *nostra ... dextra*, 195 *nostris cineribus*, 313 *nostri patris*, 443, 526, 798, 957 (K-S 1.87 f.).

84 soluite crinem: the loosening of the hair (sometimes torn, here sprinkled with ashes) is one of the three common manifestations of grief; cf. e.g. *H.F.* 202 (of Megara) *sed maesta uenit crine soluto*, *Ag.* 586-7 (the chorus of captive Trojan women) *turba tristis incomptae comas / Iliades*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.35 (at the funeral of Pallas) *et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae*, Liv. 1.26.2 (of a sister of the Horatii, engaged to one of the Curiatii) *cognitoque super umeros fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, soluit crines, et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat.* The other usual elements follow in Hecuba's instructions: the baring and beating of parts of the body (87 ff.), and the weeping and lamenting (96-7). See more fully Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 3.560 *germanae iusta dat.*

The three characteristics are found again in Andromache's address to the Chorus below 409-11 *quid ... laceratis comas / miserumque tunsae pectus effuso genas / fletu rigatis?*; cf. also *H.O.* 1545-7 *planctus immensas resonet per urbes / et comas nullo cohibente nodo / femina exertos feriat lacertos*, Polyb. 2.56.7. Two comparable passages from Ovid: *Met.* 11.681-3 (Alcyone after the apparition of Ceyx) *percutit ora manu laniatque a pectore uestes / pectoraque ipsa ferit; nec crines soluere curat; / scindit*, 13.687-9 *ante urbem exequiae tumulique ignesque rogique / effusaeque comas et apertae pectora matres / significant luctum.*

Note the *c* repetition in the first two lines, and the structure *casus ... comites ... crinem ... colla ... capilli.*

85 per colla: for the use of the preposition, cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 11.497 *luduntque iubae per colla, per armos*, Ov. *Met.* 3.169 *sparsos per colla capillos*, 2.673 *uagi crines per colla iacebant*; for an extensive list, see Enk's note on Prop. 2.3.13.

fluant: cf. Prop. 2.3.13 *comae per leuia colla fluentes.* Note the alternation of imperatives and conjunctives in Hecuba's instructions.

maesta: '(of things) indicative of mourning, used as a sign of grief' (*OLD* s.v. 2b). For this transfer of the adjective, expressing the deep sadness of a human being, to unemotional parts of the body, cf. e.g. *Apoc.* 12 (the *nenia* for Claudius) *caedite maestis pectora palmis*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.35 quoted on 84 *soluite crinem*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.454 *feriunt maesta*

pectora nuda manu, 4.854 *maestas Acca soluta comas*, *Am*. 2.6.5 *maestis* ... *capillis*, Luc. 2.376 *maestam* ... *barbam*, *CIL* 3.423 *maestos pietatis scindere crines*. In fact, the adjective may qualify anything indicating mourning or connected with the funeral: Ov. *Tr*. 3.3.84 *maesta fauilla*, *Tr*. 5.14.6 *maestos* ... *rogos*, *Pont*. 3.2.31 *maestis* ... *bustis*, Tib. 1.3.6 *maestos* ... *sinus*. See F. Cairns, *Tibullus: A Hellenistic poet at Rome*, Cambridge 1979, 104; Antolín on [Tib.] 3.2.12; van Campen on Luc. 2.375-6.

As for the frequency of the adjective compared to the more common *tristis*, Austin has noted on Verg. *Aen*. 2.270: "*Maestus* is less often used than *tristis*, and occurs relatively more often in poetry than in prose: Virgil uses *maestus* 39 times, *tristis* 63 times (in Ovid, the relation is 65 : 137, in Statius 84 : 99)". For Sen. trag. the numbers are 34 : 58, for *Troades* 4 (85, 240, 409, 1133) : 4 (375, 783, 851, 1057). Some more statistics from *ThLL* VIII 46.4 ff.: Lucan 38 : 32, V. Fl. 39 : 23; in prose, Liv. 28 : 71, Plin. Min. 5 : 33, Sen. (phil.) 10 : 82.

capilli: after *coma* (47) and *crinem* (84), the third word for 'hair'. It is the "normal" word in prose, so it is not surprising that elevated poetry shows a tendency to avoid it; in the statistics on the use of *capillus, coma, crinis*, Sen. trag. with his respective figures 4 : 61 : 20 corresponds with Vergil (2 : 28 : 30), Lucan ((2 : 27 : 20), Val. Flaccus (2 : 18 : 25), Silius (2 : 24 : 27), and Statius (4 : 90 : 84). Other poets, like Tibullus (12 : 26 : 8), Propertius (15 : 29 : 8) and Horace in his lyrics (11 : 10 : 12), do not show such a dislike; Ovid uses *capillus* even much more often than *coma* and *crinis*, also in his epic (in Axelson's counting 64 : 32 : 38) [Axelson (1945) 51].

In comedy and satire, *capillus* is in general more frequent than the other two terms: Plautus 8 : 0 : 3, Terentius 4 : 0 : 0, Hor. *Sat*. 2 : 0 : 0; in elegy, *coma* is the most frequent term and *crinis* the least frequent: Antolín on [Tib.] 3.1.10 adds Ovid's figures (98 : 128 : 38) to Axelson's statistics and specifies Tib. I-II (11 : 24 : 7).

Like most poets (see *ThLL* III 314.68 ff.), Sen. trag. prefers the use of the plural forms (*Med*. 803 *capillos*, *Phae*. 320, *Oed*. 499 *capillis*; no instances of the singular), whereas a prose author like Cicero as a rule applies the collective singular [*ThLL* III 314.70; Lebek, p. 240].

Note the repetition of the *l* in this line; cf. Marouzeau (1946^2) 27: "la liquide *l* exprime l'écoulement".

86 tepido: in view of 101 *cinis feruidus*, this *lectio facilior* of some younger MSS seems preferable to *trepido*, which has been defended by Bishop (1985) 269, n. 2.

puluere: the subst. does not only mean 'dust', but also 'ashes'; cf. below 480. In *Nat*. 3.20.3, Seneca applies the noun to volcanic ashes (*Puteolanus puluis*). Hor. *Carm*. 4.7.16 uses it of the ashes of the dead: (*ubi decidimus*) *puluis et umbra sumus*. Unlike in Ennius (see Skutsch on *Ann*. 315 *puluis fulua uolat*) and Propertius (for instance 1.22.6), the word is never fem. in Sen. trag.: cf. below 480, *Thy*. 175, *Phoen*. 394; see also below on 101 *cinis*.

For the habit of mourning people to sprinkle their hair with ashes, cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.23-4, Eur. *Supp.* 826-7; in Roman poetry, it is found e.g. Luc. 2.335-6 *effusas laniata comas contusaque pectus / uerberibus crebris cineresque ingesta sepulchri*, *H.O.* 119-20 *nos turpis macies et lacrimae tenent / et crinis patrio puluere sordidus.*

Note the striking repetition of *t*, *p* and *r* in this line.

turpes: 'foul'; cf. Catul. 64.224 *canitiem terra atque infuso puluere foedans*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.844 *canitiem multo deformat puluere*, 12.611 (*it scissa ueste Latinus*) *canitiem immundo perfusam puluere turpans*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.50-1 *haustaque informis harena / questibus implet agros.*

87 exertos: Sen. trag. uses *ex(s)erere* of someone (something) thrusting forth his (its) head: *H.F.* 594 (of Phoebus) *inlustre laetis exeris terris caput*, *Phae.* 747 *exerit uultus rubicunda Phoebe*, *Oed.* 532 *cupressus altis exerens siluis caput*, *Ag.* 484 *quid rabidus ora Corus Oceano exerens*, 554 *Neptunus imis exerens undis caput*. The past participle is used of parts of the body, protruding from the dress and thus 'bare': *H.O.* 1547 *femina exertos feriat lacertos*, 1668-70 *mater in luctum furens / diduxit auidum pectus atque utero tenus / exerta uastos ubera in planctus ferit*; cf. Caes. *Gal.* 7.50.2 *dextris umeris exsertis animaduertebantur*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.492 (Penthesilea) *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.346 (Thetis instructing "female" Achilles) *et ipsa umeros exsertaque bracchia uelat*, Claud. *Paneg.* 87 *dextrum nuda latus, niueos exerta lacertos.*

88 ueste ... / ... artus: 'having loosened the robe (from its position about the shoulders) bind its folds (to prevent its falling too far) and let the body be uncovered as far as the waist' (Kingery). For the baring of the breast in lamentation, cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 22.79-80, Polyb. 2.56.7, Theocr. 15.134-5 (with Gow's note), Ov. *Met.* 13.688-9 (cited on 84), Petr. 111 *non contenta uulgari more funus passis prosequi crinibus aut nudatum pectus in conspectu frequentiae plangere.*

substringe: Sen. trag. uses the verb once more in *Phae.* 1003 *et ora frenis domita substrictis ligat*; cf. *Phae.* 390 *breuis expeditos zona constringat sinus,* 1075-6 *ora nunc pressis trahit / constricta frenis*). *Substringere* is used of the binding up of hair in Tac. *Ger.* 38.2 *insigne gentis* (sc. Sueborum) *obliquare crinem nodoque substringere*. For the use of the singular in the address to the *turba*, cf. *Thy.* 901-2 *turba famularis, fores / templi relaxa.*

89 tenus: orig. a noun, 'noose'; cf. Non. 6.12 *tenus est laqueus, dictus a tendicula*, Pl. *Bac.* 793 *pendebit hodie pulchre, ita intendi tenus*. The word became more popular as a preposition, denoting a stretch and following its noun, either in the gen. (Lucr. 1.940, Catul. 64.18, Verg. *Aen.* 10.210), in the abl. (in Sen. trag. again *Phae.* 87-8 *Assyria tenus / tellure*, *Thy.* 761-2 *amputat trunco tenus umeros patentes*; cf. *H.O.* 316 *caelo tenus*, 1669 *utero tenus* in an obvious imitation of this passage), or in the acc. (V. Fl. 1.538 *Tanain tenus*) [see e.g. Wölfflin, *ALL* 1.415-426, N-W II 932 f., Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 1.737 and 2.553]. The first author who put *tenus* before the noun was Avienus in the middle of the 4th cent. [H-Sz 268].

90 coniugio: 'husband', see on 59 *coniugia*. The women need no longer to be induced by their sense of shame to cover their breast; they have lost their husband and will merely be the slaves of a Greek master.

uelas: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.479-80 *tunc quoque cura fuit partes uelare tegendas, / cum caderet, castique decus seruare pudoris*, Eur. *Hec.* 568-70 'but even when she died, she showed great care to fall gracefully, hiding what should be hidden from men's eyes'.

For these Trojan women the uncovering of the breasts is "an acknowledgement of the extinction of Trojan society and its values", as it was phrased by M. Wilson, 'The tragic mode of Seneca's *Troades*', in A.J. Boyle (ed.), *Seneca Tragicus. Ramus Essays on Senecan Drama*, Berwick, Victoria 1983, 49. Cf. also J.D. Bishop, 'Seneca's *Troades*, Dissolution of a Way of Life', *RhM* 115 (1972), 330: "For modesty presupposes a stabilized society in which modesty has value." For an analogous use of female nudity on the ancient stage, Boyle refers to Eur. *Andr.* 833 ff. (Hermione).

91 captiue: 'belonging to captives'; cf. *H.O.* 109 *captiua ... bracchia*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.520 *captiuo ... sanguine*, Ov. *Met.* 13.667 *captiuis ... lacertis*, Tac. *Ann.* 14.30.3 *cruore captiuo*. Here the combination of subst. and adj. sharply defines the contrast between their former attitude (*pudor*) and their present status (*captiue*). In other passages, the subst. is connected with *ingenuus*, for example *Phae.* 250 *non omnis animo cessit ingenuo pudor*, *Dial.* 2.15.1 *quae excogitari pudori ingenuo molesta possunt*, Catul. 61.79 *ingenuus pudor* (Fordyce *ad loc.*: 'the delicacy of feeling which comes from birth and breeding').

pudor: 'regard for the decencies in sexual behaviour, dress, language, demeanour, etc., modesty' (*OLD* s.v. 2b); see also on 334 *pudor*. For the address on *pudor*, also found at *Phae.* 989, cf. below 107 the address to *dolor*. On Seneca's (Stoic) psychology, see G.A. Seeck in: E. Lefèvre, *Das römische Drama*, Darmstadt 1978, 409 ff. ('Psychologie und Menschenbild'), esp. (p. 414): "Er prägt keine neuen empirisch gewonnenen Begriffe, sondern hält sich an die bekannten Affekte wie Zorn, Liebe, Scham (*furor* oder *ira*, *amor*, *pudor*) und dergleichen".

92 cingat ... manus (94): these lines specify the instructions *ueste remissa substringe sinus*: the *palla* must be used to bind the loosened tunic, so the hands are free to beat the breast.

tunicas: 'a standard garment worn by both sexes, either by itself or under a toga, cloak, etc.' (*OLD*). For men it ended about midcalf, for women full or ankle length. It was worn loose or belted, and fastened to the shoulder by buttons, brooches, or sewing. See e.g. Judith Lynn Sebesta & Larissa Bonfante (edd.), *The World of Roman Costume*, Madison, Wisconsin 1994, *passim*, esp. Norma Goldman, 'Reconstructing Roman Clothing', 221-223. In his tragedies, Seneca uses the noun only here. In his prose, it is found six times, e.g. *Ben.* 1.3.5 *solutis itaque tunicis utuntur*.

palla: a rectangular mantle, reaching down to the heels, worn especially as an outdoor garment by Roman women over the tunic; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 11.576 *palla proprie est muliebris uestis deducta usque ad uestigia.* For the transfer to non-Roman women, cf. e.g. Helen's *pallam signis auroque rigentem* (*Aen.* 1.648), that Aeneas presents to Dido, and Juv. 10.262 *scissaque Polyxene palla.*

93 **uacet:** 'to be left free for a person's use, be available (to)' (*OLD* s.v. 4).

uerbera: 'blows' (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. (in a similar context) *H.F.* 1102-3 *mundum solitos ferre lacertos / uerbera pulsent ultrice manu*, 801-2 (Hercules fighting Cerberus) *huc nunc et illuc uerbere assiduo rotat, / ingeminat ictus*, and the verb *uerbero* Petr. 81.2 *uerberabam aegrum planctibus pectus*, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.248-9 *planctuque lacertos / uerberat.*

Elsewhere, Sen. trag. applies the word to a whip/flogging (below 578, *Phae.* 882, 884, 1077), the snake-whip of the Furies (*H.F.* 88, 982, *Oed.* 645, *Ag.* 760, *Thy.* 96), the blows of a quiver (*H.F.* 118), the blows of the tail of the Sphinx (*Oed.* 96), and the blows of the oars (*Med.* 337).

94 **furibunda manus:** the combination is found again below 940, *H.O.* 905 *furibunda manu.* On the adjectives in *-bundus*, see E. Pianezzola, *Gli aggettivi verbali in -bundus*, Florence 1965; E. Risch, *Gerundivum und Gerundium*, Berlin - New York 1984, 81-92.

95 **placet ... placet:** "Die Wiederholung als (syntaktisch-semantische oder metrische) Klammer (*/x ... x/*) wird durch die Figur der *redditio* dargestellt", Lausberg § 625; it is found again below 465-6 *talis incessu fuit / habituque talis.* For its use with a verb, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 638-9 *differ amplexus, parens, / coniunxque differ*, 1156 *libet meum uidere uictorem, libet*, *Med.* 922-3 *placuit ... placuit*, *Ag.* 526 *uehit ... uehit.* Other names for the device, cited by Lausberg, are *inclusio*, *prosapodosis*, *epanadiplosis*, *epanalepsis.*

habitus: 'style of dress, toilet, etc., 'get-up' (esp. proper to a particular class or occasion)' (*OLD* s.v. 3); for another occurrence of the noun in the context of mourning, see Ov. *Fast.* 2.817 *utque uident habitum, quae luctus causa, requirunt.* See also below on 466 and 866, and cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.315 ff., where *habitum* (Austin: 'look' in the widest sense) is made explicit by a description of the hair (*dederatque comam diffundere uentis*) and the dress (*nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis*).

agnosco: 'recognize (in her true form)'; cf. below 504, *Thy.* 1006 (Thyestes to Atreus) *agnosco fratrem* (with Tarrant's note), *Med.* 1021 (Medea to Jason) *coniugem agnoscis tuam?*, *Phae.* 113 (Phaedra) *fatale miserae matris agnosco malum.* See also Fantham on Luc. 2.193. As Summers notes on *Ep.* 5.5, the verb is one of the words which the Silver writers strain: cf. *Ep.* 59.11 *si inuenimus qui nos bonos uiros dicat, agnoscimus* ('recognise the truth of', practically 'believe'); 108.8 *dicta publice agnoscimus* ('confess the truth of', 'approve').

Troada: Greek acc. sing., like *Hectora* (below 98), *Sirena* (*Med.* 360), *Titana* (*Med.* 410). The word is often used substantively denoting a Trojan woman, so below 901, *Ag.* 622, 660; for the adjectival use here, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 13.94 *Troada ... humum*, Nep. *Paus.* 3.3 *in agro Troade.*

96 luctus ... ueteres: at first sight, the adjective merely seems to echo the idea expressed by the chorus (67 ff.) that they have been mourning for ten long years; the effectively juxtaposed *solitum* (*flendi ... morem*) strengthens this view. But Hecuba's words also provide a contrast with the *luctus recentes* of 43: at the beginning of the lamentation, she does not weep for Priam or their own miserable situation but for Hector, whose death was such a blow (cf. 31).

97 uincite: 'to surpass, outdo' (*OLD* 9); cf. below 701, *Oct.* 5-7 *repete assuetos iam tibi questus / atque aequoreas uince Alcyonas, / uince et uolucres Pandionias.*

98 Hectora: see on 31. The name denotes '(city) holder'; cf. the wordplay at Hom. *Il.* 5.473 (Sarpedon to Hector) 'you said, I think, that you would hold the city without subjects and allies', and Socrates' comment on the names of Astyanax and Hector in Pl. *Crat.* 393a: 'a king and a holder have nearly the same meaning, and are both descriptive of a king; for a man is, I presume, the holder of that of which he is a king; he evidently rules, and owns, and holds it' (transl. B. Jowett, Oxford 1953). At Eur. *Rhes.* 821, he is addressed as a 'city-holding power'.

As for the form *Hectora*, according to Var. *L.L.* 10.70, Accius in his tragedies restored Greek forms of Greek names, preferring *Hectora* to *Hectorem*. Before him Ennius used *Hectŏrem*, for example in his lines (*scen.* 100-1) cited by Cic. *Tusc.* 1.105. In spite of Accius, the form *Hectŏrem* won ground; in Varro's time, *Hectōrem* was not used any more (N-W I 268). Seneca uses *Hectora* (again 116, 160) as well as *Hectorem* (189, 459, 602, 684, 907).

99-116 *The chorus carries out Hecuba's instructions.*

99 soluimus: perfect tense, answering to *soluite* (84), just as *dimissa est* (100) corresponds with *per colla fluant* (85).

lacerum: '(of hair) torn' (*OLD* s.v. 1b); cf. below 800 *laceros ... crines*, *Phae.* 731 (in the quite different context of Phaedra's feigned rape by Hippolytus) *lacerae comae*, Luc. 2.31-2 *lacerasque in limine sacro / attonitae fudere comas*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.680 *laceris ... capillis*. Below 409, Seneca uses the verb *lacerare* for the tearing of hair. Applied to other parts of the body (*OLD* 1a 'mutilated, mangled, lacerated'), the adj. ocurs in *Phoen.* 162 *lacerae ... fixis unguibus uenae fluant*, *Oed.* 978 *lacerum caput.*

multo funere: 'at many a funeral'. For the use of *multus* with a collect. sing. cf. e.g. *Med.* 846 *multa prece*, *Phae.* 30 *uulnere multo*, 1096,

1266 *multo uulnere*, *Thy.* 465-6 *manu / ... multa*, 908 *multa ... face*, Verg. *Ecl.* 1.33 *multa ... uictima*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.5.1, 4.5.33; for a list of such combinations, also with *plurimus* and *frequens*, see K-S 1.70. Damsté (1919) 58 conjectured *puluere*.

100 dimissa: in view of 85 *fluant*, Scaliger's *demissa* seems a certain correction, and it has been generally accepted; cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.288-9 *stabant cum uestibus atris / ante toros fratrum demisso crine sorores*, *Ep.* 10.137 *demissos lugentis more capillos*, Prop. 2.24.51-2 *sed tu potius precor ut me / demissis plangas pectora nuda comis*.

But since the arranging of hair is indicated by *comere* (= *con* + *emere*) or *componere* (e.g. Verg. *Geo.* 4.417 *compositis ... crinibus*, Prop. 1.15.5, Stat. *Ach.* 1.348), *dimittere* seems a logical opposite to me, in its result ('flowing hair') not different from *demittere*; cf. E. Courtney, *CR* 84 (1970) 199, J.D. Bishop (1985) 270, n. 2. I have found no exact parallel for this use of *dimittere*, but *Phae.* 401-2 *nodo comas / coegit emisitque* seems comparable. For the confusion of the two compounds, cf. e.g. *Phae.* 39, *Oed.* 505, *Thy.* 1015, *Ep.* 48.7, Stat. *Silu.* 2.4.18. See esp. Ov. *Met.* 2.310, where Bömer prefers transmitted *dimitteret* as a lectio difficilior over more usual *demitteret*.

Note the abundance in the phrasing *soluimus ... dimissa ... libera nodo*.

libera nodo: only here in Sen. trag. *liber* is combined with a simple abl.; with *ab*, it is found at *Phae.* 601 *locus ab omni liber arbitrio uacat*, with a genit., *Phae.* 492 *spei metusque liber*.

nodo: 'knot' of hair; cf. *Phae.* 401-2 quoted above, *Oed.* 416-7 *spargere effusos sine lege crines, / rursus adducto revocare nodo*, *H.O.* 1546 (also a *planctus*-scene) *et comas nullo cohibente nodo*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.11.24, 3.14.22.

101 sparsit ... cinis: sometimes (*OLD* s.v. *spargo* 8) the drops, particles, or the like, with which is sprinkled, become the subject of the sentence; cf. e.g. *Med.* 345-6 (*cum*) *spargeret arces nubesque ipsas / mare deprensum*, *Oed.* 184 *maculaeque cutem sparsere leues*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.42 *sparsissent lacrimae pectora nostra piae*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.545 *spargit caua nubila sanguis*. See Hillen, p. 186, with n. 542.

cinis feruidus: in Sen. trag., as in most authors, *cinis* is masculine; cf. e.g. below 544, 648, 943, 957. Catullus uses the fem. sing. form at 68.90 and 101.4, but has the normal masculine in the plural (68.98). The fem. sing. is also found Lucr. 4.926, Apul. *Met.* 9.12, and in some minor authors [*ThLL* III 1070.3 ff.]. The epithet is another reminder that the burning city looms in the background.

ora: 'the face as implying the head' (*OLD* s.v. *os* 7).

102-3 complete ... licet: as indicated in the introductory note, I don't see a coercive reason to transpose this bitter remark, which must be conceived either as a mutual stimulation of the women (E), or as a mocking order from Hecuba (A). Since this second possibility is the less usual one (I have found no parallel for such an intrusion), I have given it preference; its novelty may have caused the attribution to the chorus.

W.H. Friedrich, *Untersuchungen zu Senecas dramatischer Technik*, Borna/Leipzig 1933, 146 n. 1, also keeps the words here, noting: "Tro. 102 f. kann man nämlich m.E. nur als einen Einfall auffassen, den sich der Dichter zu dem Klagesang hinzunotierte, ohne ihn einzugliedern". Caviglia, following E. Paratore, 'Sulle sigle dei personaggi nelle tragedie di Seneca', *SIFC* 27-28, (1956) 332 ff., and Chaumartin also leave them here, but spoken by the chorus.

103 sumpsisse: the use of the inf. perf. act. where we prefer the inf. praes. act. can be traced back to the S.C. de Bacch.: *neiquis eorum Bacanal habuise uelet* (*CIL* 1.196). It is also found in Cato, *Agr.* 5.4 *nequid emisse uelit* (sc. *uilicus*) *insciente domino, neu quid dominum celauisse uelit.* Such an inf. usually complemented a form of *uelle* (e.g. Ter. *Hec.* 563, Lucr. 3.69, Catul. 69.2, Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.187), but it may also depend on other verbs, like *posse* and *licet* (Pl. *Aul.* 828, Verg. *Aen.* 6.78-9, Prop. 1.1.15, Ov. *Fast.* 6.230) [H-Sz 351 f.; K-S 1.133-135].

Here Seneca may have chosen the perf. inf. *metri causa*, but *sumpsisse* also seems to express more than just *sumere*: the ashes are to be their only concrete souvenir of their once so rich city (= *sumptum habere* or *tenere*). For this use of the perf. inf., see also below 276, 451, 1025.

104 cadit ... uestis: cf. 88 *ueste remissa.*

ex: 'down from' (*OLD* s.v. 5b); cf. Cic. *Scaur.* 4 *se ex altissimo praecipitasse muro*, Liv. 2.20.10 *desiliunt ex equis*, Ov. *Met.* 1.261. The preposition is also used of clothes hanging from the shoulders, e.g. Juv. 10.38-9 (*praetorem*) *in tunica Iouis et pictae Sarrana ferentem / ex umeris aulaea togae* (*OLD* s.v. 4b). For this use of *e*(*x*) as an - often metrically convenient - equivalent of *de*, cf. below 622, 966, 1063, 1118.

apertis: '(of parts of the body, etc.) uncovered, bare, naked' (*OLD* s.v. 6), corresponding with 87 *exertos*; prolepsis (K-S 1.239 f.).

105 imum: Seneca clearly prefers *imus* over *infimus*; the only certain occurrence of *infimus* in his tragedies is *Ag.* 475 *rapiuntque pelagus infimo euersum solo.* In his prose, *imus* (46x) also prevails over *infimus* (11x). According to E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II, Lund 1933, 346 f., *imus* was "die volkstümliche, ... lebendige Form", *infimus* "ein mehr literarisches Gepräge"; the latter form was preferred by Cicero and Caesar. Note the conspicuous placing of the adjective; again 106 *nuda.*

suffulta: 'girt up' by the palla (Kingery). The compound, occurring only here in Sen. trag., matches *cadit* (104); cf. 127 *fulta* (128 *cecidit*) and *Ep.* 95.22 *uino fulcire uenas cadentes.* Lucr. 4.427 (*porticus*) *paribus suffulta columnis* uses the verb in its literal sense 'to prop below'. It can also denote the beneficial effect of food, id. 4.867 *propterea capitur cibus ut suffulciat artus*, where it matches *subruitur* (866). On the increased use of compounds by Sen. trag. in comparison with the Augustan poets, see Billerbeck § 150.

106 nuda ... pectora: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.453-4 *montes ululatibus implent / et feriunt maesta pectora nuda manu* (with Bömer's note).

uocant: 'call, invite'. For the use of an inanimate subject with this verb (*OLD* s.v. 2b), cf. e.g. below 814 *quae uocat sedes habitanda captas*, *H.F.* 129-31 *signum celsi glaciale poli / septem stellis Arcados ursae / lucem uerso temone uocat*, *Phae.* 27-8 *si quem tangit gloria siluae, / uocat hunc Phyle*, Lucr. 2.319-20 *lanigerae reptant pecudes quo quamque uocantes / inuitant herbae*, 5.524, Liv. 28.15.12 *Carthaginienses ... nox imberque ad necessariam quietem uocabat*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.356-7.

107 nunc, nunc: "Der unmittelbare Kontakt / ... *xx* ... / oder / *xx* ... / stellt die reinste Form der *geminatio* dar", Lausberg § 617; of single words it is often termed *iteratio* (Aquila 29, Mart. Cap. 40) against *repetitio* (Aquila 31, Mart. Cap. 40) of a group of words. Other terms for the device: *duplicatio* and *epizeuxis* (e.g. Beda p. 609, 23 *epizeuxis est eiusdem uerbi in eodem uersu sine aliqua dilatione geminatio*). Canter, p. 156, n. 2 for its effect (cf. *OLD* s.v. 1b) refers to *Rhet. Her.* 4.38: *uehementer auditorem commouet eiusdem redintegratio uerbi et uulnus maius efficit in contrario causae, quasi aliquod telum saepius perueniat in eandem partem corporis.*

An early use of iterated *nunc* is found at Pl. *Rud.* 169 *nunc, nunc periclumst.* Cic. *Tusc.* 2.21 *nunc, nunc dolorum anxiferi torquent uertices* applies it in a translation, where it is not found in the original (Soph. *Trach.* 1088-9). For *nunc, nunc* followed by an imperative, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 498-9, *Med.* 13 *nunc, nunc adeste*, *H.O.* 550, 1880, Verg. *Aen.* 5.189, Hor. *Epod.* 5.53; Wills, p. 107-109 has more instances. Seneca's compatriot Prudentius uses iterated *nunc* even 16 times (M.M. van Assendelft, *Sol ecce surgit igneus*, Groningen 1976, 103 on *Cath.* 2.33).

dolor: self-apostrophe is a familiar phenomenon in poetry since Homer (see on 613 *anime*). In Sen. trag. the heroes/heroines often address their *animus* (e.g. below 613, 662), sometimes they appeal to a special mood of their heart, like *dolor* (again 595, *Med.* 139, *Ag.* 649), *ira* (*H.F.* 75, *Med.* 51), or *uirtus* (*H.F.* 1315). For a combination, see *Med.* 914 ff. Bonner refers to the use by Seneca's father, e.g. *Contr.* 2.3.6 *dura, anime, dura* (p. 166), and *Contr.* 2.3.1 *quid contremescis, pectus? quid, lingua, trepidas? quid, oculi, extimuistis?* (p. 69).

Apostrophe in general was a popular device of rhetoric among the Silver Age poets. E. Hampel, *De apostrophae apud poetas Romanos usu*, Diss. Jena 1908, shows by statistics that Ovid, Statius, Silius and Val. Flaccus used apostrophe about twice as often as Vergil, Lucan even more than three times as often.

108 Rhoetea: 'of Rhoeteum', a promontory north of Troy; according to lines 1121-2 Achilles' tomb was raised there. Seneca only uses the scansion *Rhoetēa*, Vergil both the trisyllabic (*Aen.* 3.108 *Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est aduectus in oras*) and quadrisyllabic form (*Aen.* 5.646 *non Beroe uobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres*).

sonent ... planctu: for a similar expansion of the lamentation to the surrounding nature, cf. *H.F.* 1104-5 *gemitus uastos audiat aether, / audiat atri regina poli*, 1108-11 *resonet maesto clamore chaos / latique patens*

unda profundi / et qui medius tua tela tamen / senserat aether, 1114 *uno planctu tria regna sonent*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.668 *resonat magnis plangoribus aether*. The combination *sonent ... planctu* is found again in *Thy.* 1045-6 *pectora inliso sonent / contusa planctu*; cf. also *Apoc.* 12 (the second line of the *nenia*) *resonet tristi clamore forum*.

109 Echo: according to Ov. *Met.* 3.356-401, Echo was a nymph who could not speak of her own accord, but only repeat the last words of others. She was deprived of normal speech by Juno, because Echo's chatter prevented the goddess from taking Jupiter by surprise in his love-affairs with nymphs. When Echo saw Narcissus, she fell in love with him, but he repulsed her; ashamed she hid in the woods, where the *chagrin d'amour* emaciated her until only her voice was left.

There is a reverse story that she lost her body since she rejected the love of Pan, who then drove shepherds to madness so they tore her in pieces (Longus 3.23). The unrequited love of Pan for her is mentioned in one of the poems of Moschus' *Bucolica* quoted by Stobaeus; her voice is heard e.g. in Bion's *Adonidos Epitaphios* 38.

cauis montibus: Ov. *Met.* 3.394 *solis ex illo uiuit in antris*. The combination *cauus mons* is also found at Lucr. 5.955, Verg. *Aen.* 1.81, Ov. *Met.* 11.593; cf. below 831 *montis exesi ... antro*.

110 extrema uerba: Ov. *Met.* 3.361 *reddere de multis ... uerba nouissima*.

breuis: cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.366-7 *'Huius' ait 'linguae, qua sum delusa, potestas / parua tibi dabitur uocisque breuissimus usus'*. The adjective here takes the place of an adverb, as often in poetry [K-S 1.234 ff.; Löfstedt (1933) 368 ff.].

remittat: of an echo (*OLD* s.v. 3b), e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 12.929 *uocem late nemora alta remittunt*, Ov. *Met.* 3.377-8 *illa parata est / exspectare sonos, ad quos sua uerba remittat*, 3.500-1 *totidemque remisit / uerba locus*.

111 totos: for Haywood (1969) 416 "this is the only example in the choruses of this play of a regrettable lack of restraint and good taste."

For the adversative asyndeton (*non ... extrema ... uerba, sed totos gemitus*), cf. below 970-1, 1173. On the device, see e.g. K-S 2.156: "Dieses Asyndeton tritt besonders gern dann ein, wenn ein affirmativer und ein negativer Gedanke (Begriff) einander gegenübergestellt werden".

reddat: 'echo' (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.361, 3.498 *haec quoque reddebat sonitum plangoris eundem*, *Ep.* 10.22 *reddebant nomen concaua saxa tuum*.

112 audiat: poets frequently use inanimate subjects with verba sentiendi, cf. e.g. below 176-7, 785, 932, *H.F.* 1104 *gemitus uastos audiat aether*, *H.O.* 1902 *audiat ictus utraque Tethys*, Ov. *Met.* 6.548 *audiet haec aether*.

aether: 'the air, the sky' (*OLD* s.v. 3), orig. *'mundi summa pars'* (*Nat.* 6.16.2), in Sen. trag. a frequent synecdoche (part for the whole). Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 545 (= 531 V^2) cites Enn. *Euhem.* 104 *idque quod supra mundum erat, quod aether uocabatur, de sui aui nomine Caelo (Iuppiter) ... caelum nominauit*, Pacuv. 90 *id quod nostri caelum memorant, Graii perhibent aethera*.

113 saeuite manus: for the appliance of the verb to hands, cf. Juv. 15.53-4 *et uice teli / saeuit nuda manus*, Apul. *Met.* 1.7 *dextra saeuiente* (at Ov. *Met.* 1.200 *manus impia saeuit*, referred to by Caviglia, *manus* has the meaning 'troop').

114 pulsu ... uasto: 'with mighty beating' (Miller), 'with savage blows' (Ahl, Boyle); cf. *Oed.* 138-9 *patuit sub ictu / ponderis uasti resoluta ceruix*, *Nat.* 2.20.3 *cum tam uasto ictu aera inciderit* (sc. *fulmen*). In its orig. sense 'desolate, waste', Sen. trag. uses the adj. at *H.F.* 365-6 *tum uastis ager / squalebit aruis*; see also below on 481 *uasta ... urbe*. More often, like Vergil (e.g. *Aen.* 1.118, 2.780; see Fordyce on *Aen.* 7.302), he applies it to the sea; cf. below 650, 819, 930. In *Troades*, it is also the epithet of *fragor* (174), *turbo* (230), *uapor* (564), *uires* (721), and *morsus* (797). On variances in wordorder in the MSS (*pectus ... uasto* ϵ, *uasto ... pectus* A), see Zwierlein (1984) 12 f.

tundite: 'beat'; cf. below 410 *tunsae pectus* (no more instances in Sen. trag.), Verg. *Aen.* 11.37-8 *ingentem gemitum tunsis ad sidera tollunt / pectoribus*, 1.481 *tunsae pectora palmis*.

115 non ... / ... flemus: cf. Hecuba's words (97-8) *solitum flendi uincite morem: / Hectora flemus*; such a close response is unparalleled in Seneca's tragedies.

sum: the incongruency *soluimus - sum* was another reason for Amoroso to give these lines to Hecuba. But cf. *Ag.* 656 *uidi, uidi* after 625 *uidimus*; the first person singular is likewise found in *Med.* 90 *precor*, *Phae.* 356 *quid plura canam?*, *Ag.* 327 *nil acre uelim*.

117-131 *Hecuba bewails and eulogizes Hector; at the end she directs the chorus to shift the mourning to Priam.*

117 tibi: Hector is now apostrophized. The anaphora of the pronoun gives Hecuba's lines the sollemn character of a hymn, comparable to Lucretius' hymn to Venus (1.6-8) *te, dea, te fugiunt uenti, te nubila caeli / aduentumque tuum, tibi suauis daedala tellus / summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti*, Catul. 34.13-7 (Diana), Verg. *Aen.* 8.293-9 (Hercules), Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.5-17 (Mercurius), 2.19.17-29 (Bacchus), Ov. *Met.* 11.44-6 (Orpheus). See Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, Leipzig-Berlin 1913, 149 ff.

For similar instances in Sen. trag. see below 125-8 *tu ... tu ... tecum*, *Med.* 71-3 *tu ... te ... te*, 797-805 (six times *tibi*), *Ag.* 342 ff. (a variation of *tua, te, tu, tui, tibi*). Other occurrences of anaphora in *Troades* are found in 133-6 *bis ... bis ... bis*, 148-52 *non ... nec ... non ... non*, 353-7 *qui ... qui ... cui ... cui ... cuius*, 382-4 *quidquid ... quidquid ... quidquid*, 806-8 *sume ... sume ... sume*. On anaphora, see Marouzeau (^{2}1946) 270 f.; L. Otto, *De Anaphora*, Diss. Marburg, 1907; Lausberg §§ 629-630.

ferit ... lacertos: cf. in a similar context *H.F.* 1102-3 *lacertos / uerbera pulsent*, *H.O.* 1547 *femina exertos feriat lacertos*, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.248-9 (Proserpina) *planctu ... lacertos / uerberat*.

118 ferit: the repetition in the same foot rings like a repeated blow.

sanguineos: 'blood-stained' (*OLD* s.v. 2); prolepsis. Farnabius comments: "Humano autem sanguine placari defunctorum animas credebant. atque hinc non praeficae modo sed et postea gladiatores in funeribus conducti." Seneca uses the adj. eight more times in his tragedies: *Phoen.* 40, *Med.* 63, 797, *Phae.* 465, *Oed.* 320, 368, *Ag.* 760, *Thy.* 373; in his prose, it is found only at *Nat.* 3.18.5 and *Dial.* 4.35.6 (a Vergil-quotation; this as an addition to Töchterle's note on *Oed.* 320).

119 caput ... pulsat: in Sen. trag. this gesture is found again in *Oed.* 912-3 *maestus et famulus manu / regius quassat caput.* On the use of such gestures, see e.g. K. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig 1890 (repr. Hildesheim 1970), 20 f., G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griech. Kunst*, Berlin 1965, 86 ff.

120 maternis: by hypallage also with *ubera.*

iacent: Schrader's *patent* was upheld by Zwierlein (1980) 189, suggesting the same error at *Phoen.* 603, *Med.* 694, *Phae.* 10. For the confusion of the two verbs, cf. below 878 *patent* (E) - *iacent* (A). The proposed emendation gives perfect sense and alliteration, but is it Seneca's text? To me, *iacent* seems no less characteristic of an old woman's breasts than the dry returning of a sword from an old man's throat (50); cf. Prop. 2.15.21 (likewise of an old woman) *inclinatae ... mammae*, where Enk for the opposite quotes Lucil. 859-60 *hic corpus solidum inuenies, hic stare papillas / pectore marmoreo.*

121 manet: '(w. abl.) to be wet, run, or drip (with)' (*OLD* 3a); cf. Catul. 64.344 *cum Phrygii Teucro manabunt sanguine campi*, *Culex* 306 *Teucria cum magno manaret sanguine tellus.* With *sanguis* as subject (*OLD* 1), the verb occurs at *Med.* 808 *manet noster sanguis ad aras.*

123 rupta: Fantham suggests that the feature of the reopening of the old scars may have been familiar to Seneca from the cult of the Great Mother, or Isis; she cites Firmicus Maternus *De errore gentium* 2.3: *lacerant lacertos, ueterum uulnerum reserant cicatrices, ut annuis luctibus in animis eorum funestae ac miserandae necis exitium renascatur.*

cicatrix: 'granulation- or scar-tissue on a healing wound, a cicatrice' (*OLD* s.v. 1), in Sen. trag. found only here. In his prose, the noun occurs eight times (*Dial.* 3.16.7, 6.1.5, 7.15.5, 12.15.4, *Ben.* 6.26.2, *Cl.* 1.17.2, *Ep.* 2.3, *Nat.* 3.15.6).

124 columen: see on 6 *columen.* Here the noun probably denotes 'pillar'. This appliance to a person is found in several authors; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.89-90 (similarly of Hector), Eur. *Iph.T.* 57, St Paul, *Ep. Gal.* 2.9, Pl. *Cas.* 536-7 *sed eccum egreditur, senati columen, praesidium popli, / meus uicinus*, Ter. *Ph.* 287, Cic. *Ver.* 3.176 *columen familiae uestrae*, *Sest.* 19 *columen reipublicae*, Catul. 64.26 (of Peleus) *Thessaliae columen*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.3-4 *Maecenas, mearum / grande decus columenque rerum* (Nisbet-Hubbard: 'key-stone', 'corner-stone'), Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 496-7 *tu spes lapsis unica rebus, / columen patriae, genus Abrami.*

mora fatorum: for *mora* 'a person or thing which delays or retards' (*OLD* s.v. 9), cf. below 813, *Ag.* 211 *non sola Danais Hector et bello mora*, *Phoen.* 458 *proinde bellum tollite aut belli moram* (of Iocasta), Verg. *Aen.* 10.428 *pugnae nodumque moramque* (of Abas), Luc. 1.99-100 *nam sola futuri / Crassus erat belli medius mora* (on Lucan's use of *mora*, see e.g. J. Masters, *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's Bellum Civile*, Cambridge 1992, *passim*), Sil. 1.479, 8.33-4. The noun *mora* occurs no less than twelve more times in this play (164, 166, 205, 354, 681 *fatorum moras*, 760, 764, 787, 813, 939, 1126, 1169), and thus "constitutes one of its most important motifs" (Boyle). For the 'delay', cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 9.155 *decumum quos distulit Hector in annum.*

In his chapter 'De tragoedia rhetorica', Leo (1878) 154 has a quotation from Seneca the Elder, *Suas.* 2.19: *Latro in hac suasoria* (in which the Spartans at Thermopylae deliberate whether they too must flee) *cum tractasset omnia quae materia capiebat, posse ipsos et uincere, posse certe inuictos reuerti beneficio loci, tum illam sententiam adiecit: si nihil aliud, erimus certe belli mora. Postea memini auditorem Latronis Arbronium Silonem patrem huius Silonis qui pantomimis fabulas scripsit — , recitare carmen in quo agnouimus sensum Latronis in his uersibus:*

ite agite, o Danai, magnum Paeana canentes;
ite triumphantes, belli mora concidit Hector.

No less interesting than this remark about the metonymical use of *mora* by earlier writers is his judgment (*Suas.* 2.20): *sed ut sciatis sensum bene dictum dici tamen posse melius, notate prae ceteris quanto decentius Vergilius dixerit hoc quod ualde erat celebre 'belli mora concidit Hector':*

quidquid ad aduersae cessatum est moenia Troiae,
Hectoris Aeneaeque manu uictoria Graium
haesit. (*Aen.* 11.288-90)

Messalla aiebat hic Vergilium debuisse desinere: quod sequitur
et in decimum uestigia rettulit annum
explementum esse. Maecenas hoc etiam priori comparabat.

On this passage see also Bonner, p. 141. As for the name of the reciter, to Courtney (1993) 331 the form *Arbonius*, restored by Knoche, *Gnomon* 4 (1928) 691, seems best attested.

fatorum: originally 'prophetic utterances' (from *fari*; e.g. Catul. 64.321 *talia diuino fuderunt carmine fata*), here 'fate (regarded as the force which moulds events), destiny' (*OLD* 5). Fate can be delayed, but not averted; cf. e.g. *Nat.* 2.36.1 *quid enim intellegis fatum? existimo necessitatem rerum omnium actionumque, quam nulla uis rumpat*, *Ep.* 16.5 *siue nos inexorabili lege fata constringunt*, 16.6 *si fatorum series inligatos trahit*, 107.11 *ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt*, Cic. *Diu.* 1.125.

The *fata* are not restricted to mankind: *Dial.* 1.5.8 *quidquid est quod nos sic uiuere, sic mori iussit, eadem necessitate et deos alligat. inreuocabilis humana pariter ac diuina cursus uehit: ille ipse omnium conditor et rector scripsit quidem fata, sed sequitur; semper paret, semel iussit*, *Ep.* 88.15 *agit illa* (sc. *caelestia*) *continuus ordo fatorum et ineuitabilis cursus.*

In *Ep.* 16.5, the words *siue ... fata constringunt* are followed by *siue arbiter deus uniuersi cuncta disposuit, siue casus res humanas sine ordine inpellit et iactat.* In *Ben.* 4.7.1-2, Seneca speaks of *natura*, *deus*, and *fatum* as identical notions: *quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et diuina ratio toti mundo partibusque eius inserta? ... hunc eundem et Fatum si dixeris, non mentieris; nam cum fatum nihil aliud sit, quam series implexa causarum, ille est prima omnium causa, ex qua ceterae pendent* [W. Pötscher, 'Das römische Fatum — Begriff und Verwendung', *ANRW* II. 16.1 (1978) 393-424, esp. 417-419; A.L. Motto (1970) 45].

125 praesidium: 'protection'; also of a person: *Med.* 226-7 (of the Argonauts) *decus illud ingens Graeciae et florem inclitum, / praesidia Achiuae gentis et prolem deum*, *Thy.* 523 (of Thyestes' sons) *senum praesidia*, *H.O.* 749 (of Hercules) *decus illud orbis atque praesidium unicum*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.1-2 *Maecenas atauis edite regibus, / o et praesidium et dulce decus meum.* Horace, using the noun also at *Carm.* 1.15.13, 2.1.13, 3.29.62, is the exception to the rule that poets avoid the word. The noun is absent from Catul., Tib., Prop., Luc., V. Fl., Sil., Mart.; it is found, for instance, at Enn. *scen.* 81 J (= 86 V^2) *quid petam praesidii*, Pl. *Cas.* 536 (quoted on 124 *columen*), Lucr. 3.897-8 *non poteris factis florentibus esse tuisque / praesidium*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.58, Ovid *Ars* 3.207, *Pont.* 1.16.14, 4.16.42 [Axelson (1945) 98 f.].

For an instance in Senecan prose, see *Dial.* 6.17.1 *graue est tamen quem educaueris iuuenem, iam matri iam patri praesidium ac decus, amittere.* Two mock-appliances: at Petr. 64.7, Trimalchio styles his dog *praesidium domus familiaeque*; in Apul. *Met.* 6.28, after the invocation of the *Superi* and *Fortuna*, the monkey is addressed as *praesidium meae libertatis meaeque salutis.*

fessis: the adjective is generally preferred by poets over *lassus*; for statistics see Axelson (1945) 29: Sen. trag. ±40 : ±20, Lucr. 6 : 3, Verg. 39 : 3, Ov. *Met.* 28 : 6, Luc. 19 : 9; van Dam on *Silu.* 2.1.16 adds for Statius' epics 35 (36) against 16 (17), for *Siluae* 23 against 3. In *Troades*, the adj. occurs again at 441 and 449 (nowhere *lassus*).

126 murus: the same metaphor is found e.g. *Inc. trag.* 69 *ferron an fato moerus Argiuum occidit*, Ov. *Met.* 13.281 *Graium murus Achilles* (*OLD* 1d), Luc. 6.201-2 (*Scaeua*) *stat non fragilis pro Caesare murus / Pompeiumque tenet* (see Matthew Leigh, *Lucan, Spectacle and Engagement*, Oxford 1997, 186). Cf. the use of ἕρκος, Hom. *Il.* 1.284 (of Achilles), 3.229, 6.5, 7.211 (of Ajax), Aesch. *Ag.* 257 (of Clytaemnestra), Pind. *Pae.* 6.85 (of Achilles). On *metaphora* (Quint. 8.6.4, *Rhet. Her.* 4.45 *translatio*), see Lausberg §§ 558-564.

127 illa: *patria* (124).

fulta: 'supported, upheld'; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.6.5 *te mea supposita ueluti trabe fulta ruina est*, 5.13.8 *quippe mea est umeris fulta ruina tuis*, *Pont.* 2.3.60, Prop. 3.2.11 *quod non Taenariis domus est mihi fulta columnis*. Sen. trag. uses the verb again in *Oed.* 536-7 (of a tree) *illa, iam fessa cadens / radice, fulta pendet aliena trabe*, *Thy.* 910 *uino grauatum fulciens laeua caput*, *Phae.* 214 *diuites regno fulti.* In his prose, it occurs e.g. at *Ben.* 5.19.1 *qui domum meam, quominus ruat, fulcit*, 6.31.9 *inclinatis opem ferre non poteris nec fulcire ac firmare labentia.*

128 tecum ... / ... fuit: the importance of Hector and the consequences of his death for the defence of Troy are worded, for example, by Priam at Hom. *Il.* 24.243-4; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.4.10-2 *ademptus Hector / tradidit fessis leuiora tolli / Pergama Grais*. The close connection between his death and the fall of Troy is also felt at Eur. *Hec.* 16 ff., esp. 21-2 'when Troy and the life of Hector were lost'. Cf. also above 31 *quo stetit stante Ilium*, *Anth. Pal.* 7.139.1 'Troy died along with Hector', *Ilias* 1019-20 *ruit omnis in uno / Hectore causa Phrygum*, 1056 (of Hector's funeral pile) *ardebat flamma namque Ilion illa*, Auson. *Epit.* 14 *Hectoris hic tumulus, cum quo sua Troia sepulta est: / conduntur pariter, qui periere simul*. To Catullus his brother's death had a comparable effect: 68.94-5 *tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus, / omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra.* On this theme, see Harder (1900) 452 f.

summus: 'last' (*OLD* s.v. 5); for this variation of the more common *supremus* or *ultimus*, cf. *Oed.* 270 *summum diem*, *Ep.* 66.47 *illo summo ac fortunatissimo die suo*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.324-5 *uenit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus / Dardaniae*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.1, *Carm.* 3.28.13, Ov. *Tr.* 1.3.58. It is esp. frequent in *Hercules Oetaeus*: 181 *quae prima querar? quae summa gemam?* 1171 *summus Alcidae dies*, 1300-1 *primus audierit preces / idemque summus*, 1455 *summus legatur femina Herculeus labor*, 1473 *lux ista summa est.*

W.F. Jackson Knight, 'Magical Motives in Seneca's Troades', *TAPhA* 63 (1932) 23, supposes that in 124-9 *columen ... fuit* "Seneca seems to state almost naïvely the theory which I hold: that Hector maintained the wall of Troy by some personal magic, and that his death was an early step in a series of occult manipulations which led to the capture of the city."

130 uertite: Hecuba now urges the chorus to shift the mourning from her son to her husband. These lines 130-1 met severe criticism from E. Pettine, *Studio dei caratteri e poesia nelle tragedie di Seneca. Le Troiane (versione poetica)*, Salerno 1974, 499. After he has stated his disapproval of the lack of dramatic development in this long dirge and its static character, he thinks this sort of "weeping on command" most disturbing. Looking for a modern simile for this "mechanical rotation" of the lament, he comes up with "turn the record". Amoroso (1984) 116 disagrees with his compatriot. After his opinion this criticism does not take into account the "spectacular dynamics" of the ode that is practically directed by Hecuba. In his turn, he compares the whole of it to the Christian

mass, a *carmen amoebaeum* performed by the celebrant and the responding community.

131 fundite: in his tragedies, Seneca uses the verb for the 'shedding' of tears (*OLD* s.v. 4a) again *H.F.* 1179, *Ag.* 378, *Thy.* 966. In the *Apocolocyntosis*, the *nenia* sung for Claudius (like this choral ode written in an anapaestic metre) begins with *fundite fletus, edite planctus.* It is also found in his prose: *Dial.* 6.1.2 *fudisti ... lacrimas*, 9.15.6 *lacrimas fundunt.* For its use in combination with a dativ. commodi, cf. *Dial.* 11.2.1 *non recuso quidquid lacrimarum fortunae meae superfuit tuae fundere.* Note the various alliterations in these lines.

132-141 *The chorus bewails the king.*

132 accipe ... / accipe: for the anaphora (see on 117), cf. below 806-8 *sume ... sume ... sume.*

rector Phrygiae: see on 29 *rectorem Phrygum.*

planctus: echoes *planctus* (130); likewise in the next line *fletus* (131).

133 accipe ... capte: maybe the combination of words is intended as a word-play, like *Ag.* 175 *amore captae captus*, and *captae ... cepere* in *Dial.* 7.14.2 *ut feras cum labore periculoque uenamur et captarum quoque illarum sollicita possessio est — saepe enim laniant dominos — ita habent se magnae uoluptates: in magnum malum euasere captaeque cepere.* Cf. also Enn. *Ann.* 344-5 Sk (358-9 V^2) *quae neque Dardaniis campis potuere perire / nec quom capta capi nec quom combusta cremari,* Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.156 *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit.*

bis capte: when Apollo and Neptune had built the walls of Troy (see on 7 *caelitum ... labor*) for Laomedon, he refused to give them their reward. Neptune took revenge by sending a sea-monster to ravage the land; Laomedon had to sacrifice his daughter Hesione in order to get rid of this monster. Hercules promised to save her if Laomedon would give him his famous horses. But after Hercules had killed the beast, the king once more did not keep his word. Hercules then destroyed the town (see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.638-42, 20.145-8, Ov. *Met.* 11.194-215). Priam was only a boy at that time (cf. below 718, 725) and was therefore spared by Hercules; at the second time, old age had not saved him from death (44 ff.). In Greek literature, it is worded, for instance, at Pind. *Isthm.* 5.36-8 'twice they destroyed the city of the Trojans, the first time following Heracles, and (the second time) with the Atrides', and Soph. *Phil.* 1439. Vergil calls the Trojans *bis capti Phryges* (*Aen.* 9.599 and 9.635); cf. also *gentis bis uictae* (*Aen.* 11.402), *bis Pergameis erepte ruinis* (of Anchises, *Aen.* 3.476), Sil. 1.43 *bis numina capta.* The theme returns in Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 485-7 (Chorus Iudaearum mulierum) *bis Romanis cessimus armis, / bis uictores nostros uictor / perculit alter.*

134 semel: 'once (and no more), just once' (*OLD* 1b); cf. below 825. As Summers (1956) 291 notes: "The declaimers rather affect the use of the simple *semel* in the sense of *tantum semel*".

135 bis ... / ... ferro: Fantham (1982) 229 thinks Eur. *Tro.* 817-8 possibly the inspiration of Seneca's phrase.

pulsari: *uidit* (ϵ), which is not suited to the metre, must be an insertion by a scribe who did not notice the double construction with *passa*: acc. cum inf. *pulsari ... moenia*, and simple object *pharetras*.

Dardana Graio: see on 70 *Phrygius Graias.*

137 pharetras ... Herculeas: when Hercules died on Mt. Oeta, he presented his famous arrows to Philoctetes as a reward for kindling the pyre. Philoctetes also took part in the expedition to Troy conducted by Agamemnon, but he was landed on the shore of Lemnos. After several years of warfare, the Greek leaders learnt from the Trojan seer Helenus that Troy could only be taken with the aid of Neoptolemus/Pyrrhus and the bow and arrows of Hercules with their possessor Philoctetes. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, Odysseus and Neoptolemus are sent to Lemnos to get the weapons and the man back. At first, the sly and experienced hero seems to succeed in persuading Achilles' young and ambitious son, but in the course of the play Neoptolemus' sincerity cannot bear nor carry out the crafty plan. At the end, Hercules has to appear as a *deus ex machina*, urging them to set out for Troy, since it has to be taken a second time by his bow and arrows (1439-40). Cf. below 824-5 *misit infestos Troiae ruinis / non semel arcus*, *Ag.* 864 *arcus iterum timendos*, Ov. *Met.* 9.231-2 *arcum pharetramque capacem / regnaque uisuras iterum Troiana sagittas*, Prop. 3.1.32 *Troia bis Oetaei numine capta dei.*

The use of the poetic plural (again *H.F.* 1117, *Phae.* 317, *Ag.* 217, 325) may have its origin in the analogy with *arcus* (see below 825); the sing. is found at *H.F.* 993, 1234, *Med.* 710, *Phae.* 396, *Ag.* 614 (*Herculea ... pharetra*).

passa: Fantham and Boyle take the participle = *passa sunt* with *moenia*; I prefer to combine it with *Troia.*

Herculeas: for the use of a personal adjective instead of the genitive of a proper name, cf. below 153 *currus ... Agamemnonios*, 369 *Priami nepos Hectoreus*, 415 *pondere Hectoreo*, 528 *Hectorea suboles*, 1087 *tumulo ... Hectoreo*. It is often metrically convenient, but Verg. *Aen.* 3.304 *Hectoreum ad tumulum* (where *Hectoris* was possible too) shows that the use is not determined by metre alone. It is already found in early Latin literature (for instance Pl. *Mil.* 1413 *Venerium nepotulum*, *Rud.* 329 *sacerdos Veneria*), and in such standard formulas as *flamen Dialis*, *ostium Tiberinum*, and *Campus Martius* [see e.g. Fordyce on Catul. 44.10 *Sestianus ... conuiua* and Verg. *Aen.* 7.1 *Aeneïa nutrix*; Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 2.542-3 *corpus ... Hectoreum*; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.36 *Herculeus labor*, 2.12.6 *Herculea manu*; Löfstedt (1942) 107 ff.; K-S 1.209 ff.]. In Greek literature, such personal adjectives already occur in Homer; see e.g. *Il.* 2.54, 24.276.

138 post elatos ... partus: for this use of *post* + part. perf. pass., cf. e.g. *H.F.* 985 *post raptum canem*, Ov. *Met.* 12.422 *post tela educta*. It is also found in prose; a harsh instance: Liv. 28.12.6 *post ... exercitum ... deletum cedendoque in angulum Bruttium cetera Italia concessum.* The use is frequent in later Latin (H-Sz 243, 393). For a variation, an adjective replacing the participle, see *Oed.* 442 *post laceros Pentheos artus.*

elatos: 'carried out (of the house) for burial', (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. e.g. Pl. *Aul.* 567-8 *optumumst / loces ecferendum; nam iam, credo, mortuost, Mos.* 1000 *uidi ecferri mortuom*, Liv. 30.45.4 *publico funere est elatus*. In Greek, 'to carry out' has the same meaning.

partus: concr. 'offspring' (*OLD* 2), in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 494. For a list of instances of this type of metonymy, see Canter, p. 129.

gregem: sc. *elatum*; see on 32 *magni greges*. From Gronovius on, the E reading has been generally preferred over A's *rogos*; cf. e.g. Zwierlein (1986) 80: "*Rogos* scheint eher interpoliert (weil nicht erkannt wurde, daß das Prädikatsnomen *elatos* auch zu *regem* ... *gregem* gehört) als mechanisch aus *greges* (so Bessel 1742, 77) verschrieben. Senecas Sprachgebrauch läßt hier sowohl den Singular (Tro 959) als auch den Plural (Tro 32. Med 96) zu."

139 postrema ... cludis: 'your death, father, ends the long procession to the grave' (Watling); cf. Sen. *Suas.* 5.1 *domus meae fata claudo, nullo miserior quam quod ultimus morior* (Caviglia). In his tenth satire, about the vanity of human wishes, Juvenal produces Priam to show that long life should not always be prayed for (265-6): *longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia uidit / euersa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem*, to which passage de Labriolle and Villeneuve (ed. Budé) compare Victor Hugo, *Toute la Lyre*, 5.31 (éd. Hetzel, 130): 'Que te sert, ô Priam, d'avoir vécu si vieux? / Tu vois tomber tes fils, ta patrie et tes dieux'.

Sen. trag. uses forms of *cludere* as well as *claudere*; cf. below 167, 186, 317. Such forms are rare in the MSS of previous authors, more frequent after Seneca [*ThLL* III 1300.5 ff.; van Dam (1984) 61; Leumann, p. 562: "Verselbständigung von Schwächungsformen als neue Simplicia (...): *sculpo* aus *ex-sculpo* (aus *ex-scalpo*); so auch (*con-*)*clūdo*"].

140 magno: characteristic epithet of deities (*OLD* s.v. 12b 'mighty'); of Jupiter e.g. *H.F.* 205 *o magne Olympi rector*, 1054-5 *magnus ... parens / aetheris alti*, *Ag.* 356 *magni ... Tonantis.*

Ioui: see on 45 *aras*.

uictima: in its literal sense 'an animal offered in sacrifice', the noun occurs e.g. *Oed.* 303 *opima sanctas uictima ante aras stetit.* Transferred to human beings, it is found again below 306 *hac dextra Achilli uictimam reddam suam, H.F.* 922-4 *uictima haut ulla amplior / potest magisque opima mactari Ioui, / quam rex iniquus, Med.* 970-1 *uictima manes tuos / placamus ista, Thy.* 146 *immatura focis uictima concidit*, 688. It is used ambiguously at *Med.* 39 and *Thy.* 545.

caesus: the regular word for 'to kill' in Sen. trag. is *perimere* (below 238, 312, 567); *caedere* is primarily used of (sacrificial) animals [Axelson (1945) 68]: cf. below 296, *H.F.* 877 *pingues caedite uictimas*, 899 *caesis ... uictimis*. Of a human being, it is used again *Med.* 259-60 *caesi senis / ... membra*, *Thy.* 1058 (Atreus) *cecidi ad aras* (sc. Thyestes' children).

141 Sigea: see on 75 *Sigeis*.

premis: quite different from above 30 *quem Troia toto conditum regno tegit*.

truncus: like Vergil, Seneca combines the two versions of Priam's death: the one told by Arctinus, that he was killed at the altar of Zeus '(protector) of the front court' (Eur. *Hec.* 23-4, *Tro.* 16-7, 481 ff.), the other followed by Pacuvius that *alii dicunt quod a Pyrrho in domo quidem sua captus est, sed ad tumulum Achillis tractus occisusque est iuxta Sigeum promunturium ... tunc eius caput conto fixum Pyrrhus circumtulit* (Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 2.506; on 2.557: *quod autem dicit 'litore', illud, ut supra diximus, respicit, quod in Pacuvii tragoedia continetur*). Aeneas ends his description of Priam's death with an even more bitter line: *iacet ingens litore truncus / auulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.* Seneca uses this cruel device again at *H.F.* 1025-6 (Hercules killing his wife) *perfregit ossa, corpori trunco caput / abest nec usquam est*, and at *Ag.* 901-2 (the beheading of Agamemnon) *pendet exigua male / caput amputatum parte*, both situations not found in Greek tragedy. Pompey's death offers a striking parallel: Luc. 1.685-6 *fluminea deformis truncus harena / qui iacet*, and 8.698-9 *litora Pompeium feriunt, truncusque uadosis / huc illuc iactatur aquis* (Caviglia's note reads *uadosi / hic illic agitatur*).

142-155 *In a sudden turn Hecuba calls Priam happy because of his death.*

142 alio: 'to another subject or topic' (*OLD* s.v. 2b). After the mourning for Troy, Hector and Priam, Hecuba now comes with a surprising turn: 'happy is Priam' because of his death. She does likewise in Ov. *Met.* 13.519-21 *quis posse putaret / felicem Priamum post diruta Pergama dici? / felix morte sua est.* The idea is worded again by Sen. trag. in *Ag.* 512-5 *quid fata possunt! inuidet Pyrrhus patri, / Aiaci Ulixes, Hectori Atrides minor, / Agamemno Priamo: quisquis ad Troiam iacet / felix uocatur.*

In Greek tragedy, the thought that death is preferable to a wretched life occurs e.g. Eur. *Tro.* 637, uttered by Andromacha. Cf. also in the same play 268-70 (transl. Way):

(Talthyb.)	Count thy child happy; it is well with her.
(Hecuba)	Doth she yet see light? — did thy word so sound?
(Talthyb.)	She has found her fate — deliverance from troubles.

Likewise Eur. *Fr.* 449 Nauck (= J. Diggle, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Selecta*, Oxford 1998, p. 114): 'Coming together we should

bewail the new-born child for all the evils lying ahead of him, but the dead, released from toils, we should happily send out of the house, with shouts of triumph'. For a similar expression in the Bible, cf. *Ecclesiastes* 4:2 'I counted the dead happy because they were dead, happier than the living who are still in life'.

143 non est ... miseranda ... / mors: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.464 (Polyxena) *non mea mors illi* (sc. *Hecubae*), *uerum sua uita gemenda est.*

Priami miseranda: for the use of the same syllable at the end and the beginning of consecutive words, see on 11 *rubenti Tigrin inmiscet*, and on 167 below.

144 Iliades: 'Trojan women'; cf. e.g. Eur. *Hel.* 1114, *Tro.* 245. The word is found six times in the *Aeneid* (1.480, 2.580, 3.65, 5.644, 7.248, 11.35), in Sen. trag. again *Ag.* 587 and 655.

145 felix: 'blessed' (of the dead or the underworld, *OLD* s.v. 3b); cf. *H.F.* 743-4 (whoever rules mildly, at the end) *uel caelum petit / uel laeta felix nemoris Elysii loca*, 796-7 *felices ... umbras*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.669 *felices animae.*

D. & E. Henry (1985) 121-125 pay attention to the "unusual frequency and considerable range of meaning" of the the word *felix* in this play; they distinguish a conventional sense 'successful', 'lucky' (700-2), 'prosperous' (259-63), a more emotional sense in *turba felix* (958), irony (873-4 *felici ... thalamo*), and 284 *gladius ... felix* as "the most startling and painful use of the word" ('joyful' as well as 'successful').

For the use of a quotation, cf. e.g. Pl. *Cist.* 75 *spissum istuc amanti est uerbum 'ueniet', nisi uenit, Poen.* 262 *si tacuisses, iam istuc 'taceo' non gnatum foret*, Prop. 2.22A.14 *quod quaeris, 'quare', non habet ullus amor*, 2.25.2 *excludit quoniam sors mea 'saepe ueni!'* [on this topic, see W.R. Smyth, *Hermathena* 87 (1956) 74].

146 liber: the idea of death as a liberator, often with a reference to suicide, is found in Senecan poetry, again below 791, *Ag.* 591 *libera mors*, 796 *libertas adest, Phae.* 139 *fortem facit uicina libertas senem*, as well as in his prose: *Dial.* 1.2.10 (*ferrum istud*) *libertatem quam patriae non potuit Catoni dabit, Dial.* 5.15.3 *ostendemus in omni seruitute apertam libertati uiam* (and 15.4 passim), *Ep.* 12.10 *patent undique ad libertatem uiae multae, breues faciles*, 70.14 *libertatis uiam.* C.J. Herington, 'Senecan Tragedy', *Arion* 5 (1966) 470, n. 83, styles *Troades* "a fantasy on the Senecan view of Death the Liberator". The thought is also found in Kazantzakis' epitaph: 'I hope nothing, I fear nothing, I am free'.

manes: here either lit. 'the spirits of the dead' or 'the abode of the dead, the underworld' (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. Walter (1975) 32-34. For the combination with *imos*, cf. *H.F.* 55 *ab imis manibus, Med.* 968 *manes ... ad imos*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.565 *subducta ad manis imos desedimus unda*, 4.387 *haec manis ueniet mihi fama sub imos*, 11.181, 12.884; the adj. often refers to the underworld and its inhabitants (*OLD* 2), in this play again 432 *imo ... Dite.*

uadit: "Nota il significato speciale del verbo *uadere*, che all' idea di *andare* congiunge quella della *risoluzione*, del *buon animo*" (d'Alfonso); cf. e.g. below 791, *Phae.* 93-4 *fortis per altas inuii retro lacus / uadit tenebras miles audacis proci*, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.97 *uadit enim in eundem carcerem atque in eundem ... scyphum Socrates.*

147 uicta: for the synecdoche, cf. e.g. above 18 *auidas*, 85 *maesta*, 94 *furibunda.*

cervice: with the exception of *Phae.* 1229 *ceruicibus*, Sen. trag. uses only the sing. nom. and abl.; cf. below 468, 539, 1115. This is in line with other poets: the singular is found e.g. in Ennius (*Ann.* 483 Sk = 472 V^2), Pacuvius (*tr.* 3), Lucretius (1.35, 6.744), Catullus (63.83) and Horace (*Carm.* 5x). On the other hand, the plural is used invariably in comedy (Pl. *Mil.* 722, Ter. *Hau.* 372) and in Cicero's prose. Vergil, Propertius and Ovid prefer the singular, but occasionally use a plural form; so do Statius, Martial and Lucan. In Seneca's prose, we also find the sing. acc. (17x), gen. (*Dial.* 1.6.8), and dat. (*Dial.* 1.4.7) [on the use of the noun see Maas, *ALL* 12.501 f.; N-W I 672-674]. For the use of the word in combination with *iugum*, cf. e.g. *Dial.* 1.4.7 *graue est tenerae ceruici iugum*, 6.1.3 *subactis iam ceruicibus omnium et ad Seianianum iugum adactis*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.5.1-2 *nondum subacta ferre iugum ualet / ceruice.*

iugum: the anachronism, noted by Calder (1970) 76, may be felt as less harsh, since the 'yoke of slavery' is also found in Greek tragedy, e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 953, *Sept.* 75, Soph. *Ai.* 944, Eur. *Tro.* 600. Cf. also below 338, 747, 910-1, *H.F.* 267 *sordido premitur iugo*, 432 *cur ergo regi seruit et patitur iugum?*, *Phae.* 576 *Veneris iugum*, *Ep.* 51.8 *Fortuna mecum bellum gerit: non sum imperata facturus; iugum non recipio, immo, quod maiore uirtute faciendum est, excutio.*

148 non ... uidet: immediate model may be Ov. *Met.* 13.521-2 (Hecuba to Polyxena) *felix morte sua est; nec te, mea nata, peremptam / aspicit.* But the rhetorical device is quite common: Cic. *de Orat.* 3.2 *ii tamen reipublicae casus consecuti sunt, ut mihi non erepta L. Crasso a diis immortalibus uita, sed donata mors esse uideatur. non uidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem inuidia senatum*, Liv. 26.13.14-5 *itaque quoniam aliter dis immortalibus est uisum, cum mortem ne recusare quidem debeam, cruciatus contumeliasque, quas parat hostis, dum liber, dum mei potens sum, effugere morte praeterquam honesta, etiam leni possum. non uidebo Ap. Claudium et Q. Fulvium uictoria insolenti subnixos, neque uinctus per urbem Romanam triumphi spectaculum trahar ... nec dirui incendique patriam uidebo*, Sen. *Dial.* 6.20.5 *non uidisset strictos in ciuilia capita mucrones*, Tac. *Agr.* 45.1 *non uidit Agricola obsessam curiam.*

duos ... Atridas: Agamemnon and Menelaus, the sons of Atreus and Aërope.

149 fallacem ... Vlixem: see on 38 *cautus*; Ov. *Met.* 13.712 (*regnum fallacis Vlixis*) styles him likewise. Both E and the A codices have *Vlixem* here, the Excerpta Thuanea *Vlixen* (Zwierlein's *OCT* records such variations in the MSS in an *Appendix orthographica uel grammatica*).

Since *Vlixes* and *Achilles* (see on 177) are Latin words, not found in any Greek author, the Latin form, which has by far the most authority in poetry, should be preferred. The form *Vlixen* is never found in grammarians, *Achillen* is mentioned by Probus. See A.E. Housman, 'Greek Nouns in Latin Poetry', *JPh* 31 (1910), 236-266, esp. 261 f.; van Dam on Stat. *Silu.* 2.6.31.

150 Argolici: here 'Argive', of Argos in the northeastern Peloponnese, as at *Thy.* 185 *Argolica tellus*, *Ag.* 806 *Argolica Iuno*; below 672 and 813 the adjective has the general sense 'Greek'. The adj. *Argiuus* has the same ambiguity (see on 277 *Argiua*).

triumphi: although the word through Etruscan is borrowed from the Greek *thriambos*, Seneca has in mind 'the processional return of a victorious Roman general, when he went to offer sacrifice to Jupiter on the Capitol' (*OCD*); cf. *H.F.* 58-60 *at ille, rupto carcere umbrarum ferox, / de me triumphat et superbifica manu / atrum per urbes ducit Argolicas canem*, *Phoen.* 577-8 *an et ipsa, palmas uincta postergum datas, / mater triumphi praeda fraterni uehar?*, *Ag.* 804 *ad quem triumphi spolia uictores ferunt*, Cic. *Ver.* 5.77 *at etiam qui triumphant eoque diutius uiuos hostium duces reseruant, ut his per triumphum ductis pulcherrimum spectaculum fructumque uictoriae populus Romanus percipere possit* [on *triumphus*, see E. Künzl, *Der römische Triumph, Siegesfeiern im antiken Rom*, München 1988]. For another anachronism in Senecan tragedy, see *Med.* 113 *Fescenninus* with Costa's note [on this subject, see e.g. M. Hadas, 'The Roman Stamp of Seneca's Tragedies', *AJPh* 60 (1939) 221, n. 4; Walter (1975) 81-89].

151 subiecta: 'to place under' (*OLD* s.v. *subicio* 3); cf. e.g. Cic. *Pis.* 83 *securibus hospitis sui ceruices subicere*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.721-3 *latos umeros subiectaque colla / ueste super fuluique insternor pelle leonis, / succedoque oneri*, Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.33 *cum foret Aeneae ceruix subiecta parenti.*

subiecta ... colla: as a token of submission, cf. [Tib.] 3.7.117 *Domator libera Romanae subiecit colla catenae*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.11-2 *ductaque per uias / regum colla minacium*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.1.83-4 *sequitur captus coniectaque uincula collo / accipit*, Sen. *Apoc.* 12 (*nenia*, v. 15 ff.) (*ille*) *Brigantas / dare Romuleis colla catenis / iussit.* In a figurative sense, the phrase *colla dare* is found at Prop. 2.10.15 *India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho.*

colla: the use of the poetic plural is often found with parts of the body; cf. in this play *terga* (152), *uultus* (464), *ora* (517, 1113). The noun *colla* is thus used again e.g. *Med.* 59-60 *colla ... / taurus celsa ferat*, *Phae.* 969 *colla leonis*; the singular is found below 747 and nine more times in Seneca's tragedies. The origin of this - often metrically convenient - device may lie in a certain analogy with other 'pluralia tantum' denoting parts of the body, like *fauces* and *nares* [on the poetic plural see e.g. Löfstedt (1942) 27 ff.; K-S 1.82 ff.; Marouzeau (^{2}1946) 222 f.; H-Sz 16 ff.; Williams on Verg. *Aen.* 5.98].

tropaeis: a τρόπαιον was a memorial composed of the arms of the defeated, set up originally at the spot where the enemy first turned in flight. Hence the word denotes the arms taken home after the victory; cf. Var. *Men.* 61 *ideo fuga hostium graece vocatur* τροπή. *hinc spolia capta fixa in stipitibus appellantur tropaea*, commentaries on Soph. *Trach.* 751.

152 non ... dabit: cf. *Phoen.* 577 *datas* (quoted on 150 *triumphi*), *H.O.* 109 *non captiua dabit bracchia uinculis*.

adsuetas ad: for the use of the preposition, cf. e.g. Sal. *Hist.* 3.17 *male iam adsuetum ad omnis uis controuersiarum*, Caes. *Gal.* 6.28.4 *adsuescere ad homines*; Liv. 24.5.9 has *in omnia familiaria iura adsuetum*. The combination with a dative or ablative, occurring e.g. below 1069 *assueta Priamo*, is more usual (K-S 1.382). This device of contrasting former glory and later humiliation is also found in Sil. 17.140-2 *tum uincla uiro manicaeque pudenda / addita et – exemplum non umquam fidere laetis – / sceptriferas arta palmas uinxere catena*; Walter (1975) 86, n. 164 notes a comparable contrast at Ov. *Tr.* 4.2.46 *uincula fert illa qua tulit arma manu* (sc. *Germania*).

153 currus: 'a triumphal chariot' (*OLD* s.v. 1d).

sequens: a deviation from the Roman triumph, where "the procession comprised the magistrates and Senate, trumpeters, the spoils of the enemy (including pictorial descriptions and allegorical figures), the white oxen destined for sacrifice, the principal captives in chains, the lictors, the *triumphator* in a chariot with four horses, while the army followed behind" (*OCD* s.v.); cf. *Ep.* 71.22 *quod dicam paria bona esse eius, qui triumphat, et eius, qui ante currum uehitur inuictus animo*, Liv. 3.29.4 *ducti ante currum hostium duces*, 34.52.9 *ante currum multi nobiles captiui obsidesque*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.2.21-2 *uinclaque captiua reges ceruice gerentes / ante coronatos ire uidebit equos*, *Ars* 1.215 *ibunt ante duces onerati colla catenis*, and Augustus' proud boast (*res gest.* 4.3), quoted by Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.32: *in triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum liberi nouem*. This deviation probably occurs also at *Dial.* 7.25.4 *non humilior sub alieno curru agar quam in meo steteram* (see on 155 *pompa*), and in Luc. 3.73-8:

> pro, si remeasset in urbem
> Gallorum tantum populis Arctoque subacta,
> quam seriem rerum longa praemittere pompa,
> quas potuit belli facies! ut uincula Rheno
> Oceanoque daret, celsos et Gallia currus
> nobilis ut flauis sequeretur mixta Britannis.

Despite the use of *praemittere* (75), scholia here say "uicti enim triumphantium currus sequebantur". Hunink thinks it "equally possible to interpret *sequi* rather vaguely as 'to accompany, to escort' (cf. OLD s.v. 11)". The addition "esp. as a servant or client" and the instances quoted there do not validate that view, I think; see also Walter (1975) 86-88.

Agamemnonios: Sen. trag. uses the adjective once more at *Ag.* 346 *laurus Agamemnonios*. In Greek literature, it is found e.g. at Eur. *Andr.* 1034, *Or.* 838. Two more instances from Latin literature: Liv. 45.27.9 *mille nauium Agamemnoniae classi*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.54 *res Agamemnonias* (for a more extensive list see Tarrant on *Ag.* 346, in his edition 356).

154 aurea ... uincula: cf. Vell. 2.82.3 *qui tertia aestate reuersus in Armeniam regem eius Artauasden fraude deceptum catenis, sed, ne quid honori deesset, aureis uinxit,* Prop. 2.1.33 *regum auratis circumdata colla catenis*, Sil. 17.629-30 *ante Syphax feretro residens captiua premebat / lumina et auratae seruabant colla catenae.*

uincula: Sen. trag. uses this trisyllabic form again *H.F.* 545, *Med.* 376, *Phae.* 34, *Oed.* 171; cf. *uinculo* below 952, *Phoen.* 471, *Med.* 70, 752, (*Ag.* 746 E), *uinculis Med.* 463 (below 559 E). For his use of the dissyllabic forms, see below 273 on *uinclo*. Ennius (*Ann.* 340 V^2 *uinclis*, 515 *uincla*), Plautus (*Bac.* frgm. 2 *uincla*, *Capt.* 204, 254 *uinclis*) and Cato (*Agr.* 41.4 *uinclis*) merely have the dissyllabic forms; Lucretius has one trisyllabic form (3.83 *uincula*) but seven dissyllabic (Ernout-Robin *ad loc.*). In Senecan prose, the trisyllabic forms prevail; *uinclis* is found at *Ben.* 5.20.2, sometimes (e.g. *Ep.* 9.8) the MSS are at variance.

gestans: 'to wear, carry (insignia, ornaments)' (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. below 772, *Ag.* 10 *quibus superba sceptra gestantur manu*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.211 *patribus ... dedit gestare Latinis.*

155 latis ... Mycenis: Mycene 'with wide streets' (Hom. *Il.* 4.52) was the residence of Agamemnon in Argolis. Elsewhere the city is called *magnae* (Verg. *Aen.* 2.331, Ov. *Met.* 15.426) or *dites* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.9, cf. Hom. *Od.* 3.304 'rich in gold'). The extent of the city enlarges the pain for the train of captives; Zwierlein (1986) 80 f., defending *latis* over recc. *laetis*, compares *Phae.* 79-80 *longo / ... triumpho*. The placing of the adjective is equally effective as in the preceding line, where the gold of the chains draws all eyes to the captive king.

pompa: the noun originally denotes 'a ceremonial procession', e.g. Pl. *Cist.* 89-90 *per Dionysia / mater pompam me spectatum duxit*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.22-3 *iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas / ad delubra iuuat.* In the triumphal procession (Polyb. 6.39.9 thus uses πομπή), the spoils were showed: Juv. 10.280-1 *circumducto captiuorum agmine et omni / bellorum pompa.* So the meaning 'pomp, display' comes about, e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.21.48 *rhetorum pompa* 'rhetorical fireworks' (King, Loeb transl.); cf. LSJ s.v. πομπή. Ov. *Fast.* 3.541-2 makes a facetious use of the word: *occurrit nuper ... / pompa: senem potum pota trahebat anus.*

In Sen. trag. the noun occurs once more at *Oed.* 126 *ducitur semper noua pompa Morti*; it is also found *H.O.* 110 *nec pompae ueniet nobile ferculum.* In his prose Seneca uses it ten times, e.g. *Dial.* 7.25.4 (Socrates) *huic tam sublimi fastigio coniunge protinus praecipitem mutationem; in alienum inponar ferculum exornaturus uictoris superbi ac feri pompam: non humilior sub alieno curru agar quam in meo steteram.*

156-163 *The chorus echoes her words.*

157 excedens: sc. *uitā* (*OLD* s.v. 2b); cf. Ter. *Ph.* 967 *quom e medio excessit*, Sen. *Ep.* 77.10 *mollissime excessit et uita elapsus est*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.5, 1.33 *excessisse Augustum* (Furneaux: "so used especially of one deified"), *Agr.* 44.1. For the idea expressed in this line, cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.404 *Troia simul Priamusque cadunt.* Jakobi, p. 22 refers to Ov. *Met.* 13.519-22, esp. 522 *uitam pariter regnumque reliquit*, and to Dio Cassius 58.23: 'At all events, he (sc. Tiberius) is said to have uttered frequently that old sentiment: "When I am dead, let fire o'erwhelm the earth" (=*TGF* adesp. 513 N^2 and frg. iamb. adesp. 18D.). Often, also, he used to declare Priam fortunate, because he involved both his country and his throne in his own utter ruin' (transl. Cary, Loeb). The first quotation is hinted at by Sen. *Cl.* 2.2.2 *Graecus uersus ... qui se mortuo terram misceri ignibus iubet*; Jakobi thinks that the second part also echoes a line from a tragedy.

158 Elysii nemoris: Elysium, the abode of the blessed, in Sen. trag. again below 944, *H.F.* 744 *laeta ... nemoris Elysii loca.* It occurs for the first time in Proteus' prophecy to Menelaus that he would not die in Argos, but that the immortals would send him to 'the Elysian plain and the world's end' (Hom. *Od.* 4.563). In Hesiod, this paradise is situated 'in the Isles of the Blessed by the streams of deep-swirling Okeanos' (*Op.* 171, transl. R.M. Frazer). In Latin poetry, it is mentioned for the first time at Verg. *Geo.* 1.38. For a description, see Verg. *Aen.* 6.638 ff. and Tib. 1.3.59-66 [on this topic see J. Kroll, *Elysium*, Köln und Opladen 1953, 7-35]. On the derivation of the name from λύσις (Servius on *Aen.* 5.735) and *luo*, see Paschalis (1997) 224 f.

tutis: at first sight the A reading *tutus* seems attractive: in the parallelism with *liber* (146), it describes the situation of Priam ('freedom' and 'safety') in contrast with the captivity and uncertain future of the women; for this combination, cf. Sen. *Dial.* 11.9.7 *ne itaque inuideris fratri tuo: quiescit. tandem liber, tandem tutus, tandem aeternus est.* The A reading has been defended along this line by A. Siegmund, *Zur Kritik der Tragödie Octavia II*, Böhm.-Leipa 1910/11, 17; G. Carlsson, *Die Überlieferung der Seneca-Tragödien*, Lund - Leipzig 1926, 20 f.; Zwierlein, (1969 *Gn*) 767; Fantham. But since the combination of an anapaest with a trochaeus is unacceptable (Zwierlein [1976] 81: 'Reeve'schen Gesetz'), *tutis* should be read: the parallelism with *liber*, which is dwelled on 147-155, is equally well offered by the repeated *felix* (Zwierlein), and *umbris* is thus not left without a fitting adjective, next to *felix* (*Priamus*) and *pias .. animas* (Caviglia). And it goes without saying that the safety of the shades is none the less extended to Priam.

For the order of words *tutis / errat in umbris*, cf. e.g. above 1-2 *magna ... / dominatur aula*, below 208-9 *suum ... / tulere pretium*, 255-6 *nobiles ... / aspergis umbras*, 565-6 *tuo / lusit cruore*, 654-5 *meus ... / iactetur Hector*,

1135-6 *turpis ... / reddatur Helena.* Cf. Seidler, p. 97: "Das von seinem Beziehungswort gesperrte Substantiv wird von einem enjambierenden Verb, gewöhnlich dem Prädikat, als dem Haupttrennungsfaktor auseinandergehalten und folgt unmittelbar auf dieses".

159 errat: 'wanders'; likewise of the spirits of the dead e.g. Ov. *Fast.* 2.566, Prop. 2.18.10; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.673 *nulli certa domus.* Here the verb offers a striking contrast with the enforced (153 *currusque sequens Agamemnonios*) fixed route of the triumphal procession; cf. *Dial.* 11.9.8 *nunc libere illic uagatur omniaque rerum naturae bona cum summa uoluptate perspicit.*

umbris: not 'ghosts', but 'shade (afforded by a tree, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 3), again below 543; cf. Nováková, p. 28.

pias: of the virtuous dead (*OLD* 1b), e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.17-8 (of Mercurius) *tu pias laetis animas reponis / sedibus,* 2.13.23 *sedesque discretas piorum,* Prop. 3.18.31 *nauta, pias hominum qui traicis umbras,* Ov. *Met.* 11.62 *arua piorum.*

160 animas: 'a disembodied spirit, soul, ghost' (*OLD* 6); cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 4.242 *hac* (sc. *uirga*) *animas ille* (sc. *Mercurius*) *euocat Orco.*

Hectora: see on 98 *Hectora.*

quaerit: 'seeks'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.62-3 *quaerensque per arua piorum / inuenit Eurydicen.* In the poetic *consolationes,* the meeting of one's relatives, friends or equals in the underworld is a recurrent topic; cf. e.g. Stat. *Silu.* 2.6.98-100 *subit ille pios carpitque quietem / Elysiam clarosque illic fortasse parentes / inuenit,* van Dam, p. 161.

162 felix ... / ... tulit: for Seneca's liking to round off with a sententia, cf. below 291 *qui non uetat peccare, cum possit, iubet,* 425 *miserrimum est timere, cum speres nihil,* 954 *prima mors miseros fugit, H.F.* 201 *alte uirtus animosa cadit,* 328 *quem saepe transit casus, aliquando inuenit, Phae.* 430 *malus est minister regii imperii pudor,* 735 *mens impudicam facere, non casus, solet, Oed.* 86 *haud est uirile terga Fortunae dare,* 909-10 *quidquid excessit modum / pendet instabili loco, Ag.* 144 *ubi animus errat, optimum est casum sequi.*

felix quisquis: a generalizing variation (cf. *H.O.* 228-9 *felix quisquis nouit famulum / regemque pati*) of the more usual *felix qui,* which occurs e.g. Verg. *Geo.* 2.490 *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, Ciris* 28 *felices qui talem annum uidere diemque,* Prud. *Cath.* 5.33-4 *felix qui meruit sentibus in sacris / caelestis solii uisere principem.* The generalization may also be intended as a counterpart to the *quicumque* opening of the prologue, thus making a ring-composition.

For the effect of the triple *felix,* Wills, p. 400-405 compares e.g.

Catul. 51.13-6 otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est:
otio exultas nimiumque gestis:
otium et reges prius et beatas
perdidit urbes.

Tib. 1.8.19-21

cantus uicinis fruges traducit ab agris,
cantus et iratae detinet anguis iter,
cantus et e curru lunam deducere temptat

Prop. 3.13.48-50

aurum omnes uicta iam pietate colunt.
auro pulsa fides, auro uenalia iura,
aurum lex sequitur, mox sine lege pudor.

163 omnia ... consumpta: in view of the various notions of the verb, Seneca with this variation of 157 *sua regna tulit* may have in mind the tenor of Lucr. 3.938 *plenus uitae conuiua*, 3.958-60 *imperfecta tibi elapsast ingrataque uita / et necopinanti mors ad caput adstitit ante / quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.117-9 *inde fit, ut raro, qui se uixisse beatum / dicat et exacto contentus tempore uita / cedat uti conuiua satur, reperire queamus*. For this idea of the 'satiated guest', cf. also Sen. *Ep.* 61.4 *uixi, Lucili carissime, quantum satis erat; mortem plenus expecto*, *Dial.* 10.7.9 *omnia ad satietatem percepta sunt, ... saturo iam ac pleno*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.2.127-9 *dubio quem non in turbine rerum / deprendet suprema dies, sed abire paratum / ac plenum uita*. The thought is also found in the Old Testament, e.g. *Gen.* 25:8 (of Abraham), *Job* 42:17 (of Job) 'van het leven verzadigd', *Ecclesiastes* 6:3 (see above on 54-5).

tulit: as a deliberate repetition of 157 preferred by Zwierlein (1966) 216 f. and recent editors over the A reading *uidet*; the latter may have found its origin, I think, in the related passage *Med.* 426-8 *sola est quies, / mecum ruina cuncta si uideo obruta: / mecum omnia abeant. trahere, cum pereas, libet.*

ACT II (164-408)

Scene 1 (**164-202**). *Talthybius comes on and gives a vivid report of the apparition of Achilles, demanding that Polyxena be sacrificed upon his tomb.*

Talthybius' name is afforded only by the headings in the MSS. Neither is his name mentioned by the chorus, nor does he announce himself, as e.g. in Eur. *Tro.* 235-8 at the beginning of Act II (transl. Way):

> On many journeyings, Hecuba, to and fro
> I have passed, thou knowest, 'twixt the host and Troy;
> Wherefore I come aforetime known to thee,
> Talthybius, with new tidings for thine ear.

Since he cannot be distinguished otherwise from the anonymous *nuntius* in Act V, Friedrich (1933) 103, n. 1 suggests: "... um der Konsequenz willen bliebe er in den modernen Ausgaben auch hier im zweiten Akt besser anonym. Seneca hat den Boten beide Male als namenloses Instrument behandelt wie die Boten der anderen Stücke auch". But although these headings are the work of later scribes, the distinction may quite well originate from Seneca himself. This report is about such an unusual happening that it requires a most trustworthy messenger [on these headings, see Zwierlein (1984) 249-257]. Hom. *Il.* 1.320-1 mentions Talthybios and Eurybates (the latter plays a part in Seneca's *Agamemnon*) as Agamemnon's two 'heralds and nimble attendants'. Talthybios, also found in Eur. *Hecuba* (484 ff.), became "the herald *par excellence*", also for Seneca: at *Apoc.* 13, Mercurius is styled *Talthybius deorum*.

Such an unheralded entry of a messenger is not uncommon in Senecan tragedy; cf. below 1056, *Phoen.* 320, *Med.* 879, *Thy.* 623. On the other hand, his appearance is announced by the chorus at *Phae.* 989, *Oed.* 912 ff., *Ag.* 388 ff. But to whom does he deliver his report?

At first sight, one might expect Hecuba and the chorus of Trojan women to be his audience: such is indeed the view of e.g. Friedrich and Ahl. As for Hecuba, neither the last couplet of the chorus nor the arrival of the herald seems an appropriate moment for her to leave; but the fact that Talthybius is addressed (166-7) by the chorus and not by the queen, seems a clear proof that she is no longer on the stage (Marx, p. 5 shows that the chorus has this function when no actor is on stage to do so). The absence of any reaction from Hecuba at the painful news that her daughter has to be offered (195-6) seems a second obvious *argumentum ex silentio*. And later on, when Helen makes known Achilles' demand of Polyxena's sacrifice (942-4), Hecuba's reaction seems to indicate that she had not yet heard Talthybius' announcement.

The customary interpretation is that Hecuba has left the stage and that the chorus of Trojan women (cf. E's heading: *Chorus*) is spoken to. This view raises the same question: why don't the women react in any way to the bitter message? Steidle's suggestion that the expected outburst of grief was prevented by the unexpected appearance of the two quarreling leaders does not do justice to their composed beginnings. His idea would be more convincing if they had appeared in the midst of their excited *altercatio*, as Zwierlein points out (p. 93).

Although the headings in E, as a rule, are more precise and complete, I give preference here to A's heading *Taltibius chorus grecorum*, as has been done by Wilfried Stroh in his performances of the play in Munich in November 1993. I put forward four reasons for it:

1. If Greek soldiers are addressed, the absence of a reaction on Talthybius' message is not surprising; besides, they are a more logical audience for a report explaining the delay of the departure (*Danais ... mora* is the heading of the message, not the sacrificing of Polyxena).

2. The ode at the end of this act, contrasting sharply with the first ode, is then sung by a different chorus. In my view this second act, as an introduction to the real action in the third act, forms a counterpart to the first one: after the portrayal of the Trojan dismay, concluded by an ode sung by Hecuba and the Trojan women on the bliss of death, Seneca now pictures the victorious Greeks and their negation of life after death.

3. Andromache's address at the beginning of Act III (409-11): *quid, maesta Phrygiae turba, laceratis comas / miserumque tunsae pectus effuso genas / fletu rigatis?*, is more appropriate when the preceding intellectual choral ode has not been sung by the Trojan women.

4. When Helen announces Achilles' demand (942-4), its dazzling effect on Hecuba is more understandable if the Trojan women have not been informed "officially" (i.e. on stage).

Amoroso utters similar objections against the presence of the Trojan women in this scene, but he suggests a different solution; thinking the heading in A too little evidence for a double chorus (there is no trace of a Greek chorus in the rest of the play), he supposes that Talthybius addresses Agamemnon, and attributes lines 166-7 to the king. In my view, his solution is a partial one and without any ground in the MSS.

The only other Senecan play with two choruses is *Agamemnon*: in addition to the chorus of Argive women (57 ff., 310 ff.), there is a second one consisting of *Iliades*, carefully announced at 586-7.

As for the source of the scene, elements from Euripides' *Hecuba* show up; from Latin literature Ov. *Met.* 13.439 ff. may have inspired Seneca. Calder thinks Talthybius' speech, like the prologue, Seneca's own creation, and its defects "readily explicable if we assume Senecan invention".

[W.F. Friedrich (1933) 103 ff.; W. Steidle (1941) 276 ff.; O. Zwierlein (1966) 91 ff.; W. Schetter (1972) 230 ff.; W.H. Owen (1970 *WS*) 120 ff.; W.M. Calder (1970) 80 f.; F. Amoroso (1980) 81-84; (1984) 119 ff.]

164 o: besides introducing an address to someone, like below 301, 453, 461, 469, 750, 766-8, the interjection is used "in exclamations expressing admiration, pleasure, horror, etc." (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. below 783, 890, 956. At the beginning of a messenger's report it is found again below 1056 *o dura fata, saeua miseranda horrida!*, *Phae.* 991 *o sors acerba et dura.* It can also be followed by an acc. (below 956 *o manum Paridis leuem*), or by a gen. (Pl. *Truc.* 409 *o mercis malae*) [see Hofmann, p. 20 f.; on *exclamatio*, Lausberg § 809].

longa ... mora: for the long delay at Aulis, from where the Greek fleet was to set out for the Trojan war (*petere bellum*), see e.g. Ov. *Met.* 12.8-36. Then the offended Diana had to be appeased by the sacrifice of Iphigenia; now, when they are about to sail home (*petere patriam*), "l'histoire se répète": they cannot leave before they have sacrificed Polyxena to the shade of Achilles. At Aulis, the delay was ended by Iphigenia's sacrifice by means of a "marriage" to Achilles (cf. *Ag.* 158 ff.), authorized by Calchas and initially opposed by Agamemnon; the same action will take place in the following scenes. The analogy is constantly referred to: see 246-9, 331, 353-4, 357-8, 360, 555. It is the first of a series of analogies that will play a very important part in the play: the apparitions of Achilles and Hector, the resistance of Agamemnon and Andromache, the killing of Polyxena and Astyanax [A.J. Boyle (1985), 1312-1320, has devoted chapter III *Semper idem* to the series of analogies in *Agamemnon, Thyestes* and *Medea*; see on *Troades* especially his note 61 on p. 1313].

For the framing of the line by an adjective and the corresponding substantive, see on 17.

semper: for this hyperbolic use of *semper*, combining the present with one event from the past, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 1336 *semper sceleris alieni arbiter* (of Theseus, who had witnessed Pirithous' impious attempt upon Proserpina in the past, and was then a witness of Hercules' crime), *Phae.* 127-8 *nulla Minois leui / defuncta amore est, iungitur semper nefas* (Phaedra referring to her sister Ariadne, who had helped Theseus kill her half-brother, the Minotaur). Comparable is the use of *numquam*, e.g. *Phae.* 1164-5 *o dure Theseu semper, o numquam tuis / tuto reuerse* (of his return from Crete in the past and then from the underworld), and the use of *soleo*, e.g. 249 *solita, Phae.* 92 *praestatque nuptae quam solet Theseus fidem.*

165 seu ... seu: cf., with the same shift of accent, *Oed.* 825 *siue ista ratio siue fortuna occulit.*

petere seu: the only instance of inverted *seu* in Sen. trag.

166-7 As indicated in the introductory note, Amoroso in my opinion unconvincingly attributes these lines to Agamemnon.

For the short 'Informations-Stichomythie' (in Euripides they are much longer), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 640 ff., *Ag.* 392 ff., *Thy.* 623 ff. (on the topic, see Seidensticker, p. 61).

167 effare: Cicero in his prose occasionally, e.g. *Dom.* 141 *non uerbum ullum sollemne potuit effari*, uses the verb; cf. *de Orat.* 3.153 (Crassus) *inusitata sunt prisca fere ac uetustate ab usu cotidiani sermonis iam diu intermissa, quae sunt poetarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae; sed tamen raro habet etiam in oratione poeticum aliquod uerbum dignitatem. neque enim illud fugerim dicere, ut Laelius: ... nec prolem aut subolem aut effari ... aut alia multa, quibus loco positis grandior atque antiquior oratio saepe uideri solet* (Lebek, p. 25 ff., on *effari* esp. 29: "es wird hauptsachlich der Dichter- und Auguralsprache zugewiesen").

The first instance in poetry is found at Enn. *Ann.* 46 Sk (47 V^2) *haec ecfatus pater ... recessit*; Vergil uses it similarly at *Geo.* 4.450 *tantum effatus*, and several times in the *Aeneid*. Sen. trag. confines his use of it to the imperative (again below 359, in the other plays 11x), the participle (*Phae.* 1004), and the inf. (*Phae.* 606); it is not found in his prose.

effare, reduces: despite Quint. 9.4.41 *uidendum etiam ne syllaba uerbi prioris ultima et prima sequentis consonet*, and Fortunatianus, *Ars Rhet.* 3.11 *ne ultima syllaba prioris uerbi eadem sit quae prima posterioris*, such a repetition seems to have been no offence to the Roman ears (see also above on 11); *-re re-* is found e.g. below 217, 808, *H.F.* 1123 *uulnere reges*, *Ag.* 448 *cruore regis*. Servius criticizes the *-ca-* repetition at *Geo.* 2.13 *glauca canentia*, *Aen.* 2.27 *Dorica castra* (see Austin's note), and 3.203 *caeca caligine*.

reduces ... uias: here, as at *Ag.* 401 *reducem expetito litori impressit pedem*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.761-2 *tantum reduces det flectere gressus / Iuppiter*, *Silu.* 2.7.49 *tardi reducis uias Vlixis*, one may choose between a transferred intransitive use of the adjective (*OLD* s.v. 2b; Boyle) and a literal transitive use (d'Alfonso). The former view is supported by Luc. 9.408 *irreducem ... uiam ... carpit*; for the use of *ducere* applied to roads (*OLD* 9), cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.401 *qua te ducit uia*.

Sen. trag. often uses the adj. in the intransitive sense of 'returning' (*OLD* 2): *H.F.* 209-10 *protinus reduci nouus / paratur hostis*, *Phae.* 629 *illum quidem aequi caelites reducem dabunt*, 856, *Ag.* 218, 579, *Thy.* 441; likewise in the only occurrence in his prose, *Dial.* 12.16.7 *eundem iam reducem*. This is also a frequent use in other poets, e.g. Pl. *Capt.* 43 *reducem ... faciet*, Ter. *Hec.* 852 *me reducem ... feceris*, Catul. 64.237 *te reducem ... sistet*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.94-6 *quae uos a stirpe parentum / prima tulit tellus, eadem uos ubere laeto / accipiet reduces*.

In its original trans. sense 'that leads or brings back home' it is an epithet of Jupiter and Fortuna, both in poetry (Ov. *Ep.* 13.50 *sua det reduci uir meus arma Ioui*) and in inscriptions; in Curt. 9.6.9 *eo perueni-mus, auspicium atque imperium secuti tuum, unde nisi te reduce nulli ad penates suos iter est*, it is applied to Alexander.

quis deus: as Löfstedt (1933) 79 ff. has pointed out, the distinction often drawn between *quis* as the substantival form and *qui* as the adjectival form of the interrogative pronoun is unfounded: "Es verdient aber mehr als bisher beachtet zu werden, dass bei einer ganzen Reihe

wichtiger Autoren *quis* durchaus die dominierende Form ist, und zwar wohl in substantivischer wie in adjektivischer Funktion; *qui* ist selten und steht teils hin und wieder (substantivisch oder adjektivisch) vor anlautendem *s*- also um den Sigmatismus zu vermeiden, teils auch sonst in einzelnen Fällen mit einer gewissen Tendenz zu adjektivischer Verwendung" (p. 82).

Having dealt with various other poets, he comes to Seneca (p. 88): "So gut wie alleinherrschend ist *quis* in den Tragödien des Seneca. Vom Interrogativpron. finden wir diese Form etwa 70mal in substantivischer und einige 80mal in adjektivischer Funktion. Schon dies letztgenannte ist sehr bemerkenswert; ebenso vielsagend ist aber die Tatsache, dass fragendes *qui* überhaupt nirgends einstimmig überliefert ist ... das Indefinitum ... ca 15mal; Nom. stets *quis*, nirgends *qui*." For *quis deus* as the normal expression in Latin literature, cf. e.g. Pl. *Cist.* 669, Catul. 40.3, 61.46, Hor. *Carm.* 1.27.22, Verg. *Geo.* 4.315, *Aen.* 8.352, 9.77, Ov. *Met.* 10.611; in Sen. trag. again below 983, *Phae.* 119, *Oed.* 999, *Thy.* 561.

168 păuĕt ănĭmus: for the use of the proceleusmatic at the beginning of the verse, see on 36; note especially the similar opening of the Nutrix at *Med.* 670 *pauet animus, horret: magna pernicies adest.* For the initial position of the verb, cf. below 434, 623-4 (Seidler, p. 109: 'Verba aus der gefühlsmäßigen Sphäre in Pathosschilderungen').

horridus: 'shaking with fear or disease, quaking, trembling' (*OLD* s.v. 7b); cf. *Oed.* 1059 *horridus Morbi tremor*, *Oct.* 735 *quatit ora et artus horridus nostros tremor*, Lucr. 3.834-5 *omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu / horrida contremuere.* The adj. is found 20x in Sen. trag. (*H.O.* equals this number!); in his prose there are 14 occurrences. In its more usual sense 'causing horror, dreadful, horrible' (*OLD* 6) it is used below 1056. Noteworthy as it may seem that it is found in the opening line of both reports in the play, this is not accidental; *horror* is a common element in such scenes, occurring similarly in Andromache's account of her dream, 457 *mihi gelidus horror ac tremor somnum excutit.* As instances from the other plays may be quoted *H.F.* 651-2 (Theseus) *memorare cogis acta securae quoque / horrenda menti*, *Med.* 670 (cited on *pauet animus*), *Oed.* 206 (Oedipus) *horrore quatior*, 223 (Creo) *sit, precor, dixisse tutum uisu et auditu horrida.* But it also present in other scenes in *Troades*: 24 *horret*, 241 *horruit*, 436 *horrendae*, 535 *horreo.* Below 884 Seneca uses *horrentis* in its original sense, of hair 'bristling'.

For an instance of such a description with *horror* in Vergil, see *Aen.* 3.29-30 *mihi frigidus horror / membra quatit gelidusque coit formidine sanguis.* In Neo-Latin tragedy, e.g. Grotius, *Adam. Ex.* 1826-7 (Adam hears God approaching) *pauet animus, horret corpus, insedit meos / torpor per artus. frigidus sanguis coit.*

For the placing of *horridus* after the penthemimeres, followed by two dissyllabic words, cf. *H.F.* 30 *quae bella? quidquid horridum tellus creat*, *Med.* 16 *adeste, thalamis horridae quondam meis*, *Oed.* 1059 quoted above; for the placing at the end of the trimeter, see on 1056.

quassat tremor: same line-ending *Phae.* 1034; cf. *H.F.* 61 *inuasit tremor.* Fitch on *H.F.* 414 calls attention to the long literary pedigree of such descriptions of psychosomatic reactions, appearing particularly in epic (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 10.93 ff.) and less elaborately in Greek tragedy (e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 438, *Andr.* 1077-8), and to their formulaic character in Roman epic, for instance Verg. *Aen.* 2.120-1 = 12.447-8 *gelidusque per ima cucurrit / ossa tremor*, 6.54-5 *gelidus ... per dura cucurrit / ossa tremor.* L. Herrmann, *Le théâtre de Sénèque*, Paris 1924, 548 styles the whole line a "cliché", also found *Ag.* 5 *en horret animus et pauor membra excutit* (note the same linking of mental and physical disturbance), 508 *tenet horror artus, H.F.* 414 *gelidus per artus uadit exanguis tremor, Oed.* 659 *et ossa et artus gelidus inuasit tremor.* Cf. Homeric 'a trembling came suddenly upon his limbs' (e.g. *Il.* 3.34).

For the usual reluctance of a messenger to reveal the bad news, cf. below 1056 ff., *Ag.* 416-8 *acerba fatu poscis, infaustum iubes / miscere laeto nuntium. refugit loqui / mens aegra tantis atque inhorrescit malis* (with Tarrant's note), *Phae.* 991-2 *o sors acerba et dura, famulatus grauis, / cur me ad nefandi nuntium casus uocas?*, 995, Soph. *Phil.* 329.

169 maiora ueris monstra: 'portents too great for truth' (Fantham); cf. *Thy.* 673 *maiora notis monstra, Oed.* 175 *simulacra uirum maiora uiris*, 232 *maior humano sonus.* Extraordinary size is a conventional feature in descriptions of ghosts; Austin on *Aen.* 2.773 *nota maior imago*, quotes Ov. *Fast.* 2.503 *pulcher et humano maior* (the ghost of Romulus), Hdt. 8.38, Suet. *Cl.* 2 *species barbarae mulieris humana amplior* (Drusus' dream), Plin. *Ep.* 7.27.2, Tac. *Hist.* 4.83, Juv. 13.221-2.

The noun here clearly has its original sense of warning; cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.21: "a *monstrum* is a thing which *monet* (cf. *claustrum*, *lustrum*, etc.) i.e. a portent or something outside the norm of nature." Vergil applies it likewise, e.g. *Aen.* 2.171 *nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris*, 3.59 *monstra deum* (for Vergil's use of the word, see also Fordyce on *Aen.* 7.21).

To the use of the abl. compar. *ueris* may be compared Liv. 22.54.8 *quae edissertando minora uero faciam*, Sal. *Jug.* 105.3 *numerum ampliorem uero*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.21 *atrocius uero* ('too atrocious to be true', Furneaux), Ov. *Tr.* 5.6.42 *crede mihi, uero est nostra querela minor* (K-S 2.470).

ueris: 'real (as opposed to an illusion, imitation, representation, etc.), actual' (*OLD* s.v. 2).

170 uidi ipse, uidi: Talthybius' emotional state of mind is emphasized by this immediate repetition, cf. *H.F.* 50 *uidi ipsa, uidi, Ag.* 656, *H.O.* 207 *uidi, uidi*; on this gemination of indicatives, see Wills, p. 102-106. Just as in the case of a polyptoton, the repetition of the verb here is varied by a change of verse-accent; cf. *H.F.* 50 quoted above, 75 *perge, ira, perge*, Lucr. 6.949 *sentimus, sentimus item transire per aurum*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.709 *mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum*, 2.306, Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.4-5 *terruit urbem / terruit gentes* [R.M. Smith, *De arte rhetorica in L.A. Senecae tragoediis perspicua*, Lipsiae 1885, 115 ff.; Herescu, p. 198].

summa ... dies: 'the Sun was just grazing the hill-tops with his morning rays and day had vanquished night' (Miller). The peaceful awakening of the day contrasts strongly with the following outburst of nature. Ovid's description (*Met.* 13.439-48) of Achilles' apparition, to which the following lines may be compared although the location is different, does not mention the moment of the day.

iam: again in a description of the awakening day, *Oed.* 1 *iam nocte Titan dubius expulsa redit, H.F.* 125-6 *iam rara micant sidera prono / languida mundo,* 132-6 *iam caeruleis euectus aquis / Titan summa prospicit Oeta; / iam Cadmeis incluta Bacchis / aspersa die dumeta rubent / Phoebique fugit reditura soror, Oct.* 1; of approaching dusk, *Ag.* 456 *iam litus omne tegitur et campi latent,* 460-1 *iam lassa Titan colla releuabat iugo, / in astra iam lux prona, iam praeceps dies.* In a description of falling night it is used in *Ep.* 122.13 (the *tolerabilis poeta* Montanus Iulius, who 122.11 *ortus et occasus libentissime inserebat*) '*iam sua pastores stabulis armenta locarunt / iam dare sopitis nox pigra silentia terris / incipit*'; of a season, it occurs in *Apoc.* 2 *iam Phoebus breuiore uia contraxerat ortum / lucis,* Catul. 46.1 *iam uer egelidos refert tepores* (cf. Zwierlein [1986] 274 f.).

Titan: in the Homeric epics, the Sun is styled with a compound name 'Hyperion Helios' (*Il.* 8.480, *Od.* 1.8), 'Helios Hyperion' (*Od.* 12.133), or simply called 'Helios' (*Il.* 3.277), and 'Hyperion' (*Il.* 19.398, *Od.* 1.24). Once (*Od.* 12.176, a line of which the authenticity has been questioned by Aristarchus) he is named 'Hyperionides'. In Hesiod's *Theogony* 132 ff. the children of Ouranos and Gaia are summed up; in 371 ff. the Sun is mentioned together with Moon and Dawn as one of the children of the Titans Hyperion and Theia (cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.192 *Hyperione nate*).

In extant Latin literature, the use of *Titan* for the Sun-god (*OLD* s.v. 2a) goes back to Cic. *Arat.* 589 (343) *exoriens Titan*; it occurs frequently in poetry, for example Verg. *Aen.* 4.118-9 *ubi primos crastinus ortus / extulerit Titan,* Ov. *Met.* 1.10 *nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan,* Luc. 3.40-1 *Titan iam pronus in undas / ibat.* Ovid prefers the use of *Phoebus* and *Sol* over *Titan* [J. Fontenrose, 'Apollo and the Sun-God in Ovid', *AJP* 61 (1940), 429-444, esp. 433-436].

In Seneca's tragedies, there are 20 instances of *Phoebus* (e.g. below 1140), 17 of *Titan* (e.g. *Phae.* 677-8 *tuque, sidereum caput, / radiate Titan, H.F.* 124 *ortuque Titan lucidus croceo subit, Med.* 5 *clarumque Titan diuidens orbi diem*), and 8 of *Sol*; in his prose, he only uses forms of *Sol*. *Phoebus* occurs once, in *Ep.* 122.12, but that is in a quotation. In *Hercules Oetaeus*, there are no less than 21 occurences of this use of *Titan*, in *Octauia* only one [see W. Kranz, 'Die Sonne als Titan', *Philol.* 105 (1961), 290-295]. For an instance in Neo-Latin, see e.g. Julius Caesar Stella, *Columbeis* 1.556-7 *et iam purpureis Titan emerserat undis / aureus* (ed. H. Hofmann, Groningen 1993).

iuga: for the picture of mountain tops catching the first rays of the sun, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12.113-4 *postera uix summos spargebat lumine montis / orta dies*, Ov. *Met.* 7.804 *sole fere radiis feriente cacumina primis.*

170[bis] this numbering was caused by a mistake of Gronovius.

stringebat: for the meaning of the verb 'to touch or almost touch, brush, shave, skim' (*OLD* s.v. 6), cf. *Dial.* 1.4.9 *hunc leuis aura non sine periculo stringet*, *Nat.* 4a.2.24 *tota exteri maris ora mercatorum nauibus stringitur*, *Ag.* 103-5 *felix mediae quisquis turbae / sorte quietus / aura stringit litora tuta*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.163, Ov. *Met.* 4.136, 11.733.

Note in 168 ff. the variety of tenses, a regular phenomenon in messenger reports, and the chiasmus *Titan iuga stringebat ..., uicerat noctem dies*; for the latter, cf. below 658-9, 690-1.

uicerat: a common metaphor; cf. *H.F.* 126-7 *nox uicta uagos / contrahit ignes luce renata*, 136 *Phoebique fugit reditura soror*, 1059 *noctemque fugas* (of Titan), *Oed.* 1 *nocte ... expulsa*, *Oct.* 1-2 *iam uaga caelo sidera fulgens / Aurora fugat*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.521 *iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.21.24 *dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus*, Ov. *Met.* 2.114 *diffugiunt stellae* (with Bömer's note). It is of all times: cf. e.g. Eur. *Ion* 84-5 'the stars flee because of this fire of the sky (i.e. the sun) into the holy night', where A.S. Owen in his commentary on the play (Oxford 1939, repr. 1957) makes the dry remark: "The stars do not flee before the light, but are dimmed by it", Prud. *Cath.* 5.28 *quam nox cum lacero uicta fugit peplo*, Grotius, *Soph.* 1 *fugata nocte.*

171-80 To the following description of nature's violent movements and uproar, various parallels both in Seneca's tragedies (esp. *Oed.* 569-88, see below on 177 *strauit*) and in his prose (*Naturales Quaestiones*, esp. book 6) may be compared. In later poetry, Stat. *Theb.* 7.794-823 and Sil. 5.611-9 (see the note on 171 *cum subito*) offer similar passages.

171 cum subito: *subito* enforces the effect of the *cum inversum* construction, whose characteristic feature is that the grammatically subordinate clause carries the chief significance of the sentence; it is often preceded by *iam*, *nondum*, or *uix* (H-Sz 623). Cf. below 443 *cum subito nostros Hector ante oculos stetit*, 1132 *cum subito thalami more praecedunt faces*, *Phae.* 1007 *cum subito uastum tonuit ex alto mare*, *Ag.* 470 *cum subito luna conditur, stellae latent.* There is a comparable opening of a passage in Silius (5.611-9), that has much in common with this description:

> cum subitus per saxa fragor, motique repente,
> horrendum, colles et summa cacumina totis
> intremuere iugis. nutant in uertice siluae
> pinifero, fractaeque ruunt super agmina rupes.
> immugit penitus conuulsis ima cauernis
> dissiliens tellus nec paruos rumpit hiatus,
> atque umbras late Stygias immensa uorago
> faucibus ostendit patulis, manesque profundi
> antiquum expauere diem.

Seneca's preference for *subito* (11x) over *repente* (4x) is in accordance with the use of most poets: Ovid 50 : 3, Prop. 5 : 0, Verg. *Aen.* 26 : 14, an exception to the rule being Lucretius 21 : 36. Cf. Axelson (1945) 33: "Das volkstümlichere Wort war immerhin das im Romanischen fortlebende *subito*, während *repente* ein feierlicheres, wohl auch etwas altertümlicheres Gepräge gehabt haben wird (was zur Praxis des Sall. und des Tac. gut passen würde)"; according to Löfstedt (1933) 339, n. 1, these historians only use *repente*, 18 and 50 times respectively. Ovid's description of Achilles' apparition starts with *hic subito* (*Met.* 13.441).

For the scansion *subitŏ*, cf. the Senecan lines starting with *cum subito* cited above; the more usual *subitō* is found e.g. below 246, *Phae.* 887. The practice of shortening a final *-ō* originally reflected the usage of spoken Latin. It started out with common iambic dissyllables like *duŏ* (Lucilius), *modŏ* and *homŏ* (Lucretius); it was gradually also applied to spondees (Prop. 3.9.35 *findo*) and cretics (Catul. 80.5, 85.2 *nesciŏ*). Seneca often used and further extended this shortening of the *-ō*: for instance, in *Troades* the adverbs *subito* and *sero* (633), the third declension forms *regio* (498, 558), *ordo* (1162) and *nemo* (1017, 1018), the verb-forms *potero* (653) and *satio* (762), and the gerund-form *uincendo* (264) [see e.g. Fantham, p. 99; Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 2.735].

caeco: '(of sound) muffled, hoarse', *OLD* s.v. 8a. In the other instances cited under that heading it is used of a multitude: V. Fl. 2.460-1 *coit ... / agrestum manus et caeco clamore coloni* (Poortvliet *ad loc.* cites Langen: 'i.e. in quo nihil discernas, cum omnes simul clament'), Sil. 9.281 *errabat caecum turbata per agmina murmur.* Combined with *murmur*, the adj. also occurs in Verg. *Aen.* 10.97-9 *ceu flamina prima / cum deprensa fremunt siluis, et caeca uolutant / murmura*, 12.591-2 *murmure caeco / intus saxa sonant* (Page *ad. loc.*: 'undistinguishable'). In my view, the invisible origin and the association with the underworld (see below 724) must also be taken into account here. Elsewhere in Sen. trag. the adj. is used to picture the darkness of the prison (below 585), the blindness of Oedipus (*Phoen.* 1), *Fors* (*Phoen.* 632) and *Furor* (*Oed.* 590), the blinding of folds (*Ag.* 895), and the obscure wording of the Sphinx (*Oed.* 92).

mugitu: like μυκάομαι, originally of the lowing or bellowing of cattle, e.g. *Phae.* 343, 1171. It is often used of the rumbling of the earth; cf. Arist. *Mete.* 368a.25, Cic. *Div.* 1.35 *terrae saepe fremitus, saepe mugitus, saepe motus*, Sen. *Nat.* 6.13.5 *antequam terra moueatur, solet mugitus audiri, uentis in abdito tumultuantibus.* For this appliance of the noun, cf. the use of the verb *mugire* and its compounds (often when figures appear from the underworld) at *H.F.* 521 *mugit solum, Thy.* 262, *Oed.* 173, *Phae.* 1025-6 *en totum mare / immugit, Thy.* 675-6 *nemus / ... remugit,* 681 *immugit specus*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.490, 6.256, Ov. *Met.* 7.205-6 (Medea) *et siluas moueo, iubeoque tremescere montis / et mugire solum manesque exire sepulcris*, Luc. 3.418, Stat. *Theb.* 7.65, 7.796, Sil. 5.615-6; see Smolenaars on Stat. *Theb.* 7.794-823.

fremens: 'rumbling, roaring'; cf. the use of *fremitus* in descriptions of earth-quakes, *Oed.* 227 *gemina Parnasi niualis arx trucem fremitum dedit, Aetna* 278 *Aetnaei montis fremitus*, Cic. *Diu.* 1.35 (cited on *mugitu*), Sen. *Nat.* 5.14.4 *illud uero manifestum est, magnam esse sub terris uim sulphuris et aliorum non minus ignem alentium. per haec loca cum se exitum quaerens spiritus torsit, accendat flammam ipso adfrictu necesse est, deinde, flammis latius fusis, etiam si quid ignaui aeris erat, extenuatum moueri et uiam cum fremitu uasto atque impetu quaerere.*

Sen. trag. combines the verb also with *clamor hostilis* (*Phoen.* 415), *aues querulae* (*Phae.* 508), *Boreae minae* (*Phae.* 936), *nares* (sc. *tauri*, *Phae.* 1043), *Idaeus leo* (*Oed.* 457), *Oedipus* (*Oed.* 961), *Pyrrhus* (*Ag.* 635), *anhela corda* (sc. *Cassandrae*, *Ag.* 713), *Isthmos* (*Thy.* 112), and *orbis* (*Thy.* 180); the noun *fremitus* is used of a roaring lion below 794. The verb is already found in Ennius, *Ann.* 515-6 Sk (497-8 V^2) *ratibusque fremebat / imber Neptuni.* Vergil, *Aen.* 1.55-6 *magno cum murmure montis / circum claustra fremunt*, uses it of the winds, which also play a vital part in the ancient theories on the causes of earthquakes. Cf. Sen. *Nat.* 6.13.5 *nec enim aliter posset, ut ait Vergilius noster 'sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga celsa moueri', nisi hoc esset uentorum opus*, and Lucr. 6.577-84:

> est haec eiusdem quoque magni causa tremoris,
> uentus ubi atque animae subito uis maxima quaedam
> aut extrinsecus aut ipsa tellure coorta
> in loca se caua terrai coniecit, ibique
> speluncas inter magnas fremit ante tumultu
> uersabunda<que> portatur, post incita cum uis
> exagitata foras erumpitur, et simul altam
> diffindens terram magnum concinnat hiatum.

172 concussa: cf. in a similar context *Oed.* 575-6 *totum nemus / concussit horror*, Lucr. 6.544-7 *terra superne tremit magnis concussa ruinis, / ... / quippe cadunt toti montes magnoque repente / concussu late disserpunt inde tremores*, Luc. 3.459-61 *telluris inanes / concussisse sinus quaerentem erumpere uentum / credidit* [*ThLL* IV 119.14 ff.]. In his prose, Seneca uses *concussio* for 'earthquake', e.g. *Nat.* 6.25.4 *illa uasta concussio quae duas suppressit urbes.* On the occurrence of earthquakes in the region of Troy, cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.520-1 *interdumque mouet, ueluti, quam cernimus, ecce / ardua si terrae quatiatur motibus Ide* (see Bömer's note *ad loc.*).

totos ... sinus: Gronovius immediately preferred the E reading over A's *caecos traxit ex imo sonos*: "Quis ferat tam prope coniunctos, *caecum mugitum & caecos sonos*? Optime optimus: *totos traxit ex imo sinus.* id est, aperuit inque lucem exposuit intimos suos recessus."

totos: Sen. trag. likes to use intensifying *totus*; cf. e.g. *Thy.* 696-7 *tota succusso solo / nutauit aula*, 1018 *harenas ... totas*, *Oed.* 570-1 *tota succusso solo / pulsata tellus*, 575-6 (see on *concussa*), *H.F.* 1287, *Med.* 928, *Phae.* 185.

traxit: cf. Verg. *Geo.* 3.237-8 *fluctus uti, medio coepit cum albescere ponto, / longius ex altoque sinum trahit.* The sequence *fremens / concussa ... traxit* may be compared to 198-9 *repetens ... mersus ... iunxit* [Reeve, Zwierlein (1986) 89].

sinus: 'a depression, hollow, cavity; a hollow in the ground' (*OLD* s.v. 8); cf. below 521, *Oed.* 582-3 *subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu / laxata patuit, Thy.* 842-3 *ibit in unum congesta sinum / turba deorum,* 1014-5 *hoc tuam immani sinu / demitte uallem, Nat.* 6.1.9 *in uasto terrarum dehiscentium sinu.* Some translations: 'alle Falten' (Thomann), 'intere voragini' (Caviglia), 'its entrails' (Fantham), 'its hidden folds' (Boyle). Notice the effect of the repeated alliteration and the *u-* sounds in these last two lines.

173 mouere: Sen. trag. clearly favours this 3. pers. plur. perf. ending. In *Troades,* he uses it again at 209 *tulere,* 219 *cecidere,* 693 *nouere,* 1161 *misere* (always at the beginning of the trimeter), 722 *cessere,* whereas the form -(*ē*)*runt* is only found at 175 *ceciderunt* and 696 *leuarunt*; according to Drexler (1967) 139, the total numbers in these plays are 79 : 10 respectively. Of earlier poets, Ennius apparently felt the form on *-erunt* as normal, since he used it when the choice was free; but both in the *Annals* and in the *scenica* it is only half as frequent as *-ere* (*Annals* 4 : 10, *scenica* 2 : 4). In Plautus the proportion of *-erunt* to *-ere* is about 2 : 1, in Terence they are about equally frequent (Skutsch p. 62; he refers to D.W. Pye, *Transactions of the Philological Society,* 1963, 1-27). Vergil greatly preferred the form *-ere*: C.F. Bauer, *The Latin Perfect Endings -* ere *and* -erunt, Philadelphia 1933, gives a total of 231 *-ēre* occurrences to 29 *-ērunt/-ĕrunt* in the *Aeneid*; proportionally the latter endings are much more frequent in the hexameters of Horace and Juvenal (see Williams on *Aen.* 5.580 *discurrere*). The ending in *-ēre* evidently had an archaic and elevated ring, appropriate to the high style as being slightly unusual.

In prose, it was avoided by Caesar and Cicero; the latter (*Orat.* 157) speaks of the pleasant sound of *scripsere* in the Ennian line *scripsere alii rem / uersibus* (*Ann.* 206-7 Sk = 213-4 V[2]), but adds: *scripserunt esse uerius sentio.* Sallust, however, uses the ending *-ere* in almost all instances. In Livy, the first books conceivably have a far higher frequency of forms in *-ēre* than the later ones. See Lebek, p. 199; Leumann, p. 607 f. with literature.

capita: likewise of trees (cf. *OLD* s.v. 9), *Oed.* 532 *cupressus altis exerens siluis caput,* Enn. *Ann.* 511 Sk (490 V[2]) *capitibus nutantis pinos rectosque cupressos,* Verg. *Aen.* 9.681-2 *consurgunt geminae quercus intonsaque caelo / attollunt capita et sublimi uertice nutant*; similarly, *coma* is used of 'foliage' in Sen. trag. at *H.F.* 689 *horrent opaca fronde nigrantes comae, Oed.* 154 *silua sua decorata coma,* 574.

For such descriptions of nature, foreboding impending dramatic events, Amoroso *ad loc.* refers to R. Mugellesi, 'Il senso della natura in Seneca tragico', in: *Argentea Aetas,* Genova 1973, 65.

174 fragore: 'crash, roar' (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. *H.F.* 522 *infernus imo sonuit e fundo fragor*, 795 *uocis horrendae fragor*, *Oed.* 232 *emicat uasto fragore maior humano sonus*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.797 *bella putant trepidi bellique hunc esse fragorem*, Sil. 5.611 *subitus per saxa fragor*. Below 355, the thunder is styled *mundi fragor*.

uasto: '(of sounds) awesome or very great in range or intensity' (*OLD* s.v. 3c); cf. *H.F.* 784 (Cerberus) *trina uasto capita concutiens sono*, *Phae.* 1171 (a Cretan bull) *Daedalea uasto claustra mugitu replens*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.245 *uasto cum murmure montis*.

tonuit: 'to make or resound with a noise like thunder' (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. *Phae.* 1007 *uastum tonuit ex alto mare*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.756-7 *tum uero exoritur clamor, ripaeque lacusque / responsant circa, et caelum tonat omne tumultu*. Combined with *fragor*: *Aen.* 9.541 *caelum tonat omne fragore*, 2.692-3 *subitoque fragore / intonuit laeuum*, Claud. *Ruf.* 2.181-2 *clamore niualis / Ossa tonat pulsoque fragor geminatur Olympo*.

lucus: for the variation *siluae* ... *nemus* / ... *lucus*, cf. *Ag.* 449-51 ... *salo* / ... *mare* / ... *freto*, *H.F.* 762-3 *uadis* / ... *unda* ... *fretum*, 823-5 *lumina* ... / *oculos* / *aciem*. Servius on *Aen.* 1.310 distinguishes *lucus enim est arborum multitudo cum religione, nemus uero composita multitudo arborum, silua diffusa et inculta*; see Fedeli and Shackleton Bailey on Prop. 4.9.24 *lucus ubi umbroso fecerat orbe nemus*.

sacer: Mt. Ida with its forests and groves was sacred to Cybebe (72).

Grotius' high esteem of Seneca's tragedies is again evident in his adaptation of this passage in *Adam. Ex.* 1821-5 (Eve describes the approach of God)

> repente longo terra mugitu fremens
> concussa caecos egit ad caelum sonos,
> retroque cessit: capitibus nutans Nemus
> fragore uasto tonuit; omnes arbores
> concussit horror, siluaque erexit comam.

175 ruptis ... iugis: cf. Petr. 122, 131-2 *rupta tonabant / uerticibus lapsis montis iuga*. For the simple abl. with *cadere* (K-S 1.366 f.), cf. *Ag.* 467 *collibus summis cadit*; for the use of a preposition with the verb, see above 104 (*ex*), below 368 (*de*).

ceciderunt: only here, elsewhere *cecidēre* (below 219, *H.F.* 403, *Thy.* 573, 588). Since Seneca strictly avoids the use of the iambe in the fifth foot (see below on 195 *Polyxene*), the scansion has to be *cecidērunt*. As for the origin of the form, "Jedenfalls ist *-ērunt* eine junge Umgestaltung von *-ēre*, als deutlichere Kennzeichnung einer 3. plur.; ob mit oder ohne Einfluß von *-ĕrunt*, bleibe dahingestellt" (Leumann, p. 608). Forms ending in *-ĕrunt* are found, for instance, in Pl. *Bac.* 928 *subēgĕrunt*, Ter. *Eun.* 20 *ēmĕrunt*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.48 *steterunt*, 3.681 *constiterunt*; combined with *-ērunt*, Lucr. 5.415 *constiterunt imbres et flumina uim minuerunt*.

176 nec: '(implying a contrast) and yet ... not, but ... not' (*OLD* s.v. 5).

terra: picks up 171 *terra*.

solum: Zwierlein (1986) 82 puts forward the use of *solum* instead of *tantum* as one of his arguments for athetizing 176-7 (see below). It is true that *tantum* is the usual word in Seneca's tragedies as it is in his prose, but why should not he vary occasionally? Vergil also has a single use of *nec ... solum* (*Ecl.* 5.48) in addition to forty times *tantum*. Cf. Fitch (1989) 244: "Euphony may well have moved Seneca to avoid *tantum* here in view of *terra tremuit*."

tremuit: the usual verb in the context of earthquakes; cf. *Oed.* 176 *tremuisse nemus*, *Nat.* 6.2.5 *terras trementis*, 6.4.1 *cur modo tremat, modo laxata subsidat*, 6.6.4 *tremuit terra*, 6.26.4. At *Nat.* 6.21.2, Seneca applies the word to a specific type: *duo genera sunt, ut Posidonio placet, quibus mouetur terra. utrique nomen est proprium: altera succussio est, cum terra quatitur et sursum ac deorsum mouetur, altera inclinatio, qua in latera nutat alternis nauigi more. ego et tertium illud existimo, quod nostro uocabulo signatum est: non enim sine causa tremorem terrae dixere maiores, qui utrique dissimilis est; nam nec succutiuntur tunc omnia nec inclinantur sed uibrantur, res minime in eiusmodi casu noxia.*

For the trembling of the earth in descriptions of divine epiphany, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.90 *uix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia uisa repente*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.65 *tremit ecce solum* (see Smolenaars *ad loc.*).

suum: Achilles' mother Thetis was one of the daughters of the sea-god Nereus (see below 882); cf. 193 *nostra ... maria*.

177 Achillem: the etymology of the name is uncertain; it has been connected with the river Acheloüs (*OCD*), with ἄχος and λαός [see L.R. Palmer; Gregory Nagy, 'The Name of Achilles: Questions of Etymology and "Folk-Etymology"', *Illinois Classical Studies* 19 (1994) 3-9; Paschalis, p. 67 f.]. Gary B. Holland, 'The Name of Achilles: A Revised Etymology', *Glotta* 71 (1993) 17-27, notes a virtually identical formation of the Old Norse name *Egill*.

sensit: for the appliance of the verb to nature, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 250-1 *sensere terrae pacis auctorem suae / abesse terris*, 956 *inferna nostros regna sensere impetus*, *Oed.* 159 *omnia nostrum sensere malum*, *Ag.* 824-5 *sensit ortus, sensit occasus / Herculem nasci*, Verg. *Geo.* 1.47-8 *illa seges demum uotis respondet auari / agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit*, Ov. *Met.* 13.785-6 *senserunt toti pastoria sibila montes / senserunt undae.*

strauit: in my opinion, the use of the verb was rightly defended by Fantham (and others) as "an act of homage, acknowledging Thetis' son as its master". *Oedipus*, to which Fantham refers for several features of Talthybius' narrative (*Tro.* 171-4 = *Oed.* 569-70, 577, *Tro.* 172 = *Oed.* 582-3, *Tro.* 173-4 = *Oed.* 574-6, *Tro.* 179-80 = *Oed.* 586-8), offers a comparable outburst of nature, related in Creon's report (already partly quoted above on lines 168, 169, 171, 174): 228-9 *imminens Phoebea laurus tremuit et mouit domum / ac repente sancta fontis lympha Castalii stetit.*

Zwierlein, who at first, *Philol.* 113 (1969) 255, had defended Bentley's *mouit* as a correction of the transmitted *strauit*, in a second treatment of these two lines, (1976) 184-185, has athetized them, because:

1. they anticipate 181, taking away the 'Überraschungseffekt'.
2. *terra tremuit* is too weak after the preceding hyperbolic description.
3. the 1½ lines on the sea stand isolated amid eight lines on the land.

In his latest discussion of the passage, (1986) 82 f., he has added as a fourth argument the use of *solum*. He proves to be unconvinced by Fantham's defence of the lines and has left them bracketed in his text. Delz, *Gnomon* 61 (1989) 506 f., agrees with Zwierlein that 176-7 are out of order in their transmitted form; "aber daß eine Erwähnung des Meeres an dieser Stelle störend sein soll, sehe ich nicht ein. Gerade die Verse 199-202 setzen eigentlich voraus, daß schon vorher vom Meer die Rede ist." In the track of Bentley's *mouit*, he proposes *uoluit* (cf. *Ag.* 65), *tollit* (cf. *Ag.* 451), or *sinuat* (cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.553); "*strauit* wäre dann die willkürliche Änderung eines Lesers, der meinte, bei der Erscheinung Achills müsse sich das Meer beruhigen." The suggestions *uoluit* and *tollit* were also made by Fitch (1989) 244.

Christine Schmitz, *Die kosmische Dimension in den Tragödien Senecas*, Berlin - New York 1993, 177, has also attacked *strauit*, contrasting Verg. *Aen.* 10.100-3 as a true example of "ehrfurchtsvolles Erschaudern der Erde": *tum pater omnipotens, rerum cui prima potestas, / infit* (*eo dicente deum domus alta silescit / et tremefacta solo tellus, silet arduus aether, / tum zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus*).

There is nothing wrong with the text, I think. From *uela .. dares* (below 203) we may assume that the weather before Achilles' apparition was calm and fit for sailing; this is in contrast with Ovid's introduction to the same event (*Met.* 13.439-40) *litore Threicio classem religarat Atrides, / dum mare pacatum, dum uentus amicior esset*. This would be a situation in line with *Nat.* 6.12.2-3: cf. e.g. 6.12.3 *'quid ergo? numquam flante uento terra concussa est?' admodum raro*. When Achilles is about to emerge, both earth and sea tremble, but in a contrasted way and unlike ordinary practice: the land heralds Achilles' fury, the sea smoothes its waves (which are always there, regardless of the wind). At the end, nature resumes its calm; the wind, that had emerged with Achilles (cf. *Nat.* 6.17.3 *saepe cum terrae motus fuit, si modo pars eius aliqua dirupta est, inde uentus per multos dies fluxit*), subsides too.

As for Zwierlein's arguments, the mentioning of Achilles here seems indispensable for the identity of the *tumulus* (180; so already Fantham), *tremere* can denote any degree of quaking (cf. esp. Lucr. 6.287 *inde tremor terras grauiter pertemptat*), and the description of the sea has to be short in order to make room for below 199-202.

For the calming of the sea when a god or hero shows up, Zwierlein (1976) 185, n. 19 has listed several other instances: Ov. *Ep.* 18 [19] 160, 7.49-50, Sen. *Oed.* 450, Stat. *Ach.* 1.54, Apul. *Met.* 4.31.4.

uada: 'the waters' (of the sea, regardless of depth, *OLD* s.v. 4); this use of the noun is found e.g. Catul. 64.6 *ausi sunt uada salsa cita decurrere puppi*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.158 *longa sulcant uada salsa carina*, 5.615, 7.198, Prop. 2.1.22.

178 tum: or *tunc* (A)? This variance in the MSS is also found *H.F.* 778 *tum* E: *tunc* A, 807 *tum* ET: *tunc* βP, 896 *tum* A: *tunc* E, *Med.* 218 *tum* RA: *tunc* E, *Phae.* 350 *tum* ω : *tunc* recc. (M), *Ag.* 449 *tum* A: *tunc* E. In addition, there are some 20 unanimous occurrences of *tum* (*Oed.* 550 *tum effossa tellus* with synaloephe), and 15 of *tunc* (often, e.g. below 416 *tunc obruta*, before a vowel/*h*). The fact that Sen. trag. before a word beginning with an *s* has three occurrences of *tum* (243 *tum saeua*, *H.F.* 826 *tum sub*, *Phae.* 553 *tum scelera*) and no instance of *tunc*, might seem decisive in favour of *tum*; however, his prose, e.g. *Nat.* 2.55.2 *tunc sonum*, 5.3.3 *tunc surgit*, proves that this is no strict rule. The unemphatic position seems a more important argument to me; take as a contrast the use of *tunc* below 318, 322, 416 *tunc obruta* followed by [*nunc*] *fero*, 834 *tunc quoque*.

Of the two words, *tum* is the older one, clearly prevalent in Cic., Caes. and Sal., and also preferred by most poets: for example Enn. (16 : 4), Catul. (28 : 1), Hor. (15 : 5), Prop. (39 : 13), Ov. *Met.* (33 : 13). In later prosaists *tunc* is more frequent, e.g. Vitr. (86 : 35), Sen. *Ep.* (95 : 10), Apul. *Met.* (120 : 13); exceptions to the rule are Quint. and Tac. (*tunc* only 10 and 35% respectively). *Tunc* is also more popular with Mart. (18 : 2), Pers. (10 : 1) and Stat. (about 4 to 1 in more than 200 instances of both taken together [H-Sz 519 f.; van Dam, p. 319].

scissa: 'to divide deeply by a violent blow, etc., to split, cleave' (*OLD* 1); cf. in a similar context *H.F.* 285-6 *scissa cum uasto impetu / patuere Tempe*, *Phoen.* 70 *hic scissa tellus faucibus ruptis hiat.* A variation is found at Stat. *Theb.* 7.816-7 *alte praeceps humus ore profundo / dissilit*, Sil. 5.616 *dissiliens tellus*.

uallis: Gronovius immediately preferred E's *uallis* ('a valley') over A's *tellus*, commenting: "significat primum desidisse paullulum terram et quasi vallem fecisse, dein eo ipso loco diruptam". The noun occurs another 9x in Sen. trag., e.g. below 1124, *Phoen.* 15-6 *per obscurum nemus / siluamque opacae uallis*, *Phae.* 1132-3 *raros patitur fulminis ictus / umida uallis*. It is often found in the context of the underworld, denoting un underground gully, cf. e.g. *Oed.* 569 *ualles cauae*, 726 *imis uallibus*, *Thy.* 1014-5 *hoc tuam immani sinu / demitte uallem*, *Ep.* 79.2 *in aliqua inferna ualle*, *Nat.* 6.22.2, Ov. *Met.* 6.662, Stat. *Ach.* 1.223 [Zwierlein (1976) 183, n. 14; Hillen, p. 9, n. 32; p. 34, n. 103; p. 131].

immensos: cf. the picture of the entrance to the underworld at *H.F.* 664-7 *hic ora soluit Ditis inuisi domus / hiatque rupes alta et immenso specu / ingens uorago faucibus uastis patet / latumque pandit omnibus populis iter*, 679-80 *intus immenso sinu / placido quieta labitur Lethe uado*, *Oed.* 582-3 *subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu / laxata patuit* (note the identical placing of the adjective!).

Caverns are often immense in poetry: cf. Pac. *trag.* 99 *ingens specus*, Verg. *Geo.* 4.418 *specus ingens*, *Aen.* 6.42 *ingens ... in antrum*, Ov. *Fast.* 1.155 *spelunca recessibus ingens*, V. Fl. 4.177 *spelunca apparuit ingens* (with Korn's note), Stat. *Theb.* 7.818.

specus: often applied by Seneca to the cavern(s) of the underworld, with an epithet like *immensus* (again *H.F.* 665, cf. *H.O.* 262), *ingens* (below 198, *H.F.* 94), *uastus* (*H.F.* 718); this use is already found in Enn. *scen.* 152 J (193 V[2]) *inferum uastos specus*. Below 430 *obscuri specus*. In Sen. trag. the word is always masculine; likewise in his prose, e.g. *Nat.* 3.16.4, *Dial.* 12.9.2, with the exception of *Nat.* 1.14.1 (fem.). Feminine forms are also found in early poetry, e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 429 Sk (= 440 V[2]) [Festus s.v.; Serv. on *Aen.* 7.568; N-W I 1010 f.].

179 et ... iter / ... praebet: cf. *Oed.* 573 *iterque populis Ditis ad superos datur* after 572 *rumpitur caecum chaos*, *H.F.* 667 (cited on 178).

hiatus: 'the action of splitting open, gaping, yawning' (*OLD* 1, citing e.g. *Dial.* 12.7.4. *frequentes terrarum hiatus*), as well as 'a wide-opened jaw' (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. *Oed.* 164-5 *Mors atra auidos oris hiatus / pandit*, *Med.* 352 (of Scylla) *omnis pariter soluit hiatus*, *Thy.* 157 *alludit patulis arbor hiatibus* (of Tantalus). Like the verb (see, for example *Phoen.* 70, cited on 178 *scissa*, *Nat.* 6.17.3 *inuenies ... hiasse uno loco terram*), it is often used of 'a fissure in the earth, chasm' (*OLD* s.v. 2b): *Nat.* 6.9.2 *tunc chasmata, tunc hiatus uasti aperiuntur*, *Oct.* 725-6 *diducta subito patuit ingenti mihi / tellus hiatu*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.237, Lucr. 6.584. On Statius' predilection for the word in the context of a katabasis, see Smolenaars on *Theb.* 7.783.

Erebi: *Erebus* denotes 'the underworld' (*OLD* 1, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6.247 *Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem*), as well as 'the god of darkness' (*OLD* 2, e.g. Cic. *N.D.* 3.44 *Amor Dolus ... quos omnis Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt*). According to Hes. *Th.* 123, both Erebos and dark Night were born from Chaos.

peruium: 'giving transit'; the adj. is combined with *iter* again below 433, *Oct.* 402 *peruium cunctis iter.* Other occurrences in Sen. trag. are: *Med.* 372 *peruius orbis*, *Phae.* 88 *peruium* (sc. *pontum*), 474 *aer peruius uentis*, *Thy.* 844 *sacris peruius astris*. Austin on *Aen.* 2.453 has an interesting note on the use of the word by Vergil and others; Caviglia compares Ov. *Met.* 5.501-2 *mihi peruia tellus / praebet iter.*

superos: from the point of view of the underworld, *superi* are not the gods in heaven but the people on earth (*OLD* 2b); cf. *H.F.* 47-8 *effregit ecce limen inferni Iouis / et opima uicti regis ad superos refert*, *Phae.* 145 *supera ... loca*, *Ag.* 4 *fugio Thyestes inferos, superos fugo*, *Thy.* 82-3 *quando continget mihi / effugere superos?*

180 tellure fracta: cf. *Thy.* 88, *Oct.* 136 *tellure rupta*, Ov. *Met.* 13.442 (of the same event) *humo late rupta*, Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 1014-6 *laxata hiatu saxa deformi patent, / latumque functis fecit ad uiuos iter / compage rupta tumulus.*

tumulum: etymologically 'swollen earth' (*terra tumens*, Servius on *Aen.* 2.713). The Greeks had erected a 'monument mighty and splendid' for the golden urn with the bones of Achilles and Patroclus, 'high on a foreland that jutteth above broad Hellespontus, so as afar from the sea to be visible ever to mortals, those now living as well as the men of the age that is coming' (Hom. *Od.* 24.80-4, transl. Cotterill); see on 75 *Sigeis*, 108 *Rhoetea*.

tumulum leuat: 'lifts up the mound'; Vondel, *Amst. Hec.* 292 translates in an evangelic fashion: 'en licht den steen van 't graf'. This detail is not found in Ovid, nor in Euripides; at *Hec.* 37, it is only stated that 'the son of Peleus appeared above his tomb'. Considering the mound a kind of upper jaw (*hiatus*!), I think the text can be kept as it is. The phrase occurs with a quite different meaning, 'set up, erect' (*OLD* s.v. 1d), at Stat. *Silu.* 3.3.214 *eque tua tumulum tellure leuabit*; for that sense of the verb, cf. Luc. 4.18 (*Caesar*) *castra leuat*, V. Fl. 2.448 (*pars*) *castra leuat*. Zwierlein, (1986) 83-86, with Axelson tentatively proposes *tumulo leuis*. The suggestion has some attractive elements: *tumulo* is not only supported by Luc. 9.3 *prosiluit busto* and V. Fl. 5.91 (quoted below), but also by Ovid's *humo*; *leuis* with *emicuit* recalls Homeric 'swift-footed' (e.g. *Il.* 1.58), and it offers a nice contrast with *ingens*. However, in my opinion the following lines 182-9 form a too elaborate qualification of line 181 to make such a close connection of 180 and 181 likely.

181 emicuit: 'to make a sudden movement forwards, outwards, or upwards, dart forth, dash out, spring up, etc.' (*OLD* s.v. 1). The verb is also found in the comparable *Oedipus*-passage (see the note on 177 *strauit*), viz. 231-2 *contigit nondum specum, / emicat uasto fragore maior humano sonus*; note in both instances the placing of the verb and the combination with *fragor uastus*. For the use of the verb, cf. also *Nat.* 6.18.3 *spiritus per nouum* (*terrae*) *uolnus emicuit*, 6.9.1 *ignis ex hoc collisu nubium cursuque elisi aeris emicuit*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.174-5 *terque ipsa solo (mirabile dictu) / emicuit parmamque ferens hastamque trementem*, 5.318-9 *longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus / emicat et uentis et fulminis ocior alis*, 12.327 (of Turnus). Val. Flaccus uses the verb eleven times, ten of which like here at the very beginning of the line (see Stadler's note on 7.396-7 *ante oculos nondum speratus Iason / emicuit*). Most interesting is a passage, in which a shade also flashes forward fully armed from near the sea, 5.89-95:

it Sthenelus. qualem Mauortia uidit Amazon
cumque suis comitem Alcides ut condidit armis,
talis ab aequorei consurgens aggere busti
emicuit. fulsere undae, sol magnus ut orbem
tolleret aut nubem quateret polus. atque ea uixdum
uisa uiris atra nox protinus abstulit umbra.
ille dolens altum repetit chaos.

ingens: Sen. trag. uses the adjective 38 times, in *Tro.* applied to *specum* (198), *mercede* (357), Hector's *tumulus* (483), young Achilles' *iras* (834), Polyxena's *animus* (945), *uulnus* (1157). In the other plays, he also prefers this position in the trimeter for nom./acc. *ingens*: see *H.F.* 94, 1238, *Phoen.* 320, *Med.* 223, 226, 721, 961, 1015, *Phae.* 1047, *Oed.* 542, *Thy.* 234. Variation is found at *H.F.* 666 (first foot), 717 (fifth foot), 1282 (first foot). For Vergil's fondness of this adjective, see Austin on *Aen.* 2.20 and 4.89. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 205 (211 V^2) notes five occurrences in the *Annals*; it is "proportionally less frequent ... than in Vergil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid* (200 examples in ca. 12.000 lines, i.e. one in sixty lines; none in the over 800 lines of the *Eclogues*)". There are only two instances in Plautus, three in Terence, one in the comic fragments. Cf. also Griffin's note on Ov. *Met.* 11.265 *ingenti ... Achille.*

Thessalici ducis: the periphrasis is also found below 361 (of Achilles) and at *Med.* 415 (of Acastus).

182 Threicia ... arma: the allusion is obscure, as Fantham notes. Harder, p. 452 suggested that the words refer to Telephus, since the people of Mysia were of Thracian origin. Kingery and d'Alfonso thought them an allusion to Cisseus, the father of Hecuba (Eur. *Hec.* 3) and Theano, who with his Thracian forces came to the relief of Troy and was defeated by Achilles. Finding no evidence for this in ancient sources, Fantham suggests as a more appropriate episode the defeat and killing of Tenes, ruler of Tenedos and son of Apollo, on Achilles' journey from Aulis to the Troad (Apollod. *Epit.* 3.23-27, Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 28); his conquest of Tenedos is mentioned e.g. at Hom. *Il.* 11.625. As she admits, the use of *Threicius* for the man of Tenedos is an "eccentricity", but she thinks the island can be seen, like Lemnos, as part of the Thracian region. I am not convinced, but have found no better answer; Fantham properly refers to Seneca's unreliability in geographical matters.

Like Vergil (see Harrison on *Aen.* 10.350), Seneca prefers the sonorous *Threicius* (again *H.F.* 577, *Oed.* 435, *Ag.* 842; cf. Hom. *Il.* 10.559) and *Thracius* (see on 225) above prosaic *Thrax* (*H.F.* 1170, 1285).

proludens: one of Seneca's favourite metaphors; cf. from his tragedies *H.F.* 221-2 *et tumida tenera guttura elidens manu / prolusit hydrae, Med.* 907-8 *prolusit dolor / per ista noster, Phae.* 1059-61 *hic se illa moles* (sc. the monster from the sea) *acuit atque iras parat. / ut cepit animos seque praetemptans satis / prolusit irae, praepeti cursu euolat.* Three instances from his prose: *Nat.* 3.28.3 *non laedi terrae debent sed abscondi. itaque, cum per ista prolusum est, crescunt maria, Dial.* 4.2.5 *omnia ista* (sc. watching a mimic shipwreck or reading about Hannibal *post Cannas moenia circumsedente*) *motus sunt animorum moueri nolentium, nec adfectus sed principia proludentia adfectibus, Ep.* 102.23 *per has mortalis aeui moras illi meliori uitae longiorique proluditur.*

For the original sense of the verb, *OLD* quotes e.g. Prop. 4.4.19 (*Tarpeia*) *uidit* (*OLD* erroneously *uidi*) *harenosis Tatium proludere campis*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.106 (*taurus ... uentos ... lacessit*) *ictibus aut sparsa*

ad pugnam proludit harena (= *Geo.* 3.234), Cic. *de Orat.* 2.325 *ut ipsis sententiis, quibus proluserint, uel pugnare possint* (cf. also *prolusio ... Samnitium, qui uibrant hastas ante pugnam, quibus in pugnando nihil utuntur*), Ov. *Ars* 3.515 (of Cupid). For the frequent confusion *pro-* and *prae-*, see e.g. Hall on Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.162.

183 strauit: 'to overthrow (troops, etc.) in battle or war, defeat utterly' (*OLD* s.v. *sterno* 7b); cf. below 673, Verg. *Aen.* 10.310-1 *turmas inuasit agrestes / Aeneas ... strauitque Latinos.*

Neptunium ... iuuenem: one of Achilles' famous victims was Cycnus, a son of Poseidon/Neptune. Pindar begins the fifth strophe of his second Olympic ode with these lines about Achilles: 'who overthrew Hector, Troy's / unconquerable, steadfast / pillar, and consigned to death Cycnus / and the Ethiopian, child of Dawn' (Memnon, cf. above 10-1); at *Isthm.* 5.39-41 he mentions Cycnus together with Hector, Memnon, and Telephus. Ovid begins the description of their fight with the introduction (*Met.* 12.72-3) *iam leto proles Neptunia Cygnus / mille uiros dederat.*

184 cana nitentem ... coma: cf. *Ag.* 215 *niuea proles Cycnus aequorei dei,* with Tarrant's note referring to schol. *ad* Theocr. 16.49 (= Hesiod fr. 119) 'Hesiod says that he had a white head; therefore he obtained that name'. When Achilles had killed him, Cygnus by his father was changed into a swan (κύκνος); cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.144-5 *corpus deus aequoris albam / contulit in uolucrem, cuius modo nomen habebat.*

For the use of *canus* etc. for 'white', see on 73 *canuit*; cf. also the story of another Cycnus, turned into a swan, Ov. *Met.* 2.373-4 *cum uox est tenuata uiro canaeque capillos / dissimulant plumae.* One reason why Seneca has preferred the adjective here to *niueus* may be the paradox with *iuuenem*. For the appliance of *canus* (*OLD* s.v. 2) and *caneo* (*OLD* s.v. b) to white/grey hair, as characteristic of old age, cf. e.g. *Oed.* 555 (*senex*) *mortifera canam taxus adstringit comam*, *Phoen.* 440 *laniata canas mater ostendit comas*, *H.F.* 198 *cana senectus*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.192 *canentem ... senectam*, 5.416 *canebat ... senectus*. Sen. trag. has 12x *niueus*, 11x both *canus* and *candidus*, *albens* once at *Oed.* 94.

perculit: 'to strike or knock down' (*OLD* 1). The verb, in Sen. trag. found only here, is used e.g. of the felling of trees (Enn. *Ann.* 176 Sk = 188 V^2 *percellunt magnas quercus*), and of the striking down of living beings by arrows (Catul. 68.113-4 *certā Stymphalia monstra sagitta / perculit*), by the sword (Stat. *Theb.* 3.19-21 *sese culpat super omnia, qui non / orantem in mediis legatum coetibus ense / perculerit*), and by boxing (Verg. *Aen.* 5.374). In Ovid's account, however, the invulnerability of Cycnus is stressed (e.g. 12.91-2), and Achilles can only kill him by strangulation (12.140 ff.). In his prose, Seneca uses the verb always in a transferred sense (*OLD* 4 and 5), e.g. *Dial.* 3.12.1, 5.2.6, *Ep.* 99.18.

For the chiastic form: a b C B A, Wilkinson (1963) 216 suggests the term 'Silver Line'.

185 aut cum: for the variation *qualis* (182) ... *aut cum*, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.592-3 *quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flauo / argentum Pariusue lapis circumdatur auro*, 12.67-9 *Indum sanguineo ueluti uiolauerit ostro / si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa / alba rosa*, Ov. *Met.* 7.106-8 *utque solent pleni resonare camini, / aut ubi terrena silices fornace soluti / concipiunt ignem* [Vahlen, *Opusc. Acad.* II, Lipsiae 1908, 198 ff.].

cum inter: a similar elision occurs below 981, *Ag.* 139 *ut, cum hinc*, *Phae.* 651 *quis tum ille*, *Oed.* 28 *iam iam aliquid.*

Marte: for the common metonymy for 'war', cf. e.g. *Ag.* 921 *cecidit decenni Marte concussum Ilium*, *Oed.* 275 *aperto Marte* (Töchterle: "die Häufigkeit der Metonymie ... läßt das römische Kolorit verblassen").

furens: likewise of his son, Verg. *Aen.* 2.499-500 *furentem / ... Neoptolemum.*

186 amnes: unlike Vergil and Ovid (see Austin on *Aen.* 2.496), Sen. trag. uses *amnis* (18 times) more often than *flumen* (eight times) and *fluuius* (only once, *H.F.* 713). Hom. *Il.* 12.20 ff. names eight rivers flowing from Mt. Ida to the sea, of which Skamandros, furious about all the corpses in his stream, stood up against Achilles (*Il.* 21.136 ff.).

quaerens: 'seeking'. At *H.F.* 284, where the same line-ending *quaerens iter* is used, again of a blocked river, the meaning is rather 'obtaining, winning' (Fitch).

For the whole picture of these three lines, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5.806-8 (*cum Achilles*) *milia multa daret leto, gemerentque repleti / amnes nec reperire uiam atque euoluere posset / in mare se Xanthus*; for the use of the verb cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.801-2 *gelidusque per imas / quaerit iter uallis atque in mare conditur Vfens.*

187 tardus: of a river also at Ov. *Pont.* 4.10.50 *nullo tardior amne Tyras*; here the epithet is in contrast with *Phoen.* 609 *Xanthus ... niuibus Idaeis tumens.*

cruento: for the description of the river, cf. *Ag.* 214 *fluctusque Simois caede purpureos agens*; for the meaning of the adj., 'mixed with/consisting of blood'), cf. *Thy.* 700-1 *libata in ignes uina mutato fluunt / cruenta Baccho*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.632-3 *saniem eructans et frusta cruento / per somnum commixta mero*, Liv. 22.1.10. Similar pictures of rivers of blood are found in Enn. *scen.* 117-8 J (118-9 V[2]) *alia fluctus differt dissupat / uisceratim membra*, Acc. 153-4 Dangel (322-3 Ribbeck[2]) *cum Scamandriam undam salso sanctam obtexi sanguine / atque aceruos alta in amni corpore expleui hostico*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.87 *Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.2.42 *decolor ipse suo sanguine Rhenus erat* (see de Jonge's note), Luc. 7.789-90 *cernit propulsa cruore / flumina* [Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.33 *flumina*; Leigh, p. 295 f.].

Xanthus: Hom. *Il.* 20.73-4 'the great deep-eddying river, / whom the gods call Xanthos, but the mortals Skamandros', *Ag.* 213 *Xanthus armis corpora immixta aggerens.*

errauit: of the meandering of a river (*OLD* s.v. 2d), the verb is used e.g. Verg. *Geo.* 3.14-5 *tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat / Mincius,* Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.17-8 *ater flumine languido / Cocytos errans.* Here, as in *Med.* 584-6 *properatque torrens / Hister et iunctos uetat esse pontes / ac uagus errat,* and *Nat.* 4a.2.3 (*Nilus*) *ex uago et errante colligitur,* it rather denotes the flooding of the banks.

uado: likewise of the water of a river, e.g. *H.F.* 680 *placido quieta labitur Lethe uado, Med.* 727 (*Baetis*) *Hesperia pulsans maria languenti uado,* 762 *uiolenta Phasis uertit in fontem uada, Phae.* 1227 *Phlegethon nocentes igneo cingens uado.*

188 superbo: for the transfer of the adj., cf. below 829 *regnum Prothoi superbum, Ag.* 880 *Priami superbas corpore exuuias gerens, H.F.* 164 *superbos aditus regum, Ep.* 68.10 *pulsare superbas potentiorum fores,* Verg. *Geo.* 2.461 *foribus domus alta superbis,* Hor. *Epod.* 2.7-8 *superba ciuium / potentiorum limina* [Lausberg § 685.2 "die Eigentümer-Eigentum-Beziehung in der syntaktischen Umorientierung des Adjektivs, die modern *enallage adiectivi* oder *hypallage adiectivi* genannt wird"].

For the order of words *superbo ... in curru,* see on 45 *ipsas ... ad aras*; for the juxtaposition *superbo uictor,* see on 1 *magna potens.*

189 egit: 'to handle' (*OLD* s.v. *ago* 6c).

Hectorem et Troiam: repeats in a condensed form the idea expressed above 31 and 124-9. The scene has been described by Homer, *Il.* 22.395 ff., 24.14-21, and is mentioned by Ennius, *scen.* 78-9 J (100-1 V^2) *uidi, uidere quod me passa aegerrume, / Hectorem curru quadriiugo raptarier,* Vergil, *Aen.* 1.483, 2.272-3, and others. Scherer (1964) 88 has an Attic black-figured lekythos illustrating it.

190 impleuit omne litus: Hom. *Il.*18.219-20 compares the voice of Achilles with the call of a trumpet at a siege. The same line-opening is found below 1126.

irati: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.442 (of Achilles' apparition) *similisque minanti.* For the appliance of the adjective to a threatening person, cf. below 586 (*uictor*), 922 *iudicem* (sc. *Menelaum*), *Oed.* 519 *regis irati* (see Töchterle's note), *Ag.* 970 (Clytemestra), *Thy.* 180 (Atreus). The substantival use of *iratus* here has parallels in Tib. 2.1.74 *iratae* (sc. *puellae*), [3.]6.22 (see *ThLL* VII 2.374.57 ff.); cf. below 413 *ferus.*

sonus: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 113 'shouting'.

191-6 This insertion of Achilles' direct lines in Talthybius' report is clearly meant to enliven it and to increase its dramatic impact; Seneca will apply the device again below 452-6 (Hector addressing Andromache in her sleep). On the appliance of prosopopoeia to the dead, see Lausberg § 826, citing e.g. Quint. 9.2.31 *in hoc genere dicendi et inferos excitare concessum est*; by some theorists it is styled eidolopoeia. Cf. also below 802-6, 1134-6.

191 ite, ite: the emotional repetition here has a sarcastic tone, matching the untranslatable δή ('then') in Eur. *Hec.* 114-5 'Whither (then), Danaans, do you set out, leaving my tomb without its gift of honour?'

For this use of *i*(*te*), often with *nunc*, followed by another imperative, cf. e.g. below 1165, *H.F.* 89 *i nunc, superbe, caelitum sedes pete*, *Med.* 650 *ite nunc, fortes, perarate pontum*, 1007 *i nunc, superbe, uirginum thalamos pete*, *Oed.* 880 *i, perge, propero regiam gressu pete*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.381 *i, sequere Italiam uentis, pete regna per undas*, Juv. 6.306, 10.166-7 *i demens et saeuas curre per Alpes, / ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias*, 10.310 [see *OLD* s.v. *eo* 10b; E.B. Lease, *AJP* 19 (1898) 59-69; Canter, p. 137, 148; Fantham, p. 237].

inertes: 'skulks' (Boyle); cf. *Thy.* 176 (= *H.O.* 1721) *ignaue, iners, eneruis*, *Phoen.* 91-2 *dextra quid cessas iners / exigere poenas?*, 173 *inertem dexteram*, *Ag.* 550-1 *tene horream / aliena inerti tela iaculantem manu?*, Ov. *Met.* 7.332 (Medea to the daughters of Pelias) *quid nunc dubitatis inertes?*

debitos manibus meis: in my view, Zwierlein (1986) 86 f. properlly prefers the A reading. E's *manibus meis debitos* (small strokes, however, correct the wordorder) would involve an awkward synizesis *meis*, even harsher than the other instance in Sen. trag., *Thy.* 233 *saxeo* (on which see Leo [1878] 90). Zwierlein's other argument, that it provides a better antithesis ('tapfere Hände') with *inertes* than *mānibus* ('my shade'), seems less momentous to me; he refers to the combination of *iners* with *manus* at *Ag.* 551, and with *dextra* at *Phoen.* 91 and 173. For this meaning of *manus*, Zwierlein quotes *H.F.* 121-2 *scelere perfecto licet / admittat illas genitor in caelum manus*, V. Fl. 4.673 *rediere uiris animique manusque*; for the wording, he compares Ov. *Met.* 13.355 *indomitae <u>deberi</u> <u>praemia</u> <u>dextrae</u>*. The E reading probably has been influenced by Ov. *Met.* 13.448 *placet Achilleos mactata Polyxena manes*; cf. also below 292. Gronovius suggested *manibus iustos meis*, with a reference to *Med.* 999 *coniunx socerque iusta iam functis habent.*

192 honores: 'honours, rewards' (*OLD* s.v. 2c), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5.249 *ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores* (the prizes for the various contests), 5.308 *omnibus hic erit unus honos*, 1.253 *hic pietatis honos?* In view of Achilles' demand in 195-6 (esp. *mactetur*), it should be noted that the word is also used for 'sacrificial offerings', e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.48-9 *quisquam numen Iunonis adorat / praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?*, 3.118 *meritos aris mactauit honores* (with Williams' note).

ingratas: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.445-6 (Achilles) *'immemores' que 'mei disceditis', inquit 'Achiui, / obrutaque est mecum uirtutis gratia nostrae?'* For the metonymy, cf. below 1167 *secura classis*, *Phae.* 530 *credulae ... rates*, *Ag.* 173 *impias ... rates.*

193 nostra: see on 176 *suum.*

non paruo: according to H-Sz 129, *paruo* and *magno* are here for the first time used as abl. pretii. (with *luit*). The words refer, of course, to Hom. *Il.* 1.2 'which put pains thousandfold upon the Achaians' (transl. Lattimore).

luit: perf. 'has atoned for' (*OLD* s.v. 2). For this meaning of the verb, cf. e.g. *Oed.* 940-1 *quid ipsi, quae tuum magna luit / scelus ruina, flebili patriae dabis?*, *Med.* 822 (of Prometheus) *qui furta luit uiscere feto*, 930 (Medea of her children) *quod scelus miseri luent?*; the sense 'suffer, pay' (*OLD* 1) is found, for instance, at *Med.* 146-7 *solus hic poenas luat, / quas debet*, *Oed.* 222 *quem memoret ede Phoebus, ut poenas luat*, *Ag.* 1008 *ut paria fata Troicis lueret malis.*

194 iras Achillis: Hom. *Il.* 1.1 'the anger ... of Peleus' son Achilles'. Like Vergil (see Austin on *Aen.* 2.381, 4.197, Fordyce on *Aen.* 7.445), Sen. trag. very rarely uses the singular acc. of *ira*; it is only found in *Med.* 943-4 *ira pietatem fugat / iramque pietas*, and *Ag.* 260-1 *quid me rursus in praeceps agis / iramque flammis iam residentem incitas?*. The plur. acc., however, occurs no less than eighteen times (in *Tro.* again at 730, 834). Metrical convenience (often, as here, the singular would involve synaloephe) may account for it.

The use of the nominative offers a completely different picture: the sing. 21x (in *Tro.* 280 and 672), the plur. only twice, *Phae.* 355 *ueteres cedunt ignibus irae* and *Oed.* 711-2 *ueteres deum / irae secuntur.* As for the other cases, the plur. gen. occurs twice, *Thy.* 26 *nec sit irarum modus* and 509 *quidquid irarum fuit*, the sing. also, *Med.* 394 *irae nouimus ueteris notas* and *Phae.* 1207 *tuque semper, genitor, irae facilis assensor meae*; the dat. and abl. are only found in the sing., 4x and 18x respectively.

Graecia: the Latin version of *Hellas* (Plin. *Nat.* 4.23), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.287 *uersis lugeret Graecia fatis*, Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.156 *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit.* With the one exception of *Ag.* 942 *uos Graecia nunc teste*, Sen. trag. always uses the word in the same place in the iambic trimeter; see below 319, *Phoen.* 325 *in bella cunctos Graeciae populos agit*, 627 *licet omne tecum Graeciae robur trahas*, *Med.* 226 *decus illud ingens Graeciae et florem inclitum*, *Ag.* 182 *inter ruentis Graeciae stragem ultimam* (see Tarrant's note for the use of the word by other poets), 220 *ultrix inultum Graecia hoc facinus feret?*

luet: for the paronomasia *luit ... luet*, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 266-7 *quae fecit et — fas sit loqui — / fortasse faciet*, 590-1 *potuit ... poterit*, *Thy.* 551 *quos amor uerus tenuit, tenebit* (see Wills, p. 301 f. for a list of instances from other authors).

195 desponsa: see on 59; cf. *Ag.* 640 (Polyxena) *Haemonio desponsa rogo.*

nostris: the use of the metrically convenient pluralis maiestatis (see on 83 *nostri*) contributes to the solemn character of the line; note *desponsa nostris cineribus Polyxene.* The absence of a monosyllable or dissyllable also adds to it.

cineribus: the use of the plural for the ashes of an individual is first found at Verg. *Aen.* 4.427 *nec patris Anchisae cineres manisue reuelli* (see Paul Maas, *ALL* 12.515; W. Schink, *De Romanorum plurali poetico*, Diss. Jena 1911, 40 f.). In *Troades* it occurs again at 288 and 375; the sing. is found below 295, 502, 638, 643, 648, 677, 811, 943, 957.

Polyxene: see on 66 *Ide*. Seneca uses only the form *Polyxenē* in this play (again 367 and 942), never *Polyxenă* (according to Giardina's *app. crit.*, E^2 here seems to have altered it to *Polyxena*, though).

As for the metre, "Seneca und Petron haben es strikt vermieden, den fünften Fuß durch ein iambisches Wort oder iambischen Wortschluß auszufüllen. Für Catull und die augusteischen Dichter galt eine solche Regel nicht [...]. Seneca und Petron haben fast stets lange 5. Senkung auch bei Ausfüllung des letzten Metrums durch ein viersilbiges Wort (Seneca unter 76 Fällen nur 5mal mit Kürze)", Crusius-Rubenbauer, p. 77. This is one out of five exceptions; the other four: 1080 *cacumine*, *Med.* 512 *nepotibus*, 709 *Promethei*, *Thy.* 115 *Phoronides* (in *H.O.* 804 *Capherides*). Note the effective juxtaposition *Polyxene / Pyrrhi*.

In this play, this is the first instance of a trimeter consisting of only four words; such lines are found again below 215, 222, 363, 367.

196 mactetur: the verb, probably derived from the root *mag-* (cf. *magnus, magis*), originally denotes 'to honour', and is so used at Enn. *Ann.* 299 Sk (301 V^2) *Liuius inde redit magno mactatus triumpho* (from the note of Servius [auctus] ad Verg. *Aen.* 9.641 '*mactus*'), Acc. *Didasc.* 2-3 D (8 Morel) *patera Nestorem mactauit / aurea* (from Nonius, 341.23 '*mactare*'), Cic. *Rep.* 1.67 *eos ... ferunt laudibus et mactant honoribus*. Honouring of the gods can be done with sacrifices (*OLD* 1b), e.g. Cic. *Vat.* 14 *puerorum extis deos manis mactare* (cf. Latte, p. 45 f.). The verb also acquired the ironical inverted sense 'to afflict, vex' (*OLD* 2), e.g. Enn. *scen.* 287 J (= 333 V^2) *qui illum di deaeque magno mactassint malo*, and in phrases like *mactare aliquem infortunio* (Pl. *Amph.* 1034, *Curc.* 537, Ter. *Ph.* 1028). At an early stage, it underwent - like *donare* - a change of construction, the offering becoming the direct object: *OLD* 3 '(w. dat.) to offer sacrificially (to a god)'); cf. Cato *Agr.* 134.2 *fertum Ioui <om>moueto et mactato sic*, Pacuv. *trag.* 289 R^2 *coniugem macto inferis*.

The meaning 'to slay (a victim) sacrificially, sacrifice' (*OLD* 4), mentioned as the first one in LS (with a referrence to Sanscr. makh, mah, *intens.* mâmahyata 'to slaughter, sacrifice' and maha 'victim'), prevails in Seneca's tragedies, esp. of human sacrifices: *H.F.* 922-4 *uictima haut ulla amplior / potest magisque opima mactari Ioui, / quam rex iniquus*, 1040-2 (Amphitryon to Hercules) *stat ecce ad aras hostia, expectat manum / ceruice prona; praebeo, occurro, insequor: / macta*, below 248, 361, 943, 1063, *Ag.* 218-9 (Nutrix to Clytemestra) *hunc domi reducem paras / mactare et aras caede maculare impia*. Ovid likewise uses the verb for the sacrifice of Iphigenia (*Met.* 13.185) and of Polyxena (*Met.* 13.448). The sense 'to kill, slay' (*OLD* s.v. 5), without this ritual context, is found e.g. at *Oed.* 18 *est maius aliquod patre mactato nefas?*, *Med.* 644-5 *fratrem, Meleagre, matris / impius mactas*, *Dial.* 5.16.2, Verg. *Aen.* 10.413 [on Vergil's use of the word and for literature on it, see Austin on *Aen.* 4.57; Fordyce on 7.93; Eden on 8.85].

riget: 'to make wet, drench, soak' (*OLD* s.v. 2); same line-ending below 288 *tumuloque donum detur et cineres riget* (note the similar placing of both verbs and of the alliterative words). Elsewhere in Sen. trag. the verb is used of wetting with water (*H.F.* 334, *Med.* 211), or with tears (see below on 411 *rigatis*); for the appliance to blood, cf. the use of *irrigare* at *Phoen.* 164, *Oed.* 346, *Thy.* 44.

197 haec fatus: cf. *Oed.* 935 *haec fatus aptat impiam capulo manum* (in Sen. trag. no more occurrences of the participle), Verg. *Aen.* 10.451 *fatus medium procedit in aequor*. Other forms of the verb in Sen. trag. are the imperative (13x, in *Troades* 927, 933, 935), the infinitive (7x, in *Tro.* 573), *fatur* (*Oed.* 626), *fabor* (*Phae.* 885), *fando* (*Med.* 281), *fatu* (*Oed.* 293, *Ag.* 416). The verb does not occur in his prose.

alta: (of darkness, fog, etc.) 'thick, dense, dark' (*OLD* s.v. 10a); cf. e.g. *Phoen.* 143-4 (Oedipus) *sceleri haec meo / parum alta nox est*, *Ag.* 726-7 *fugit lux alma et obscurat genas / nox alta et aether abditus tenebris latet*, *Thy.* 51 *nox alta fiat, excidat caelo dies*, *Nat.* 1.16.6 *quibus abscondendis nulla satis alta nox est*, Sen. *Suas.* 1.1 *confusa lux alta caligine*. In other passages, e.g. *Med.* 729 *alta nocte*, V. Fl. 2.288 *altae per opaca silentia noctis*, Apul. *Met.* 1.17 *alta nocte*, 2.25 *nox altior*, the adj. rather denotes the moment of the night: 'deep' (*OLD* 10b).

nocte: 'nocturnal darkness' (*OLD* s.v. 4). Jac. Gronovius, Herrmann and Miller preferred *haec fatus alta uoce*, the reading of some younger MSS; as a (superfluous) repetition of line 190 this reading seems less likely. In its sense 'deep, loud' (*OLD* 9a), the adj. is combined with *uox* only at Catul. 42.18 *conclamate iterum altiore uoce*, with other nouns e.g. Sen. *Oed.* 922 *altum murmur*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.95 *gemitu ... alto*.

diuisit: with Thomann ('durchbrach er'), Caviglia ('fendette'), Ahl and Boyle ('shattered'), I think that this unanimous reading of the best MSS is correct; the use of the verb in Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.5-6 *Diespiter / igni corusco nubila diuidens* is for me the key to this much disputed line. Parallel to the outbursts of nature before his appearance (171 ff.), Achilles as an introduction to his disappearance has a beam of darkness divide the clear sky on this spot: the opposite of a flash of lightning through a dark night. Or, to make a comparison to the theater: just as an entering actor can be caught in a beam of light, so Achilles leaving the stage is wrapped in thick darkness (as of the underworld).

For the conception of enmity between ghosts and day(light), cf. *Ag.* 56 (Thyestes' ghost) *Phoebum moramur. redde iam mundo diem*, and Verg. *Aen.* 5.738-9 (the apparition of Anchises to Aeneas) *iamque uale; torquet medios Nox umida cursus / et me saeuus equis Oriens adflauit anhelis*, with Williams' note, quoting the Ghost in *Hamlet* (1.5.58-9): 'But soft! Methinks I scent the morning air; / Brief let me be.' In this respect, the Sthenelus passage, V. Fl. 5.593-4 *atque ea uixdum / uisa uiris atra nox protinus abstulit umbra*, quoted on 181 *emicuit*, provides a good parallel too.

Fantham turns down this spatial sense of *diuisit.* She suggests that his cleaving the daylight perhaps can be taken as "severing the continuity of daylight by a moment of supernatural darkness", comparing the eclipse invoked at *Thy.* 777 *medioque ruptum merseris caelo diem.* Schenkl (1894) 238 had defended the text similarly: "verum ego non offendor hoc verbo, quo nisi fallor apte significatur diem subito nocte exorta tamquam in dimidias partes dispertitum esse", citing with approval Var. *R.R.* 1.2.5 *aestiuum diem si non diffinderem meo insiticio somno meridie,* referred to by Baden. Although the actual result of this view is rather similar (cf. the ambiguity of 393 *spatium per breue*), the spatial sense prevails for me.

Zwierlein prefers *dimisit,* the reading of some late manuscripts that was also upheld by Jac. Gronovius and Miller ('he bade farewell to day'). In his first treatment of the passage, (1969 *Ph*) 256 f., he had stated that the line should contain a reference to the return of the sun, in line with the peaceful picture of 199-202. He reached his imagined rough translation 'führte er den Tag aus der Nacht heraus, entließ er den Tag aus der Nacht', by considering *nocte* an abl. separ. (cf. *ThLL* V 1207.54 ff.). According to Fantham, p. 239, he later believed *nocte* could not be correct and preferred *uoce dimisit* with the *recentiores.* In (1986) 87-89, Zwierlein took *dimittere* as 'fahren lassen', 'ablassen von', 'aufgeben', 'preisgeben' (cf. *ThLL* V 1214.32 ff. and *Thy.* 888 *dimitto superos*); in addition, he proposed *alto monte* (with *haec fatus*) instead of *alta nocte,* comparing the description of Achilles' tomb at 1148-50 (... *ardui / sublime montis ... alte edito / ... uertice in busti*) and the variants *noctibus* (E) and *montibus* (A) at *Phae.* 444. In *Hermes* 119 (1991) 119-121, Zwierlein has defended *nocte dimisit* anew, taking *alta nocte* ('um den Preis der tiefen Nacht' / 'zugunsten der tiefen Nacht der Unterwelt') as an abl. instr. (here = abl. pretii) on the analogy of *mutare aliquid aliqua re* (*ThLL* VIII 1726.60 ff.) and *exuere.* As a consequence, he has printed it in the revised *OCT*-edition, replacing † *alta nocte diuisit* †.

Fitch, *AJP* 107 (1986) 270 f., defending *diuisit,* thinks that the line means that Achilles 'separated the daylight (of the upper world) from the deep darkness (of the nether world)'. In a second contribution, *CP* 84 (1989) 246 f., he has added that this compressed statement is expanded more prosaically in the following lines (198-9), in accordance with Seneca's style of stating a new idea first in a compressed, even allusive way, and then expanding it by further (often coordinate) clauses; as instances he adduces *Ag.* 489-90, 497-8, *H.F.* 664-7, 816-7.

To Watt (1989) 332 f., Zwierlein's suggestion *alto monte* (= *tumulo*) is "quite unconvincing". Like Fitch, he feels that *alta nocte* means the underworld; in his view, *diuisit* should be changed to e.g. *mutauit* (cf. *Thy.* 298) or *permutat* (cf. *Oed.* 605): "it is possible that the first two letters of *diuisit* arose by anticipation of *diem.*" *Mutauit* or *iam uitans* was also suggested by Leo. Other proposed emendations: Karsten *deuicit,* Peiper-Richter *demersit,* Brakman (1928) 153 *iam clusit* .

diem: 'the light of day' (*OLD* s.v. 2a); see on 21.

198 Ditem: 'the Rich one', Gk *Ploutōn*, (the ruler of) the underworld, occurring again below 432, 723, and another twenty times in Seneca's other tragedies (always simply *Dis*). Other writers style him *Dis pater*, for instance Enn. *uar.* 78 V² *Pluto Latine est Dis pater, alii Orcum uocant*, Cic. *N.D.* 2.66 *Diti patri*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.84 *Ditem patrem*. In Sen. trag., *Pluton* is only found at *Phae.* 628 (three times in *H.O.*); the name *Orcus* he does not use at all.

mersus: '(of the earth) to swallow up, engulf' (*OLD* s.v. *mergo* 5b); cf. *Phae.* 219-21 *non umquam amplius / conuexa tetigit supera qui mersus semel / adiit silentem nocte perpetua domum*, *H.F.* 422 *animosne mersus inferis coniunx facit?*, 673-4 *hinc ampla uacuis spatia laxantur locis, / in quae omne mersum pergat humanum genus*, *Thy.* 1006-8 *sustines tantum nefas / gestare, Tellus? non ad infernam Styga / te nosque mergis rupta ...?*, Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.52 *notus humo mersis Amphiaraus equis*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.818-9 *transire parantes / mergit equos*, *Silu.* 3.1.24 *mersum tumulis*, Prud. *Cath.* 9.18 *merserat quem lex profundo noxialis tartaro.*

199 coeunte terra: the abl. abs. abundantly repeats *specum ... iunxit*, cf. *Phae.* 745-6 *cum suos ignes coeunte cornu / iunxit* (sc. *Phoebe*), *H.F.* 992 *uastum coactis flexit arcum cornibus*. The verb is used in a similar context in Stat. *Theb.* 7.820-2 *rectos defert in Tartara currus / respexitque cadens caelum campumque coire / ingemuit.*

iunxit: 'joined the edges of, closed up' (*OLD* s.v. 2c), the opposite of 178 *aperit*. For this sense of the verb, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.1 *iunctas ... fenestras*, Juv. 9.105 *iunge ostia.*

immoti: with *pelagi*; the E reading *immota* with the subj. *tranquilla* is metrically impossible.

iacent: 'to remain motionless, lie still; (of the sea) to be or become calm' (*OLD* s.v. 8); cf. *H.F.* 686 *palus inertis foeda Cocyti iacet*, *Ag.* 449 *iacente ... salo*, *Nat.* 6.20.7 *palustres et iacentes aquas*, Ov. *Met.* 11.747 *tunc iacet unda maris*, Luc. 3.524, 5.434, Stat. *Theb.* 7.87. For the abundant wording with *immoti* and *tranquilla*, cf. for instance *Thy.* 1020 *immota, tellus, pondus ignauum iaces?*, *Nat.* 7.22.1 *nubes ... numquam inmotae iacent.*

200 tranquilla: neut. plur. adj. as subst., 'calm waters'; cf. *Thy.* 959-60 *instat nautis fera tempestas, / cum sine uento tranquilla tument.* The sing. is found e.g. *Ep.* 85.34 *tranquillo enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.127 *tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda.* This use of the neut. plur., in combination with a genitive, is a favourite device in Lucretius, e.g. 5.35 *pelagique seuera*, 5.417 *pontique profunda*, 2.1100 *caeli serena*, 6.96 *caerula caeli*, 1.86 *prima uirorum*; with a participle instead of an adjective, 4.361 *saxorum structa*, 4.415 *strata uiarum*. It is also found in other poets: Enn. *Ann.* 84 Sk (= 89 V²) *infera noctis*, Catul. 63.16 *truculenta ... pelagi*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.81 *pelagi ... alta*, 2.332 *angusta uiarum*; in prose, notably Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus make use of it.

abiecit: *OLD* s.v. *abicio* 6b lists this passage as a poetical variation of *arma abicere*, 'to throw away or lay down one's arms, stop fighting'; *ThLL* I 87.23 classifies it = *remoueo, expello*.

minas: often of natural forces (*OLD* s.v. 1c); cf. *Phae*. 936, 1130 *Boreae minas*, *Oed*. 604 *gelidi Strymonis ... minas*, *Thy*. 291 *gurgitis tumidi minas*, *Ep*. 14.8 *Austri minas*, Lucr. 5.1003 (*mare*) *leuiterque minas ponebat inanis*, Verg. *Aen*. 6.113 *atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat*, Prop. 3.10.6 *ponat et in sicco molliter unda minas*, Tib. 2.3.46 *hibernas ... minas* (see Murgatroyd's note).

201 placidum: '(of weather, the sea, and other natural phenomena) favourable, calm, tranquil' (*OLD* 3); cf. *Phae*. 1010 *placidum .. pelagus*, *H.F.* 680 *placido quieta labitur Lethe uado*, Lucr. 2.559 *subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti*, Verg. *Ecl*. 2.26 *cum placidum uentis staret mare*.

fluctu ... leni: for the use of the abl. (about = *leniter*), cf. below 1122 *leni ... fluctu*, 847 *segnibus ... undis*.

murmurat: the verb is placed similarly in *Phae*. 514 *fugiente dulcis murmurat riuo sonus*, where the disposition of the epithets and nouns offers the so-called 'golden' pattern a b C B A. In this line, we have the chiastic pattern a B C b A (cf. above 21 *ater fauilla squalet Iliaca dies*).

Passages like Cic. *Tusc*. 5.116 *fremitum murmurantis maris*, Verg. *Aen*. 10.212 *spumea ... murmurat unda*, *Aen*. 1.124-5 *interea magno misceri murmure pontum / emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus*, Ov. *Tr*. 1.11.7 *fera murmura ponti*, Prop. 1.8.5 *uesani murmura ponti*, Luc. 2.701-2 *murmure uasto ... sonuit mare*, make clear that the verb and the noun denote both 'rumble, roar' (*OLD* 1) and 'murmur' (*OLD* 2); therefore, the words *placidum ... fluctu ... leni* are not superfluous but have a similar function as *paruae uocis* in Ov. *Met*. 12.49-51 *nec tamen est clamor, sed paruae murmura uocis: / qualia de pelagi, si quis procul audiat, undis / esse solent*.

202 Tritonum: Hes. *Th*. 930-4 informs us that Amphitrite and Poseidon were the parents of Triton; with his father and mother he lives in a golden house on the bottom of the sea, 'a frightening god'. In Verg. *Aen*. 1.144-5 *Cymothoe simul et Triton adnixus acuto / detrudunt nauis scopulo; leuat ipse tridenti*, he turns up as an assistant to his father (*ipse*) in freeing the ships that had run aground. We meet him again, *Aen*. 6.171 ff., when Misenus has had the folly of challenging him on his special instrument, the sea-shell (*concha*): *sed tum, forte caua dum personat aequora concha, / demens, et cantu uocat in certamina diuos, / aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est, / inter saxa uirum spumosa immerserat unda*. He appears a third time, as a conveyer of Aulestes, *Aen*. 10.209-11 *hunc uehit immanis Triton et caerula concha / exterrens freta, cui laterum tenus hispida nanti / frons hominem praefert, in pristim desinit aluos*. He plays an honourable part in Ovid's story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, when his father (*Met*. 1.333-5) *caeruleum Tritona uocat conchaeque sonanti / inspirare iubet fluctusque et flumina signo / iam reuocare dato*.

The Tritons are mentioned as companions of Poseidon by Moschus in his poem on the rapture of Europa, 2.122-4 (another bitter moment for a wedding-song!) 'and the Tritons gathering about him took their long taper shells and sounded the marriage-music like some clarioners of the main' (transl. Edmonds, Loeb). They are mentioned once by Vergil, *Aen.* 5.824 *Tritones ... citi*, and by Statius, *Ach.* 1.54-5 *hiemes uentique silent* (at Nereus' appearance) *cantuque quieto / armigeri Tritones eunt.* Apul. *Met.* 4.31 describes them in Venus' retinue: *iam passim maria persultantes Tritonum cateruae hic concha sonaci leniter bucinat, ille serico tegmine flagrantiae solis obsistit inimici, alius sub oculis dominae speculum progerit, curru biiuges alii subnatant.*

hymenaeum: 'the (Greek) wedding-refrain' (*OLD*). In Sen. trag., the noun occurs with the same meaning in *Med.* 116 (another painful moment!) *occidimus: aures pepulit hymenaeus meas*; see Costa's instructive notes on 56-115 and 67-70, mentioning as an example Eur. *Tro.* 307-40, where Cassandra, assigned to Agamemnon, sings her own *hymenaeus.* Cf. also Catul. 62.4 *iam ueniet uirgo, iam dicetur hymenaeus*, Pl. *Cas.* 799 *suaui cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam hymenaeo mi*, Apul. *Met.* 4.26 *domus tota lauris obsita taedis lucida constrepebat hymenaeum.* For the use of the internal acc. with *cecinit*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.215 *ecce canunt Hymenaeon*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.7.87-8 *et uestros hymenaeon ante postis / festis cantibus ipsa personabo.* Sen. trag. uses the word two more times: at *Med.* 300 *uocat precari festus Hymenaeo dies*, of the god (*OLD* 1b); at *Phoen.* 262-3 *proloqui hymenaeum pudet / taedasque nostras*, with the notion 'marriage' (*OLD* 2), like *hymen* below 861 and 895. The noun is absent from his prose.

chorus: 'band'; cf. e.g. *Med.* 93 *haec cum femineo constitit in choro, Phae.* 106 *Atthidum ... choris, Oed.* 446 *Nereidumque choris, Ag.* 454 (of dolphins) *nunc prima tangens rostra lasciuit chorus*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.239-40 *eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis / Nereidum Phorcique chorus*, 10.219.

The effect of the manifold words describing the peaceful sea is notably strengthened by the assonance (esp. *murmurat ... mare)* and the structure (*placidumque ... mare, Tritonum ... chorus*) of these last lines, to which the rhythm of *cecinit hymenaeum* adds a peculiar touch; they contrast sharply with the foregoing and the following events.

For the *sumpatheia* of Nature in the whole scene, cf. e.g. *Thy.* 106-11 *iam tuum maestae pedem / terrae grauantur: cernis ut fontis liquor / introrsus actus linquat, ut ripae uacent / uentusque raras igneus nubes ferat? / pallescit omnis arbor ac nudus stetit / fugiente pomo ramus ...* up to (120-1) *en ipse Titan dubitat an iubeat sequi / cogatque habenis ire periturum diem*, 696 *lucus tremescit, Ag.* 53-6 (Thyestes' shade at the end of the prologue) *sed cur repente noctis aestiuae uices / hiberna longa spatia producunt mora, / aut quid cadentes detinet stellas polo? / Phoebum moramur. redde iam mundo diem*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.167-8 *fulsere ignes et conscius aether / conubiis, summoque ulularunt uertice Nymphae.*

On *sumpatheia*, see Th.G. Rosenmeyer, *Senecan Drama and Stoic Cosmology*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1989, 107-112; cf. also Regenbogen (1961) 437 on the *Thy.*-passage: "Wenn im Thyestes der Wald, die Quelle, der gespenstische Hain geschildert wird, so ist das mehr als eine Ekphrasis gewöhnlichen Schlages. Sie ist es natürlich auch, dazu bestimmt, dem grausigen Geschehen den düsteren Hintergrund zu geben. Aber Hintergrund und Geschehen sind nicht zwei voneinander getrennte Dinge: die Schauer des Geschehens vibrieren hinüber in das Umgebende, die Natur stimmt ein in Schmerz und Qual."

R.B. Steele (1922) 6, looking for contemporary allusions in these tragedies, goes so far as to see in this passage, as in e.g. *H.F.* 125 *iam rara micant sidera*, *Phae.* 580-2 *ut dura cautes undique intractabilis / resistit undis et lacessentes aquas / longe remittit*, a result of Seneca's long exile in Corsica.

After he has finished his speech, Talthybius may either leave the stage or fade away in the background, as the attention is now drawn by Agamemnon and Pyrrhus; the chorus of Greek soldiers remains on the stage (see below on 337 *his*). At *Med.* 890, *Phae.* 1122, *Oed.* 979, there is a similar vagueness about the leaving of the *nuntius*.

Scene 2 (**203-359**). Without any announcement Pyrrhus and Agamemnon appear, arguing about Achilles' demand. Pyrrhus' opening line suggests that their conversation has already gone on for a while; in the preceding part, Agamemnon may have countered Pyrrhus' reproach: 'Why haven't you given my father his reward?', with the simple excuse: 'I was so happy we finally could set sail, that I had completely forgotten.'

The scene shows the 'Passion-Restraint' pattern (Herington), which is characteristic of Senecan tragedy in general, and of Act II in particular: one character is filled with passionate emotion, while the other tries to exercise a restraining influence. The person attempting restraint usually is a servant (*Med.* 150, 380; at *Phae.* 129 and *Ag.* 125 a *nutrix*; at *Thy.* 204 a *satelles*), but here and at *H.F.* 309 ff., 1186 ff. it is a named character.

Furthermore, the scene abounds with associations - another feature of Senecan drama - like the quarrel between Pyrrhus' father and Agamemnon (likewise about a girl, a gift of honour for Achilles), and the offering of Agamemnon's daughter.

Apart from book A of the *Iliad*, various sources for the scene have been mentioned: Soph. *Ajax* (1047-1162, 1223-1315), *Polyxena*, Eur. *Andromache* (577-746), *Hecuba* (251 ff.), and Ovid, *Met.* 13.1-381. In my opinion, it handles such a common theme that it is hard to prove that one single passage would serve as a model for Seneca. As Dingel, 'Senecas Tragödien: Vorbilder und poetische Aspekte', *ANRW* II.32.2 (1985) 1070, concludes for *Troades* as a whole: "Keine der vollständig erhaltenen oder in Fragmenten kenntlichen antiken Tragödien läßt sich als unmittelbares Vorbild Senecas erweisen, keine läßt sich ausschließen."

Seidensticker, putting the scene on a level with the ἀγών-scheme of the Greek tragedians (especially Euripides): two long speeches, followed by stichomythy and an irregular ending, makes the following summary:

1. Pyrrhus claims the offer	203-249
2. Agamemnon refuses the offer	250-291
3. 'Gesprächsverdichtung'	
a) personal insults/attacks	292-326
b) 'gnomische Grundsatzdiskussion'	327-336
c) personal insults/attacks	337-352

He characterizes the weapons of Pyrrhus and Agamemnon with the words 'die persönliche Beleidigung' and 'die Gnome', and sees each of them lose ground when trying to take over the opponent's weapon.

The speeches of the two adversaries, trying to convince the other, are genuine *suasoriae* after the tradition and models of the rhetorical school.

[W. Steidle (1941) 266-284; K. Anliker (1960) 64-67; W. Schetter (1972) 234 f.; C.J. Herington (1966) 453 f.; B. Seidensticker (1969) 57 ('Streit-Stichomythien'), 163-179; E. Fantham (1982) 240-242; J. Dingel (1974) 92 f., (1985) 1087-1094]

203-228 *Pyrrhus enumerates the exploits of his father Achilles in preparation for the capture of Troy.*

203 laeta: for the transferred use of the adj., cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.707 *limina laeta*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.15-6 *laetam ... aulam*, V. Fl. 1.170-1 *laeta recurret / cum ratis* (sc. Argo), 2.110 *laeta mari tum signa refert*; similarly above 192 *ingratas rates*.

pelago: primarily dative with *dares*, but by the order of words closely attached to *laeta ... uela* as well; for this placing, cf. 3 *rebus ... laetis*, 217 *cruore regio*.

uela ... dares: 'to expose one's sails to the wind' (*OLD* s.v. *uelum* 2a); cf. below 1044, *Oct.* 969-70 *date uela fretis / uentisque*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.34-5 *uix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum / uela dabant laeti*, 3.9 *pater Anchises dare fatis uela iubebat*, Liv. 24.36.7 *uelis in altum datis ... transmisit*, Ov. *Ep.* 15.122. The variant *uela facere* (*OLD* 2b) occurs e.g. *H.F.* 869-70, *Ag.* 171.

rediturus: for the use of the part. fut., describing the motivation of the subject, cf. e.g. *Phoen.* 24-5 *mater insiluit freto / mersura natum seque*, *Ben.* 7.21.1 *post aliquot dies uenit ad tabernam redditurus*, *Ep.* 65.6 *si uenditurus fabricauit* (R. Westman, *Das Futurpartizip als Ausdrucksmittel bei Seneca*, Helsinki-Helsingfors 1961, 94). Quite different is the use below 494 *redituro*, *Med.* 631-2 (Orpheus) *contigit notam Styga Tartarumque, / non rediturus*.

204 excidit: 'was forgotten' (*OLD* 9b). Cf. below 714, *Med.* 561 *excidimus tibi?*, *Ep.* 27.5 *huic memoria tam mala erat ut illi nomen modo Vlixis excideret, modo Achillis, modo Priami, quos tam bene nouerat quam paedagogos nostros nouimus*; likewise of a person, Ov. *Ep.* 2.105 *tibi excidimus*, *H.O.* 367 *Auge ... excidit*, 1332, Tac. *Hist.* 2.76 *an excidit trucidatus Corbulo?* With *animo*, it is found in Verg. *Aen.* 1.25-6 *necdum etiam causae irarum saeuique dolores / exciderant animo*.

Pyrrhus repeats Agamemnon's excuse in a bitter, scornful tone, like Achilles' *ingratas* above 192. Bentley's question-mark at the end of 206 does not seem to be an improvement; of the two parallels cited by Zwierlein (1986) 89, *Med.* 560-1 has *excidimus* preceded by a real question *itane est?*, and *H.F.* 26 is uncertain.

For the use of a single dactylic word at the beginning of the trimeter, cf. e.g. below 808 *funere*, 809 *oscula*, 1101 *concipit*, *H.F.* 995 *uulnere*, 1163 *Hercule*.

cuius unius manu: a striking contrast with the version offered by Strophius, *Ag.* 920-1, complimenting his friend Agamemnon, *cuius impulsum manu / cecidit decenni Marte concussum Ilium*.

unius: comparable to the Trojan view of Hector as the sole real defender of the city (e.g. above 128-9) is Pyrrhus' boast of his father as the only person responsible for its capture. He had dealt such blows (esp. by killing Hector) that his death was no more than some delay for Troy; its fall was inevitable.

205 impulsa: 'to push (so as to knock down), overthrow' (*OLD* 5); cf. *Ag.* 920 (cited on 204 *cuius unius manu*), *Ep.* 56.13 *urbis inpulsae fragor, Dial.* 2.6.2 *inter flammas et sanguinem stragemque inpulsae ciuitatis*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.464-5 (*turrim*) *conuellimus altis / sedibus impulimusque*, Liv. 23.24.7 *arbores ita inciderunt, ut inmotae starent, momento leui impulsae occiderent*, Luc. 10.60 *impulit.*

The two half-lines *corruit tandem solo / breui repensans* between *Troia* and *quidquid* in the A-tradition, were athetized by Gronovius as soon as he read the Florentine manuscript. It also corrected the placing of *Scyros fretumque Lesbos Aegeum secans*; see also Zwierlein (1976) 182, (1979) 172, (1984) 11, 41.

quidquid ... morae: for *quidquid* with part. gen. (*OLD* s.v. *quisquis* 2b; K-S 1.429 f.), cf. above 33 *quidquid aduersi*, *H.F.* 654-5 *quidquid ... pauoris*, Pl. *Rud.* 1009 *quidquid umoris*, Caes. *Ciu.* 3.82.2 *quidquid ... temporis.*

adiecit: sc. *Troia*. Richter's *accessit* was taken over by both Miller and Herrmann (this as an addition to Fantham's note).

206 dubia ... stetit: for other instances in Sen. trag. of *dubitatio* ascribed to non-human entities, cf. *Thy.* 696-8 *tota succusso solo / nutauit aula, dubia quo pondus daret / ac fluctuanti similis*, 723-5 *educto stetit / ferro cadauer, cumque dubitasset diu / hac parte an illa caderet, in patruum cadit*, *Ag.* 140 *incerta dubitat unda cui cedat malo*, *H.F.* 683-5 *qualis incertis uagus / Maeander undis ludit et cedit sibi / instatque dubius litus an fontem petat.* In his prose, it occurs at *Nat.* 6.1.2 *nam et Herculanensis oppidi pars ruit, dubieque stant etiam quae relicta sunt*, 6.9.2 *aut, cum diu dubitauerunt.* Two instances from other poets: Ov. *Met.* 10.372-4 *utque securi / saucia trabs ingens, ubi plaga nouissima restat, / quo cadat, in dubio est*, Luc. 3.589 *et stetit incertus, flueret quo uulnere, sanguis.*

207 licet: with subj. (*uelis ... properes*) 'although, even if'; again below 1018. Sen. trag. uses *licet* as a conjunction some 24x (*H.O.* has it 10x). Vergil and Horace have only two and five occurrences respectively; on Ovid's use of it, see e.g. Bömer on *Met.* 3.193. Statius prefers *licet* in the epics and *quamuis* in the *Siluae*; see van Dam, p. 445 for statistics. Juvenal favours *licet* over *quamuis* (17 : 4). In later Latin, the frequency of *licet* really goes up; then it is also found in combination with an indicative, e.g. Apul. *Met.* 2.6 *licet salutare non erit* [Rieger, pp. 5-9; H-Sz 605; K-S 2.443 f.]. See also on 25 *quamuis.*

Pyrrhus scoffs at Agamemnon's forgetfulness but does not exclude the possibility that it is the real reason, something for which he might like to make amends.

properes dare: for the use of the prolative inf. with *propero* (*OLD* s.v. 2b; K-S 1.667), cf. e.g. below 387 *properat uoluere*, *H.F.* 1279 *purgare terras propero*, *Phoen.* 305 *mori ... propero*; an instance from Senecan prose: *Ep.* 101.10 *ideo propera, Lucili mi, uiuere.* The use is already found in Old Comedy, e.g. Pl. *Rud.* 1223 *propera ire in urbem actutum*, Ter. *An.* 759 *propera ... puerum tollere hinc ab ianua.*

208 sero: 'too late' (*OLD* 2), again below 469; denoting 'late', it is found below 633. For a similar use after a *licet*-clause, cf. *Thy.* 776-8 *o Phoebe patiens, fugeris retro licet / medioque raptum merseris caelo diem, / sero occidisti, Ben.* 2.2.1 *properet licet, sero beneficium dedit, qui roganti dedit.*

es daturus: "Die periphr. Form gibt an, Agamemnon gebe notwendigerweise zu spät", Westman, p. 62; "zwischen *sero es daturus* und dem folgenden Satz besteht natürlich ein asyndeton explicativum", id. p. 63, n. 1. He compares the line to *Ben.* 7.24.2 *post hoc quisquis properauerit, sero dat.*

suum ... / tulere pretium: for the order of words, see on 158 *tutis.*

209 tulere: 'to get (esp. as a consequence of one's action), win, acquire' (*OLD* s.v. *fero* 36); cf. below 292, 293 *ferent, Med.* 1000 *gnatus hic fatum tulit,* Naev. *trag.* 8 *quin ut quisque est meritus praesens pretium pro factis ferat,* Ov. *Met.* 13.19 *iste tulit pretium iam nunc temptaminis huius.* For the ending *-ēre,* see on 173 *mouere.*

pretium: 'a reward, recompense, prize' (*OLD* s.v. 1a; Bömer on *Met.* 13.19: "*pretium,* fere i. q. 'praemium'"); cf. *Cl.* 1.1.1 *uirtutum pretium,* Verg. *Aen.* 12.350 *ausus Pelidae pretium sibi poscere currus,* Liv. 45.37.5 *pretium recte facti, Eleg. Maec.* 135 *nunc pretium candoris habes,* Ov. *Met.* 11.205 *pretium rex infitiatur.*

pretium ... merces: the combination is also found in *Med.* 360-3 *quod fuit huius pretium cursus? aurea pellis / maiusque mari Medea malum, / merces prima digna carina, Oed.* 104-5 *laudis hoc pretium tibi / sceptrum et peremptae Sphingis haec merces datur, Oct.* 600-2 *reddita et meritis meis / funesta merces puppis et pretium imperi / nox illa qua naufragia defleui mea*; cf. below 358 *mercede,* 360 *pretio.*

210 uirtutis: Peiper's correction is generally accepted. The older editors had mended the metrical deficiency of the line by reading *uirtuti? an is meruit* .... For the use of the gen., cf. Cic. *Rep.* 3.40 *uult plane uirtus honorem nec est uirtutis ulla alia merces, Clu.* 34 *merces abortionis,* Ulp. *dig.* 16 *si ... nullam mercedem seruandorum uestimentorum accepit.*

an: '(introducing dir. questions, usu. with the notion of surprise, indignation, etc.) Can it really be that ...?' (*OLD* 1, "expecting a negative answer" 1b); cf. below 890, 973. For other uses see on 371, 564, 929.

211 fugere bellum: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.296 (Ulysses) *duri fugientem munera belli.*

iussus: preferring old age for her son to fame in war, Thetis had kept Achilles away from weapons and had disguised him as a girl at the court of king Lycomedes on Scyros; cf. Apollod. 3.13.8, Hyg. *Fab.* 96.3-4, Ov. *Met.* 13.162-4 (Ulysses) *praescia uenturi genetrix Nereia leti / dissimulat cultu natum et deceperat omnes, / ... sumptae fallacia uestis,* Stat. *Ach.* 1.207 ff.

longa ... senecta: cf. Hom. *Il.* 9.415-6 (Achilles on the consequences of his return) 'the excellence of my glory is gone, but there will be a long life left for me' (transl. Lattimore).

sedens: 'sitting around, inactive' (*OLD* s.v. 7); cf. Ter. *Ad.* 672-3 *an sedere oportuit / domi uirginem tam grandem ...?* (with Donatus' remark *sedere proprie ignauae cessationis est*), Cic. *Ver.* 3.133 *tu sedes et quiescis?*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.17.37 *sedit qui timuit ne non succederet*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.456 *meliora deos sedet omina poscens*. The verb 'sitting' has the same negative sense at Hom. *Il.* 24.403.

212 ducere: 'to spend (time, one's life) in a particular manner or circumstances' (*OLD* s.v. 14); cf. *Oed.* 270 *ita molle senium ducat*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.379 *hic noctem ludo ducunt*, *Aen.* 6.539 *nos flendo ducimus horas*. The A MSS have *degere*.

Pylii senis: Nestor of Pylos in Messenia (western Peloponnese); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.22 *Pylium Nestora*, *Eleg. Maec.* 137 *Pylium ... Nestora*, Verg. *Cat.* 9.16 *Pylium ... senem*, Juv. 10.246 *rex Pylius*.

213 transcendere: 'surpass' (*OLD* s.v. 3b). It is a poetical use of the verb, introduced by Sen. trag. and taken over by other poets; cf. *Thy.* 912 *uota transcendi mea*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.125-7 *tu Troica dignus / saecula et Euboici transcendere pulueris annos / Nestoreosque situs*, 5.3.255 *Pylias aeui transcendere metas*, Sil. 4.426-7 *puer ... annos transcendere factis / molitur*. With a pers. obj., it is used below 702 *aetate auum transcendat, ingenio patrem*, *Ben.* 3.34 *ipsos ... qui tradiderunt illa* (sc. *instituta*), *transcendimus*.

annos: in Hom. *Il.* 1.250-2, Nestor has lived through more than two generations and still is a king in the third, i.e. between his 70th and 100th years, if with the Greeks we count three generations to a century (Leaf *ad loc.*). In Hom. *Od.* 3.245, he is even said 'to have reigned over three generations'. For further extensions, see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.9.13 *ter aeuo functus*, Prop. 2.13.46 *Nestoris est uisus post tria saecla cinis*, Tib. 4.1.112 *terna minus Pyliae miretur saecula famae*, Ov. *Met.* 12.187-8 *uixi / annos bis centum; nunc tertia uiuitur aetas*.

For the proverbial character of his longevity, cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 15.838 *nisi cum senior Pylios aequauerit annos*, *Tr.* 5.5.61-2 *olim, / aequarint Pylios cum tua fata dies*, *Pont.* 1.4.9-10, Mart. 9.29.1 *saecula Nestoreae permensa ... senectae*, 11.56.13 *o quam tu cupies ter uiuere Nestoris annos* [A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890, 212; R. Häussler, *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter ...*, Darmstadt 1968, 192].

exuit: 'to take or put off (a garment or other object attached to the body)' (*OLD* s.v. 1); cf. e.g. *Thy.* 524 *squalidam uestem exue*. In Ovid's account of the same event, Ulysses uses a more impetuous verb, *Met.* 13.166-7 *neque adhuc proiecerat heros / uirgineos habitus, cum ... (dixi)*. Seneca here clearly prefers the use of *exuo* because of the zeugma with *dolos ... uestes*. He applies the verb similarly in *Phae.* 1178 *animaque Phaedram pariter ac scelere exuam*. For an interesting use of the verb in his prose, see *Ben.* 4.17.3 *hominem exuit* (a more extensive quotation of the phrase is found below on 214 *uirum*).

matris dolos / falsasque uestes: see on 211 *iussus*; cf. below 569-70 *uicimus matrum dolos / etiam dearum*. Other instances of zeugma in Sen. trag.: *H.F.* 995-6 *ceteram prolem eruam / omnisque latebrās*, *Phae.* 1101-2 *pariter moram / dominumque rumpunt*. On zeugma, see K-S 2.565 f.; Lausberg §§ 692-708, esp. § 707.4 Konkretum / Abstraktum, quoting e.g. Tac. *Germ.* 1 *Germania ... a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur*, Ov. *Met.* 7.347 *cecidere illis animique manusque*, P. Corneille, *Polyeucte* I.3.202 'Mon père et mon devoir étaient inexorables', Racine, *Andromaque* IV.1.1123-4 'J'ai ... en un jour / sacrifié mon sang, ma haine et mon amour'.

For the combination of *dolus* and *falsus*, cf. Prop. 2.9.5-6 *coniugium falsa poterat differre Minerua, / nocturno soluens texta diurna dolo* (ter Beek, *Dolus*, Een semantisch-juridische studie, Nijmegen 1999, 57 ff.).

214 fassus est: 'to acknowledge by one's behaviour, actions, etc., betray' (*OLD* 4); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.591 *confessa deam*, Ov. *Met.* 12.601 *fassusque deum*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.122 *confessus auum*, Petr. 41.6 *puer speciosus ... modo Bromium, interdum Lyaeum Euhiumque confessus*, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.230 *confessus socerum*. Similar instances with *exhibeo* occur in Petr. 52.9 *ipse ... Syrum histrionem exhibebat*, Apul. *Met.* 10.28 *talem parentem praebuit, qualem exhibuerat uxorem*. For a comparable (but less bold) reflexive use, see Ov. *Met.* 3.1-2 *iamque deus, posita fallacis imagine tauri, / se confessus erat*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.771 *tandem se famulo summum confessus Apollo*.

armis: Ulysses had put weapons between his feminine merchandise (Ov. *Met.* 13.165-6 *arma ego femineis animum motura uirilem / mercibus inserui*) or, according to Statius, his gifts (*Ach.* 1.843 *munera uirgineos uisus tractura*). Achilles by grasping them betrayed his true nature; in Statius' account, *Ach.* 1.852-7:

> at ferus Aeacides, radiantem ut comminus orbem
> caelatum pugnas — saeuis et forte rubebat
> bellorum maculis — adclinem conspicit hastae,
> infremuit torsitque genas, et fronte relicta
> surrexere comae; nusquam mandata parentis,
> nusquam occultus amor, totoque in pectore Troia est.

uirum: 'the condition of being a man, manhood' (*OLD* 1e); cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.689-90 *Achilles / ueste uirum longa dissimulatus erat*, Catul. 63.6 *ut relicta sensit sibi membra sine uiro*, Luc. 10.134. There is a comparable use of *hominem* in *Ben.* 4.17.3 *nec quisquam tantum a naturae lege desciuit et hominem exuit, ut animi causa malus sit* (H-Sz 751 'Concretum pro abstracto').

215-28 Pyrrhus' enumeration of Achilles' deeds strongly resembles the list, produced by Ulysses in Ov. *Met.* 13.171-8, when he founds his claim to Achilles' weapons on the fact that he had unmasked him:

ergo opera illius mea sunt; ego Telephon hasta
pugnantem domui, uictum orantemque refeci.
quod Thebae cecidere, meum est; me credite Lesbon,
me Tenedon Chrysenque et Cillan, Apollinis urbes,
et Scyrum cepisse; mea concussa putate
procubuisse solo Lyrnesia moenia dextra.
Vtque alios taceam, qui saeuum perdere posset
Hectora, nempe dedi; per me iacet inclitus Hector.

For Seneca's fondness for enumerations, cf. e.g. above 8-13, *H.F.* 332-6, the prologue of *Phaedra*, *Med.* 466-76, 771-84, *Ag.* 208-18 [see Canter, p. 75; on *enumeratio* in general, Lausberg §§ 669-674].

215 inhospitali: 'not affording shelter, inhospitable'; cf. 216 *introitus negat*. The adjective is the stock epithet of the Caucasus, cf. *Med.* 43, *Thy.* 1048, Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.6; at *Phae.* 168 it is used of the mountain range Taurus.

Telephus: a king of Mysia, son of Heracles and Auge, who was wounded by the spear of Achilles (*Cypria*). Later on, in accordance with the oracle 'the wounder shall also heal', he was cured by its rust, cf. 218 *fortemque eandem sensit et mitem manum*; see Ov. *Met.* 13.171-2 (cited above), Prop. 2.1.63-4 (see below on 218 *sensit*), Hor. *Epod.* 17.8-10, Pentadius, *De Fortuna* 29-30 *Pelias hasta fuit, uulnus graue quae dedit hosti; / hoc quae sanauit, Pelias hasta fuit*. Ovid, who records the feat elsewhere in the words of Achilles himself (see on 218 *sensit*), likes to refer to the story also in the context of his own personal wounds: *Tr.* 1.1.99-100 *namque ea uel nemo, uel qui mihi ulnera fecit / solus Achilleo tollere more potest*, 2.19-20 *forsitan ut quondam Teuthrantia regna tenenti, / sic mihi res eadem uulnus opemque feret*, 5.2.15-6 *Telephus aeterna consumptus tabe perisset, / si non, quae nocuit, dextra tulisset opem*, *Pont.* 2.2.26 *profuit et Myso Pelias hasta duci*. For literature on Telephus, see Seidensticker, p. 165, n. 33.

impotens: in view of 216 *ferocis*, 266-7 *impotens / regno ac superbus*, 981 *impotens ac durus et ... ferus*, *Med.* 143 *sceptro impotens* (of Creon), rather 'violent, intemperate' (*OLD* s.v. 3) than 'powerless' (*OLD* 1). The word is often found with synaloephe at the end of the trimeter: cf. below 266, *H.F.* 966 *regnum impotens*, 1180 *Argiuae impotens*, *Med.* 143 *sceptro impotens*, 958 *Furiarum impotens*, *Phae.* 186, *Ag.* 126.

216 Mysiae: a country in the north-west of Asia Minor, between Lydia and Bithynia.

ferocis: 'fierce'; Sen. trag. applies the adj. to geographical notions (*OLD* s.v. 1c: "poet. of terrain, rivers") also at *Phae.* 69 *ferocis iuga Pyrenes*, *H.F.* 1324 *Rhenus ferox*, *Ag.* 205 *Asiae ferocis*.

introitus: the subst. occurs in Sen. trag. once more in *Thy.* 103-4 *sentit introitus tuos / domus*. For the use of the gen. with the noun ('entrance into'), cf. *Dial.* 6.18.1 *ad hanc imaginem agedum totius uitae introitum refer*.

217 rudem: 'inexperienced'; see on 67.

cruore regio: both abl. limit. with *rudem ... dextram*, and instr. with *imbuit*. For *cruore regio*, see on 167 *effare, reduces*. Sen. trag. makes a relatively frequent use of *cruor*, as compared to *sanguis*; 48x (in *Tro.* again 297, 367 twice, 566, 896, 1156, 1162) : 63x (in *Tro.* nine times). For his prose, however, the respective figures are 8 and 121, for Ovid 54 and 226 [*ThLL* IV 1242.1 ff.].

dextram: sc. *Achillis*.

imbuit: the verb is very appropriate here, as its meanings range from 'to wet, stain' (*OLD* s.v. 1) via 'to dip or wet for the first time' (*OLD* 3) to 'to give initial instruction, experience' (*OLD* 4); cf. *H.F.* 455 *primus sagittas imbuit Phoebi draco*, Catul. 4.17 *tuo imbuisse palmulas in aequore*, 64.11 *illa rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten*.

218 sensit: the verb is used in the same context in Prop. 2.1.63-4 *Mysus et Haemonia iuuenis qua cuspide uulnus / senserat, hac ipsa cuspide sensit opem*, Ov. *Met.* 12.112 *opusque meae bis sensit Telephus hastae*, Claud. *carm. min.* 22.46-8 *sanus Achilleis remeauit Telephus herbis, / cuius pertulerat uires, et sensit in uno / letalem placidamque manum*.

219 cecidere: see on 173 *mouere*, 175 *ceciderunt*.

Thebae: a place in Mysia, the seat of Eetion; cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.109-10 *suoque / Eetioneas impleui sanguine Thebas*, 13.173 *Thebae cecidere*, Hom. *Il.* 1.366-7, 2.691. It was situated on the foot of Mt. Plakos (Hom. *Il.* 6.396-7), to which Leaf notes that no mountain of that name could be traced in Strabo's day, and that the site of Thebe is fixed by the later name 'plain of Thebe', given to the plain of Adramytteion, Hdt. 7.42. See more fully W. Leaf, *Troy*, London 1912, 213-216, concluding that is modern Edremid (cf. Liv. 37.19).

Eetion: king of Thebe, and father of Andromache (Hom. *Il.* 6.395-7); at the capture of the town, he and his seven sons were killed by Achilles (*Il.* 6.416 ff.). In Latin literature, he also occurs at Ov. *Fast.* 4.280, *Tr.* 5.5.44.

220 subuersa: 'to overturn, cause to topple over, by pressure from below or at the base' (*OLD* 1); in Sen. trag. only here, similarly *apposita* in the next line. It is mainly a prose word; Seneca uses it at *Dial.* 9.3.7 *incipiemus aedificia alia ponere, alia subuertere*, and 12.10.1 *insaniam omnia subuertentis auaritiae atque luxuriae*. Other instances in poetry occur at Ter. *Ad.* 837, Lucr. 5.1136, *Aetna* 545, Hor. *Ep.* 1.10.43, Ov. *Met.* 9.593, *Fast.* 6.645, Luc. 3.436, 8.274. Arweiler, p. 178 notes that Alcimus Avitus uses the verb as a specific term for the destruction of the divine nature in man by the Fall, and the noun *subuersor* for the devil.

221 apposita ... iugo: Fantham, p. 95 on the ground that what matters is Lyrnesos' proximity to Thebes, not to an unknown ridge, translates 'the little town nearby on the lofty hillside'; she considers *celso iugo* ("purely descriptive") "probably an ablative". With Thomann ('an hohem Berg geliegen') and Caviglia ('alle pendici della grande montagna'), I rather

take the words as a dative: either as a reference to Hom. *Il.* 6.397 'Thebes under the Placus' (Thomann), or more likely to Verg. *Aen.* 12.546-7 *domus alta sub Ida, / Lyrnesi domus alta* (Caviglia). At Hom. *Il.* 20.191, it is mentioned as the town to which Aeneas fled 'from the Idaean mountains'. Leaf (1912) 217-219 locates it "somewhere not far from the coast immediately west of Killa", and thinks it no other than historic Antandros; in his *Strabo on the Troad*, Cambridge 1923, 308-310, he uses the formulation: "somewhere just under the highest part of Ida ... near Antandros", noting that Strabo is thinking of some other site. Instances of *appositus* + dat. in Senecan prose are found at *Ep.* 87.27 *lucrum istud non est adpositum sceleri, sed inmixtum*, *Nat.* 6.23.4 *frequentissime mari apposita uexantur.*

celso parua: single words of opposite significance immediately juxtaposed; cf. e.g. 253 *tumidi lentus*, 537 *magni paruus*, *Phae.* 111 *rigida molli*, 653 *mollibus fortes*, *Ag.* 324 *graues leuibus.*

parua: probably added only for the antithesis. Coffey-Mayer on *Phae.* 23 *paruas ... Aphidnas* style the adj. "clearly a maid-of-all-work", cf. below 821 *parua Gyrtone*, 856 *parua ... Zacyntho*, *Med.* 457 *paruamne Iolcon.* Of other poets, Ovid applies it to Seriphos (*Met.* 5.242), Lucan to Samos (8.246). However, if this line could be connected with the following (see on 222), there would also be a contrast with (*tellus*) *nobilis*, emphasized by the same central position in the verse.

Lyrnesos: the ending -essos (cf. Tartessos; similarly -issos, e.g. Narkissos, Kyparissos) denotes a pre-Greek origin. Hom. *Il.* 2.691 mentions the destruction of Lyrnessos and Thebe simultaneously. According to that passage, Achilles there had captured Briseis (cf. *Il.* 19.60); elsewhere (*Il.* 19.291 ff.) she mentions the death of her husband (according to tradition = Mynes of *Il.* 2.692 and 19.296) and her three brothers in that fight. In the *Aeneid*, the town occurs as the birthplace of Acmon (10.128 *Lyrnesius Acmon*) and of Aeolus (12.547 *Lyrnesi domus alta*). The connection between Lyrnesos and Briseis is also evident from *Ag.* 186 *ablatam ... Lyrnesida*, Ov. *Ars* 2.403 *audierat, Lyrnesi, tuos, abducta, dolores*, *Tr.* 4.1.15 *abducta Lyrneside tristis Achilles*; cf. moreover Ov. *Ep.* 3.45-50 (Briseis in her letter to Achilles)

> diruta Marte tuo Lyrnesia moenia uidi
> et fueram patriae pars ego magna meae;
> uidi consortes pariter generisque necisque
> tres cecidisse quibus, quae mihi, mater erat;
> uidi, quantus erat, fusum tellure cruenta
> pectora iactantem sanguinolenta uirum.

iugo: Hillen, p. 73, n. 222 distinguishes the meanings 'Berg' (here, *H.F.* 969 *plena Centauris iuga*, *Phoen.* 602, *Phae.* 190) and 'Vorgebirge, Kap, Gebirgsvorsprung' (*Phoen.* 67 *hic alta rupes arduo surgit iugo*, 115, *H.F.* 662).

222 tellus: in view of *Ag.* 186 *Lyrnesida* (the only other mentioning of the town in Sen. trag.) and the Ovidian passages quoted above (esp. Seneca's close following of *Met.* 13.171-8, noted on 215-28), I would like to omit the punctuation after *iugo*, and take the line as descriptive of Lyrnesos as well. For the use of epexegetic *-que* (*OLD* s.v. 6) after a proper name, cf. for instance Verg. *Aen.* 3.336 *Pergamaque Iliacamque ... arcem*. What other land could be meant theoretically?

Besides Lyrnesos, some towns have been mentioned as Briseis' native place: Brisa or Bresa in Lesbos (schol. Hom. *Il.* 1.366, Leaf on *Il.* 1.184), Pedasos (the version of the *Cypria*), and Thebe (F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrna*, Paris 1959, 125 f.). The possibility of Thebe was already turned down by Strabo (see Vian). A town in Lesbos is less likely (though the name is tempting, of course), because the island as a whole is mentioned in 226. Zenodotus reconciled the divergent readings of Homer and the *Cypria* by taking Pedasos as her hometown and Lyrnessos as the town in which the captives of the whole region were distributed. Since at Hom. *Il.* 20.92 Aeneas in one breath mentions the destruction of these two towns by Achilles, Pedasos then seems a logical supposition here (Kingery, Fantham, Boyle). However, its absence from Ovid's list makes this view less likely to me. On Pedasos (Assos), see Leaf (1912) 221-223, 246-248, esp. 247: "The siege of Pedasos seems to have enjoyed greater fame than fell to those of Thebe and Lyrnessos", quoting the Scholiasts on *Il.* 6.35. Strabo in c. 7 groups Thebe, Lyrnessos, and Pedasos as 'lying opposite Lesbos'. See Leaf (1912) 223; (1923) 304 f. Caviglia in his notes closely combines 221-2 *Lyrnesos ... Briseide*, but he translates: 'fu abbattuta ... la piccola Lirnesso, alle pendici della grande montagna. Il paese famoso per Briseide, (che suscito la contesa tra i re) giace abbattuto'.

nobilis: 'renowned, famous, celebrated' (for good or ill), w. abl. expr. cause of fame (*OLD* 2c); cf. *Phoen.* 128 *Spartenque fratre nobilem gemino*, 209 *altis nobilem muris domum*, *Phae.* 1022-3 *rupes numine Epidauri dei / et scelere petrae nobiles Scironides*, *Ag.* 566, 808.

Briseide: when Talthybius and Eurybates carried out Agamemnon's order to haul her she went 'unwilling' (*Il.* 1.348); in "her own words": Ov. *Ep.* 3.15-6 *lacrimas sine fine dedi rupique capillos / infelix iterum sum mihi uisa capi!* The Romans made the relationship between her and Achilles an example in two respects; not only for the power of love, e.g. Prop. 2.8.35-6 *omnia formosam propter Briseida passus / tantus in erepto saeuit amore dolor*, Ov. *Am.* 1.9.33 *ardet in abducta Briseide magnus Achilles*, but also for the love of a man for a social inferior: Hor. *Carm.* 2.4.2-4 *prius insolentem / serua Briseis niueo colore / mouit Achillem*, Ov. *Am.* 2.8.11 *Thessalus ancillae facie Briseidos arsit.*

223 Chryse: a town on the coast of Troas, according to Leaf (1912) 228 the later Hamaxitos, with a harbour (Hom. *Il.* 1.432) and a sanctuary of Apollo, of which Chryses was the priest. When Chryses comes to Agamemnon to ransom his captured daughter, he is chased away by him

(1.12-32). He then turns to Apollo, who takes revenge by sending a pest to the Greek camp. On the tenth day (1.54), Achilles calls a meeting, in which Calchas declares that Chryses' daughter has to be given back. Reluctantly, Agamemnon gives in but claims Briseis, Achilles' gift of honour, as a compensation; the conflict between the two leaders is born (*causa litis*). In Latin poetry, *Chryse* with *Tenedos* and other cult-places of Apollo is also mentioned at Stat. *Theb*. 8.197.

iacet: 'to lie on the ground, lie in ruins' (*OLD* s.v. 4); see the note on 54 *iacentis*.

224 nota: '(of persons, places, etc.) well-known, noted' (*OLD* s.v. 6b). Like *nobilis*, it is often used with abl.; cf. below 845 *fera notam Calydona saeua*, *Phoen*. 125-6 *Cadmi nemus / serpente notum*, *Phae*. 30 *uulnere multo iam notus aper*, Verg. *Aen*. 2.21 quoted in the next note, Ov. *Met*. 1.198 *notus feritate Lycaon*, Luc. 2.591, Tac. *Ann*. 15.53. In Sen. trag. it is never found with gen., as in Prop. 1.16.2 *ianua Tarpeiae nota pudicitiae*.

Tenedos: cf. Verg. *Aen*. 2.21-3 *est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama / insula, diues opum Priami dum regna manebant, / nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis*, Hom. *Il*. 1.37-8 (Chryses' invocation of Apollo as protector of Chryse, Killa and Tenedos). Its destruction by Achilles is mentioned at Hom *Il*. 11.625. On the island, see Leaf (1912) 239, 250; (1923) 214-221.

pascuo / fecunda pingui: 'fertile with its rich pasture(s)'; cf. Homeric 'with large clods', e.g. *Il*. 1.155 (of Phthia), *Od*. 13.235.

225 fecunda pingui: see on 1 *magna potens*; for a similar effect, cf. Verg. *Aen*. 6.195-6 *pinguem diues opacat / ramus humum*.

nutrit: cf. Hom. *Od*. 13.246 'it has good pasturage for goats and cattle' (Pallas Athena describing Ithaca to Odysseus), *Il*. 2.287 'horse-feeding' (of Argos).

greges: 'herds', of all kinds of animals (*OLD* 1); at *Oed*. 810 it is specified by *cornigeros*, at *Ag*. 842 the words *Threicium gregem* denote Diomedes' mares. Here the Thracian horses may be meant (Fantham), but one may also think of sheep or goats; cf. Hom. *Il*. 11.222 of Thrace 'mother of sheep/goats'.

226 Scyros: apart from the isle of Scyros (*Il*. 19.326), Homer also knew a town of that name in Phrygia, captured by Achilles (scholia on *Il*. 9.668; Seidensticker, p. 166, n. 38). It might be one of the twelve and eleven unnamed towns at *Il*. 9.328 and 329 respectively, but nothing else is known of it. Caviglia thinks that Seneca meant this Phrygian town, but his reference to Leo (1879) 377 in this respect seems erroneous; Leo writes: "*Scyros*, non *Syros* cum Petito et Gronovio. Seneca Ovidium sequitur (met. XIII, 175), ille Homerum (*I*, 668). insulam ad Thraciae litus traxisse, non cum Homeri interprete urbem aliquam Asiae in mente habuisse Senecam greges pingui pascuo nutriti indicant. de capellis Scyriis omnia nota." Leo's view has been defended by Zwierlein (1977) 170, n. 97, and Jakobi, p. 26.

Gronovius suggests *Syros*, both because that was his reading at Ov. *Met.* 13.175, and in view of Hom. *Od.* 15.403 ff., where of an island called Syrie it is said that 'the rich land is excellent for cattle and sheep and yields fine crops of grapes and corn' (Rieu's translation, Penguin). For the transportation of the sheep from Thrace to Syros, he compares: "ut in vicinia nostra Cimbrica armenta pingui pascuo nutriuntur, quae quum macra huc compellantur, brevi tempore ibidem saginantur ad lanii cultrum." However, the problem is that Syros (with which Syria is identified, acc. to Stanford *ad loc.*) lies near Delos, and that we have no indication at all that Achilles was ever active in that region.

Lesbos: a large island in the North Aegean. Its capture by Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 9.129) is mentioned by Agamemnon when he proposes to give seven most beautiful women of that island with Briseis back to Achilles; however, Leaf (1912) 248 thinks that Homer means a town on it, not the whole island.

secans: 'cleaving', usually and more properly of a ship (cf. 71); for the combination of such a verb with an unmoving subject, cf. e.g. *Oed.* 9 *rupemque saxis uasta dirimentem freta*. Hillen, p. 256 f. objects that Lesbos' shape does not allow this simple interpretation; but his 'Subjekt-Objekt Vertauschung' (= *fretoque Lesbos Aegeo secta*) seems to me out of place here: *H.F.* 175 *nouit paucos secura quies* (= *nouerunt pauci securam quietem*), 203 *Megara parvum comitata gregem* (= *Megara, paruo comitata grege*), and below 698 *te reuisat ... torus* are different.

227 cara Phoebo Cilla: cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.37-8, where Chryses prays to Apollo as protector of Chryse and 'very divine' Cilla, and Ov. *Met.* 13.174 *Tenedon Chrysenque et Cillan, Apollinis urbes*. This town, with a sanctuary of Apollo Killaios and a river Killaios flowing from Mt. Ida, was situated in the proximity of Thebe; according to Leaf, it is identical with Ak Chai, the port of Edremid. Quintus Smyrnaeus also styles it 'very divine' (8.295, 14.413), and mentions it side by side with Chrysa (not Chryse) at 7.402, 8.292, 8.295, 14.412-3 [Vian (1959) 126; Leaf (1912) 216 f.; (1923) 311]. For another use of *carus* and *notus* in such an enumeration, cf. V. Fl. 2.95 *Lemnos cara deo, nec fama notior Aetne*.

quid: after the asyndetic beginning (219-21) and the polysyndetic sequel (223-7), the rhetorical exclamation *quid* forms the transition to the last link in the enumeration (*OLD* s.v. *quis* 12b).

quas: sc. *urbes*, unnamed like the towns in Hom *Il.* 9.328-9.

alluit: 'to flow past, wash'; for the use of the verb, "indicating geographical position" (*OLD* 1b), cf. *H.F.* 886-7 *quodcumque alluitur solum / longo Tethyos ambitu*, *Oed.* 474-5 *quasque Maeotis / alluit gentes frigido fluctu*, *Apoc.* 7.2. v.12-3 *Ararque ... / tacitus quietis adluit ripas uadis*, *Dial.* 12.7.2, Verg. *Geo.* 2.158.

228 uernis: 'of or occurring in spring, vernal'; in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 951-2 *uerni ... tauri*, *Phae.* 12 *uernas ... herbas*, *Oed.* 413 *floribus uernis*, 452 *uerno ... folio*, *Ag.* 670-1 *uerno ... ramo*, *Thy.* 947 *uernae ... rosae*.

Caycus: a river in Mysia; cf. Verg. *Geo.* 4.370 *Mysusque Caicus*, Ov. *Met.* 2.243 *Teuthranteusque Caicus*, Luc. 3.203-4 *Mysiaque et gelido tellus perfusa Caico / Idalis.* According to Hes. *Th.* 343, it was one of the many children (ranging from 338 the Nile to 345 the Scamander) of Tethys and Oceanus. It was here that Telephus was wounded; cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.111-2 *uel cum purpureus populari caede Caicus / fluxit opusque meae bis sensit Telephus hastae*, Pind. *I.* 5.41-2 'who wounded noble Telephos with his spear on the banks of Kaikos?' In this way, Pyrrhus makes a nice ring-composition of the first part of his enumeration.

gurgitem: 'swirling mass of water' (*OLD* s.v. 1); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.496-7 *aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis / exiit oppositasque euicit gurgite moles*, 6.296-7 *turbidus hic caeno uastaque uoragine gurges / aestuat.* In its weakened sense 'stream' (*OLD* 2), the noun is found e.g. *H.F.* 554 *stat nigro pelagus gurgite languidum.* For the many aspects of the word, Austin refers to Henry's torrential (sixteen pages) note on Verg. *Aen.* 1.118 (Henry's numbering 1.122).

attollens: since the rising of water is due to extrinsic causes, the compound is elsewhere used in this respect (*OLD* 6b 'to cause [a river] to rise up or swell') with the river as object, e.g. Sen. *Nat.* 4a.2.21 *si haec causa attolleret Nilum*, Stat. *Silu.* 1.5.24 (*uos ... quae Latium ..., nymphae,*) *incolitis Thybrimque nouis attollitis undis*, Tac. *Ann.* 6.37 *Euphrates nulla imbrium ui ... attolli*; cf. the use of the simple verb at Juv. 1.81-2 *ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor / nauigio montem ascendit.*

In Seneca's wording, the river-god himself - like Inachus (Ov. *Met.* 1.584 *fletibus auget aquas*), but using extrinsic means (*uernis ... aquis*) - lifts his stream. For a more conventional comparable phrasing, cf. *Phoen.* 608-9 *diues solum / quod Xanthus ambit niuibus Idaeis tumens.* See on this passage Hillen, p. 244 f., who also notes that Seneca was the first to use *attollere* in the context of high water (of rivers).

229-249 *These exploits were no more than a preamble for his main feat: the killing of Hector (and his allies), for which Achilles deserves whatever prize he wishes.*

229 tanta ... tantus: repetition of a word with shift of accent; cf. above 38 *Ithacus ... Ithaci*, 40 *meus ... meis*, 170 *uidi ipse, uidi.*

gentium: the usual placing of such a form in *-ium* is after the penthemimeres, cf. *Thy.* 45 *supraque magnos gentium exultet duces*, 461 *alimus tributo gentium; nullus mihi.* Contrast below 1127 *hostium.*

pauor: 'fear affecting a number of persons simultaneously, panic' (*OLD* s.v. 1b).

230 sparsae: 'to break up and scatter (a single thing)' (*OLD* 5b). In view of Luc. 9.40-1 *impulit ac ... Phycunta ... / sparsit* (Housman: = *disiecit*), there is no need of Heinsius' *stratae*, as Zwierlein notes.

turbinis: 'whirlwind' (*OLD* 2); likewise in a comparison, Verg. *Aen.* 10.602-4 *talia per campos edebat funera ductor / Dardanius, torrentis aquae uel turbinis atri / more furens,* 12.923-4 *uolat atri turbinis instar / exitium dirum hasta ferens,* V. Fl. 2.89-90 *ruit ille* (sc. *Vulcanus*) *polo noctemque diemque / turbinis in morem,* Hom. *Il.* 12.40. The image recalls Achilles' famous 'swiftness of foot'. Ahl (1985) 265 notes the wordplay *toT URBes TURBinis,* in a row with Verg. *Aen.* 7.377-8 ... *URBem* / ... *tURBo,* 12.607-8 *tURBa fURit* ... *URBem,* 620-1 *tURBantur* ... *URBe.*

vasti: see on 114; cf. *Med.* 694 *uasti more torrentis.*

modo: combined with the gen. of a noun, *modo* as a rule follows it: cf. e.g. *Med.* 78 *iuuenum modo,* Cic. *Inu.* 1.2 *bestiarum modo,* Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.27-8 *apis Matinae / more modoque,* Liv. 25.14.14.

231 alterius: 'of anyone else', gen. of *alius*; only here in Sen. trag., often in his prose: e.g. *Ep.* 102.4 *eiusdem quaestionis est loci alterius,* 117.8 *concedo ista alia esse, sed non sortis alterius, Ben.* 4.3.1 *causa ullius alterius rei, Dial.* 10.16.3 *alicuius alterius uel spectaculi uel uoluptatis ... constitutum.*

232 iter: 'Achilles dee't ter loop', Vondel, *Amst. Hec.* 357; for this 'by the way', wording the same ease as *proludens* (182), cf. *in transitu, Ep.* 40.5 *quis medicus aegros in transitu curat?, Nat.* 3.27.7 *uulsisque minoribus tectis quae in transitu abduxit* (sc. *torrens*), *tandem in maiora uilentus aberrat.* The motif is also found in Racine, *Iphigénie* I.2.165 ff.: 'la Thessalie entière ... Lesbos même conquise ... de toute autre valeur éternels monuments, ne sont d'Achille oisif que les amusements'.

233 tanta: rather 'such a vast number of' (*OLD* 5), than 'so great'.

bella ... bellum: for the polyptoton, see on 38 *Ithacus ... Ithaci.*

234 ut ... sileam: cf. *Ben.* 6.40.1 *ut alia taceam.* Boyle takes it as a concessive clause ('even if I am silent'); in my view, it is a "rhetorischer Pseudofinalsatz" (H-Sz 642). Ovid is rather fond of this device, called *praeteritio* or *paraleipsis*: e.g. *Met.* 12.552, 13.177 *utque alios taceam* (Bömer: "in dieser Form nicht bei den anderen Dichtern der Zeit"), *Ep.* 3.134 *ut taceam, Tr.* 5.2.30 *ut taceam strictas in mea fata manus, Am.* 2.4.31. Noting the absence of the device in other poets, van Dam on Stat. *Silu.* 2.1.215 *ut sileam* incorrectly states that it is only found at Ov. *Pont.* 1.2.145. On *praeteritio,* see Lausberg §§ 882-886, citing various definitions and instances like Verg. *Aen.* 10.36 *quid repetam* ... , Cic. *Cat.* 1.6.14 *praetermitto* ... ; see also Coffey-Mayer on *Phae.* 558 *taceo.*

unus: '(pred.) alone' (*OLD* 7); for the use of *unus* with a person, cf. *H.F.* 345-7 *una sed nostras potest / fundare uires iuncta regali face / thalamisque Megara.*

235 uicit pater, / uos diruistis: for the combination of antithesis and chiasmus, cf. e.g. below 238-9, 251-2, 257, 469, *Med.* 235 *uobis reuexi ceteros, unum mihi, Ag.* 4 *fugio Thyestes inferos, superos fugo.* "Der erste persönliche Angriff ... : Agamemnon, der *rex regum,* ein Plünderer", Seidensticker, p. 166, n. 41.

inclitas: 'renowned'; a solemn adjective, occurring 20x in Sen. trag. (in *Tro.* again 463, 714), and 10x in *H.O.* It goes back to early poetry, e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 123 Sk (129 V^2) *Horatius inclutus*, 155 Sk (502 V^2) *inclita ... Roma*, *scen.* 48 J (70 V^2) *iudicauit inclitum iudicium inter deas tres aliquis*. The adj. is found in other poets as well, e.g. Pl. *Mil.* 1227 *ut tu inclutu's apud mulieres!*, Lucr. 1.40 (*diua*) *incluta*, 3.10, 5.8, Verg. *Aen.* 2.82-3 *incluta fama / gloria*, 6.562, but also in prose: Cato, *hist.* 83 *gratiam praecipuam claritudinis inclitissimae*, Liv. 1.45.2 *iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.61 *inclutus fama est potior*. The adj. is absent from Cicero and Caesar, frequent in Val. Max. It occurs rather often in later poetry (Ausonius, Claudianus, Prudentius), and in later prose (Hieronymus).

As for the prefix *in-*, O. Prinz, *Glotta* 29 (1942) 138 f. mentions the views of Verrius Flaccus ('ein verstärkendes Präfix') and A. Meillet ('*in* das charakteristische Element der determinierten Form gegenüber dem nicht determinierten *clueo*'). Prinz thinks it more likely "daß das Präfix mit dem verbalen Ursprung des Worten irgendwie in Beziehung steht und vielleicht mit Bildungen wie *inveterasco* verwandt ist"; likewise Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 146 (146 V^2): "from **incluesco*?" As for the orthography, *inclutus* (not *inclitus* or *inclytus*), in accordance with its etymology, is the oldest and original form, and normal well into the second century A.D. Here all MSS have the younger form *inclita* (after the analogy of *optimus/optumus*?).

For the pleonasm *inclitas laudes*, cf. *H.O.* 882 *laus ... incluta*, 1515 *laudem inclutam*; more instances found below are 395 *arctoi Boreae*, 398 *meta nouissima*, 523 *astus callidos*, 624 *frigido gelu*, 915-6 *incerto .../ casu*, 1145 *uagae uices*. Other poets likewise reinforce the meaning of a noun by an adj. of the same or similar meaning, e.g. Catul. 64.217 *in extrema ... fine*, 46.1 *egelidos ... tepores*, Lucr. 4.583 *taciturna silentia*, Ov. *Met.* 4.433, 7.184 *muta silentia*, Tib. 1.3.16 *tardas ... moras* (H-Sz 794).

laudes: 'praiseworthy acts' (*OLD* s.v. 3b); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.273 *tantarum in munere laudum*, 9.252-3 *quae uobis, quae digna, uiri, pro laudibus istis / praemia posse rear solui?*, 10.825 *pro laudibus istis*. For a different use of the noun, see below on 293 *laudibus*.

iuuat: 'it gives pleasure'; cf. *Thy.* 218 *qua iuuat reges eant*. For the usual combination with an inf. (*sequi*), cf. e.g. Lucr. 1.927-8 *iuuat integros accedere fontes / atque haurire, iuuatque nouos decerpere flores*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.292 *iuuat ire iugis*, *Aen.* 1.203 *haec olim meminisse iuuabit.*

237 clara magni: see on 1. The Italian editors and Fantham prefer E's *facta magni clara genitoris*; since Seneca more often places the adjectives ahead (see on 3 and 11), A's order of words, advocated by Zwierlein (1986) 90, seems more likely. A comparable conspicuous placing of adjectives is found, for instance, at Ov. *Met.* 13.340-1 *ubi sunt ingentia magni / uerba uiri?*

magni: cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.163 *magnum ... Achillem*; below 322 the adj. is applied to Hector.

genitoris: after 232 *meus ... pater* and 235 *pater*, this solemn noun here underlines Pyrrhus' proud tone. Its first instances are found in Ennius: of Jupiter, *Ann.* 444 Sk (456 V^2) *o genitor noster, Saturnie, maxime diuom*; of Romulus, *Ann.* 108 Sk (113 V^2) *o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum!* The noun does not occur in comedy, and rarely in prose (not in Seneca's). In the *Aeneid*, it is applied to Neptunus (e.g. 1.155) and to Anchises (2.560 *subiit cari genitoris imago*). Sen. trag. uses the noun 56 times, in this play again at 666 and 743.

sequi: 'to trace in narrative, recount' (*OLD* s.v. 18d); cf. V. Fl. 3.212-3 *perge age Tartareae mecum simul omnia noctis, / Musa, sequi*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.9-10 (*si*) *expediam penitusque sequar, quo carmine muris / iusserit Amphion Tyrios accedere montis.*

238 iacuit peremptus: this combination of verbs occurs again below 312, *H.F.* 1160-1 *gnati cruenta caede confecti iacent, / perempta coniunx, Oed.* 1040 *iacet perempta, Ag.* 925 *pater peremptus scelere materno iacet, H.O.* 1458 *sua perempta dextera mater iacet.* For the sense 'lie dead' (*OLD* s.v. *iaceo* 6), cf. e.g. below 347, 603, Pl. *Am.* 241 *quisque ut steterat iacet,* Verg. *Aen.* 1.99 *saeuus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector,* Ov. *Met.* 13.178 *per me iacet inclitus Hector.*

peremptus: like Vergil (8:1) and Ovid (15:1), Sen. trag. shows a preference for *perimo* (some 28 occurrences, again below 312, 567; in *H.O.* 11x, in *Oct.* once) to *interimo* (*Phae.* 1122, *Oed.* 218; 4x in *Oct.*). In his prose, however, it is found only twice: at *Ep.* 95.11 in a Lucretian quotation (1.54-7), and at *Nat.* 2.26.3 *nec hoc dico, non contraria ista esse inter se et alterum altero perimi.* Therefore, it is not surprising that he has also used it in his parody, *Apoc.* 7: *et quo terribilior esset* (sc. *Hercules*), *tragicus fit et ait* (sc. *Claudio*): *'exprome propere, sede qua genitus cluas, / hoc ne peremptus stipite ad terram accidas'.* Lucan, Val. Fl., Sil., Stat. only use *perimo*, Plautus only *interimo* [*ThLL* X 1.1473; Axelson (1945) 67].

ante oculos: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.531-2 (Priam's son Polites pursued by Pyrrhus) *ut tandem ante oculos euasit et ora parentum, / concidit.*

239 patrui: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.595-7 (Aurora pleading with Jupiter) *Memnonis orba mei uenio, qui fortia frustra / pro patruo tulit arma suo primisque sub annis / occidit a forti ... Achille.* Quintus Smyrnaeus devoted his second book to Memnon. For the chiastic antithesis, cf. 235-6.

ob: in Sen. trag. this preposition is found again *Phae.* 256 *ob hoc, Ag.* 23 *ob infandas manus, Thy.* 37 *ob scelera.* With the exception of Lucr. (10x) and Verg. (17x), poets in general avoid the word: no occurrencies in Catul. and V. Fl., once in Hor. lyr., Ov. *Met.* (7x elsewhere), Tib., Luc., Stat., 3x in Prop., 6x in Sil. [Axelson (1945) 79; van Dam, p. 434]. In Senecan prose, it is found 128 times.

240 pallente ... diem: with its a b C A B structure, this line is a 'golden' line, answering to Dryden's definition (in the preface to *Sylvae*): that which they call golden, or two substantives and two adjectives, with a verb betwixt them to keep the peace (conjunctions, preposition, etc. can be ignored). Some more instances in Sen. trag.: below 321 *leui canoram*

uerberans plectro chelyn, *H.F.* 38 *binos propinqua tinguit Aethiopas face*, 223 *multo decorum praeferens auro caput*, *Phoen.* 95 *longasque uiui ducis exequias patris* (Frank also notes 132, 254, 440, 568), *Med.* 113 *festa dicax fundat conuicia fescenninus*.

Wilkinson (1963) 215 f., restricting the term, "as is generally done", to lines in which the epithets and nouns appear in the corresponding order a b C A B, quotes as instances from Horace ("Horace reserved its monumental quality for special purposes") *Epod.* 13.11 *nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno* ("lifts the thirteenth Epode from the present to the heroic world"), *Sat.* 2.6.103-4 (*rubro ubi cocco*) *tincta super lectos canderet uestis eburnos, / multaque de magna superessent fercula cena* ("two in succession enhance the grandiosity of the town mouse's scene of operations"), 2.2.136 *fortiaque aduersis opponite pectora rebus* ("makes a brave conclusion").

From Vergil he cites "two splendid examples from the great finale to *Georgics* I": *impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem* (468), *grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris* (497). Page on *Geo.* 1.468 calls attention to the use of the device "to secure dignity" in *Ecl.* 4, e.g. 4 *ultima Cumaei uenit iam carminis aetas*, 14 *inrita perpetua soluent formidine terras*, and notes several instances in Catullus 64 (e.g. 59 *inrita uentosae linquens promissa procella*, 263, 264).

Ovid also makes a frequent use of it. E.J. Kenney, *CR* 29 (1979) 224 notes seven occurrences in the 6th book of the *Metamorphoses*: 22, 251, 256, 315, 381, 423, 562; Griffin (1997) in his extensive note on *Met.* 11.33 *dura lacertosi fodiebant arua coloni*, lists 73 examples in the *Metamorphoses* (but two, 1.153 and 11.154, are also in his list of 'Silver lines').

For the chiastic form a b C B A, Wilkinson tentatively proposes the term 'Silver Line' (see on 184), and for the hexameter framed by epithet and noun 'Bronze Line' (see on 17). However, there is some confusion of terms, for the a b C B A line is also quite often called 'golden': so e.g. Williams on Verg. *Aen.* 5.46 *annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis*, Fitch on *H.F.* 594 *inlustre laetis exeris terris caput* (but see his distinction on p. 189, noting Seneca's preference for the 'silver' pattern a b C B A, a B C b A, etc. 17x in *H.F.*, to the 'golden' a b C a B, a B C A b, etc. 6x). Carl Conrad, 'Traditional patterns of wordorder in Latin epic from Ennius to Vergil', *HSCP* 69 (1965) 234, refers to this pattern as 'concentric' wordorder; some instances of this pattern in the other plays: *H.F.* 367 *altus sepultas obruet gentes cinis*, *Ag.* 711 *creberque totum possidet corpus tremor*, *Thy.* 113 *uicina gracili diuidens terra uada*.

R.F. Thomas in his *Georgics* edition also uses the term 'golden' line indiscriminately of chiastic order (1.117 *unde cauae tepido sudant umore lacunae*, in his scheme A-a-V-n-N), and non-chiastic order (1.190 *magnaque cum magno ueniet tritura calore*); at 2.387 *oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cauatis*, he notes the single instance where the nouns precede the verb and the adjectives follow.

H.M. Poortvliet on V. Fl. 2.7 *templaque Tisaeae mergunt obliqua Dianae*, takes the liberty of applying the terms also to lines which show a different order (his scheme: N a V A n); that book (664 lines) contains two real Golden Lines: 56 *puraque nec grauido surrexit Cynthia cornu*, 248 *totaque iam sparsis exarserat insula monstris*, and one Silver Line: 93 *alternos aegro cunctantem poplite gressus*.

For a survey of its appliance in the hexameter, see J.M. Baños Baños, 'El *versus aureus* de Ennio a Estacio', *Latomus* 51 (1992) 762-774; see also Wijsman on Val. Fl. 5.79. Gruzelier (1993) xxviii notes Claudian's "habit of closing a paragraph with this formal figure (...) and also of disguising the symmetry by spreading it over two lines".

pallente: cf., of the same event, Ov. *Met.* 13.580-2 *uidit Achillea pereuntem cuspide mater; / uidit et ille color, quo matutina rubescunt / tempora, palluerat, latuitque in nubibus aether.* Sen. trag. uses the verb of the moon at *Oed.* 44-5 *obscura caelo labitur Phoebi soror, / tristisque mundus nubilo pallet nouo*; cf. *Med.* 793 *sic face tristem pallida lucem funde per auras*, *H.O.* 1529 (of the sun) *pallidus maestas speculare terras* (André, p. 145: "Aussi, d'une façon générale, le mot indique-t-il la perte d'éclat d'un objet, en particulier des phénomènes atmosphériques et surtout des astres"). For the use of *pallere* as a sign of fear (or other strong emotion), cf. *Med.* 346 *palluit audax Tiphys*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.28 *palluit audax* (of Europa), Verg. *Aen.* 8.709 *pallentem morte futura* (Cleopatra), Ov. *Met.* 13.73-4 *trementem / pallentemque metu et trepidantem morte futura*. The participle is also used as a characteristic of the inhabitants of the Underworld (*OLD* 1b; cf. *pallidus* 3b); in Sen. trag. e.g. *Oed.* 583 *pallentes deos*.

maestum: 'mournful'; of light *Med.* 790 (of the moon) *facie luridā maestā*, *Oed.* 1-2 *iam nocte Titan dubius expulsa redit / et nube maestum squalida exoritur iubar*, Luc. 1.235 *maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem*, 8.721-2 *lucis maesta parum per densas Cynthia nubes / praebebat*. See also on 85 *maesta*.

protulit: likewise, of showing one's own head, *H.F.* 942-3 *unde nox atrum caput / ignota profert?*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.9 *at cum tristis hiems squalentia protulit ora* (*Met.* 4.654 *squalentia protulit ora*, cited by Caviglia, is different: Perseus shows the head of Medusa).

vultu: for the transferred use, cf. *H.F.* 940-1 *Phoebus obscuro meat / sine nube uultu*, (of the moon) *Med.* 788 *pleno lucida uultu*, *Phae.* 418 *sic te lucidi uultus ferant*, Ov. *Met.* 2.329-30 (the Sun grieving for Phaethon) *nam pater obductos, luctu miserabilis aegro, / condiderat uultus*, 11.570-2 *Lucifer obscurus ... densis texit sua nubibus ora*.

241 uictor ... horruit: cf. *uictor* (22) ... *horret* (24), and see on 168 *horridus*.

242 didicit: learning from one's own or from others' experience plays an important part in Seneca's plays: cf. above 5 *documenta*, below 263-4 *magna momento obrui / uincendo didici*, 730 *discite mites Herculis iras*, *H.F.* 69-70 *et posse caelum uiribus uinci suis / didicit ferendo*, 398 *et disce*

regum imperia ab Alcide pati, 491 *et te magistro non nouum hoc discet nurus*, *Phoen*. 328-32 *ego ille sum qui scelera committi uetem / et abstineri sanguine a caro manus / doceam? magister iuris et amoris pii / ego sum? meorum facinorum exempla appetunt, / me nunc secuntur*, *Phae*. 1199-1200 *quid facere rapto debeas gnato parens, / disce a nouerca: condere Acherontis plagis*, *Ag*. 932-3 *etsi timendum caesus Agamemnon docet, / aggrediar*.

et dea natos: 'even the sons of a goddess'.

Steele (1922) 26 f. compares Mart. 5.64.6 *cum doceant ipsos posse perire deos*: "we may assume that Martial had the admiration of a fellow-Spaniard for Seneca whose writings were before him in his early years".

243 saeua Amazon: Penthesilea (see also above on 12 *quae*). Quintus Smyrnaeus' first book tells of her valour, and mentions two reasons for her coming to Troy: her zest for battle, which he stresses constantly and with a great variety of epithets, and her endeavour to escape punishment for the fact that she had killed her sister inadvertently.

ultimus: according to the tradition, Memnon was the last defender (see on 10), but Seneca prefers to keep the sequence of 10-13 and of Verg. *Aen*. 1.489-90. As Fantham notes, Penthesilea here forms a smooth transition to Polyxena, just as Vergil's reordering provides a contrast with the approach of Dido.

metus: 'object of dread' (*OLD* s.v. 5b), see on 62. For more instances of 'Synonymen-Variation' (*metus* E, *timor* A), see Zwierlein (1984) 42 f.

244-249 Pyrrhus rounds off with a personal attack, much sharper than in lines 235-6.

merita: echoes 210 *meruit* and 234 *merita* (Fantham).

digne: the E-reading *digna* is an 'Angleichungsfehler', Carlsson (1926) 20, like *Oed*. 85 *hoc stare certo pressius fortem gradum* (*gradu* A), *Thy*. 1064-5 *aggressi manu / mea ipsa flammas* (*ipse* A).

245 si ex: for the elision of *si*, cf. *H.F.* 350 *quod si impotenti*, *Phoen*. 413 *aut si aliquod*, *Phae*. 121 *non si ille*, 1121 *et si odia*, 1120 *si abominanda*, 1185 *si incesta*, *Oed*. 699 *quid si innocens*, 1028 *non si ipse*, *Ag*. 552 *quid si ipse*. The older editors printed *etsi Mycenis*. The occurrence of three elisions in this line is noteworthy (again in 249); below 909 there are even four.

Mycenis: see on 155. The implication is clear: even if he should ask for a girl, maybe a daughter of your own, from Mycenae.

uirginem: the usual word for 'girl' in Sen. trag. The noun occurs some forty times, in *Troades* it is used another ten times. Forms of *puella* are only found at *H.F.* 18 *mundus puellae serta Cnosiacae gerit*, 465-6 *leo, / donum puellae factus*, *Oed*. 479 *arma detraxit trucibus puellis* (the Amazons), *Ag*. 349-50 *tibi fila mouent docta puellae / carmine molli*. This is in line with the rare use of *puella* by Vergil in the *Aeneid* (only at 2.238, 6.307 *pueri innuptaeque puellae*), and later epic poets: Stat. *Ach*. 1.359, *Theb*. 10.905, 12.761, Sil. 10.494, V. Fl. 8.142, no occurrences in Lucan.

P. Watson (1985) 433 f. corrects Axelson's view that the use of *puella* merely resulted from the metrical intractability of some cases of *uirgo*. She calls attention to the "own set of connotations" of both words, apart from obvious differences such as the technical use of *uirgo* in the sense of one who is not sexually initiated, and the regular application of *puella* to babies or very small children: "*Puella*, though it had ousted its positive *puera*, still seems to have retained the emotional associations of a diminutive - hence its use in love poetry as the regular term of a girlfriend; it may also be employed in contexts requiring the implication of smallness or weakness. *Virgo*, by contrast, is a less emotive term for a young unmarried girl of respectable morals, a younger version of the *matrona*". See also her discussion of this word-pair, *Glotta* 61 (1983), 119-143. In *Troades*, in my opinion Seneca may have preferred *uirgo* for Polyxena because the noun obviously contrasts better with *puer* (1063, 1167) than *puella*.

In his prose, Seneca uses *uirgo* 11 times, e.g. of the Graces (*Ben.* 1.3.2), the Vestals (*Ben.* 1.3.7, *Dial.* 1.5.3, 8.2.2), and at *Dial.* 12.19.4 *cui uirgo nupserat*, *Ep.* 94.15 *quam uirginem duxit*. Forms of *puella* are found *Apoc.* 8 *sororem suam, festiuissimam omnium puellarum*, *Ben.* 1.3.6 (of the Graces) *cum Hesiodus puellis suis, quod uoluit, nomen imposuerit*, 1.4.4 *ne, quia Charites Iouis filiae sunt, ... tam bellis puellis fiat iniuria*, *Dial.* 5.39.4 (of a princess), 12.12.6 *o felices uiros puellarum quibus populus Romanus loco soceri fuit*, *Ep.* 24.14 (*dolor*) *quem in puerperio puella perpetitur*, 94.15 *an non putas aliquid esse discriminis inter sterilem et fecundam, inter prouectiorem et puellam, inter matrem et nouercam?*.

atque: originally, it is a combination of the prep. *ad* used adverbially ('in addition') and *-que* ('and'). It can be used "connecting a more particular or emphatic term or sentence" (*OLD* s.v. 1; cf. K-S 2.15-24; H-Sz 476-479); often it is a mere synonym of *et* and *-que* (K-S 2.24-33). From the beginning, it is appropriate to the more elevated style: more frequent in Terence than in Plautus, often used by Cato in his *Orationes*, rarely in the *De agri cultura*. From popular language *atque* seems to have disappeared, like *-que* itself, as early as at the end of the Republic; it was revived by prosaists like Sallust, Livy and Tacitus.

The word occurs nine more times in *Tro.* and always with elision (317, 319, 416, 434, 675, 853, 1086, 1096, 1149); this is in line with its use by other poets (esp. the elegists) from Ennius on. See M. Platnauer, 'Elision of *atque* in Roman Poetry', *CQ* 42 (1948) 91 ff.; J.A. Richmond, *Glotta* 43 (1965) 78-103, with statistics on the elision of final *ĕ* in certain particles in other Latin poets; Zwierlein (1984) 225; Skutsch (1985) 63. In the other Senecan plays, *atque* is found some 73 times, before a consonant e.g. at *H.F.* 33, 102, 279.

The shortened form *ac* (see above on 23), always used before a consonant, has an even higher frequency in Sen. trag., in contrast with other poets: Verg. *Ecl.* only twice (3.4 *fouet ac*, 4.9 *desinet ac*, avoiding the cacophony of a double *et*), Tibullus 4x, Propertius mainly in the

formulas *ac primum* and *ac ueluti*, Ovid rarely in his elegiac poems. Horace in the four books of his *Carmina* shows a decreasing use of *ac*: 8 or 7, 1, 1 or 2, 0 (see also Nisbet-Hubbard on 2.19.11: corresponding figures for *atque*: 11, 4, 1, 2). There are no certain instances of *ac* in *Catalepton*, Phaedrus and Martial.

Although Sen. trag. uses the words *atque* and *ac* much more frequently than these fellow-poets, their occurrences are surpassed by far by their synonyms *-que* (Denooz: including *H.O.* 1321 times) and *et* (similarly 1373 times). This is line with the total numbers of the *corpus Vergilianum* (4168 *-que*, 3159 *et*, 457 *atque*, 156 *ac*) and of Val. Flaccus (1916, 1086, 176, 94 respectively).

Argis: the city is called both *Argos* (below 855, *H.F.* 1038, *Thy.* 411, Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.9) and *Argi* (*Ag.* 304, *Thy.* 119, Verg. *Aen.* 2.95); cf. Var. *L.L.* 9.89 *dicimus ... oppidum graecanice hoc Argos, ... latine Argi.* In combination with Mycene it occurs above 150-5, below 855, *Ag.* 342-4.

petat: the proper verb here with its associations of courting and marriage (*OLD* s.v. 10b/c); cf. e.g. Acc. 6-7 D (502-3 R^2) *ego ut essem adfinis tibi, ... / tuam petii gnatam*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.54-5 *multi illam magno e Latio totaque petebant / Ausonia.*

246 etiam: '(with indignant questions) really, actually' (*OLD* 4c), cf. *H.F.* 965 (same line-opening), *Phae.* 705 *quid hoc est? etiam in amplexus ruit?*, *Ag.* 983 *etiam monebit*; for the placing, cf. also *Oed.* 678 *hortaris etiam.* The usage is probably colloquial in origin, occurring already in Old Comedy, e.g. Pl. *Aul.* 633 *etiam rogitas*, *Bac.* 567 *etiamne ultro tuis me prolectas probris?*. But it is also found at Liu. Andr. *trag.* 19 *etiam minitas?*, and in the *Aeneid*: 3.247-8 *bellum etiam ... / ... bellumne inferre paratis*, 4.305-6 *dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum / posse nefas ...?*

Buecheler's proposal to read *et iam placita nunc subito improbas* was consented to by Leo, Richter, Miller and Caviglia: "La proposta del Buecheler, se accolta (e credo che lo debba essere), offre il vantaggio di istituire una significativa contrapposizione *iam / nunc subito*; diversamente, *placita* resterebbe del tutto irrelato e potrebbe - di conseguenza - trovar spazio l'equivoco di chi (Steidle, p. 229) interpreta *placita* come riferito ad una ipotetica decisione positiva in un primo tempo adottata da Agamennone in ordine al sacrificio di Polìssena". For my part, I would not like to miss the impatient *etiam* with *dubitatur.* After 245 Pyrrhus pauses, waiting for Agamemnon's reaction; when it does not come, he proceeds in a sharper tone.

The reading *placita nec subito probas?* (*nec* is found in three major A MSS, *nunc* is the reading of E) was rightly rejected by Gronovius: "Concedo aliquid juventuti & ferociae Pyrrhi, sed, ut tam impudenter obloquatur regum regi, tanquam ei necesse esset placita Achillis filio sine mora probare, id non est ferendum. Decentius igitur Florentiae: *placita nunc subito improbas?*" Madvig's *placida ... probas*, favoured by Zwierlein (1977) 152-154, is ingenious as well as tempting (alliteration and the contrast with *ferum*); however, it creates a harsher transition.

For *placita* 'things resolved or agreed on' (*OLD* s.v. *placeo* 5) cf. e.g. *Dial.* 7.8.3 *maneant illi semel placita*, Sal. *Jug.* 81.1 *in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conueniunt*, Sil. 1.10-1 *impius ensis / ter placitam suasit temerando rumpere pacem*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.80 *taedio nouuae curae semel placita pro aeternis seruauisse*. Theoretically, the use of the word here can be interpreted in two ways: it either refers to the offering of Iphigenia at Aulis or to the promise (cf. 195 *desponsa*) to give Polyxena to Achilles. Gronovius had already considered both views and preferred - in my opionion properly - to take the words as an allusion to Aulis: "Sive quod tergiversaretur tradere Polyxenam, quam olim desponderi Achilli placuerat: sive potius, quod immolare virginem dubitaret, quum id in sua ipsius filia olim Agamemnoni placuisset." Steidle's idea of confining it to the second possibility does not hold ground, in my opinion.

improbas: 'to express disapproval of by word or action, object to, condemn'; cf. *Nat.* 6.19.1 *non enim permitto mihi ne eas quidem opiniones praeterire quas improbo*, *Oct.* 589 (Nero) *liceat facere, quod Seneca improbat*, Cic. *Att.* 11.7.1 *audio ... eum senatus consulta improbare quae post discessum tribunorum facta sunt.* In Sen. trag. the verb occurs only here.

247 Priamique: to E's *patriamque* Leo (1878) 4 rightly notes that the *librarius* of the Etruscus (or his predecessors) was (were) rather negligent in the writing of the proper names; cf. below 923 *mille navium* (*Menelaum*), *Thy.* 115 *terra* (*Lerna*), *Oed.* 112 *phoebe* (*Thebe*), *Ag.* 173 *alio* (*Aulis*).

Priami ... Pelei: the antithesis, enhanced by the alliteration, has an emotional touch: the vanquished Trojan versus the famous spouse of a goddess; the conspicuous placing of one of the components of the antithesis at the beginning of the line, is repeated in 249 *Helenae* (Seidensticker, p. 167, n. 46 and 47).

natam: metre forbids E's *gnatam*, preferred by Herrmann, Giardina, Caviglia; Peiper/Richter therefore suggested *gnatamque Priami*. On the forms *natus/gnatus* in the MSS see Zwierlein (1984) 265, *OCT* p. 462. In my opinion, there probably is a deliberate contrast ("it is but Priamus' daughter") with *gnato* here.

gnato: both Ennius and Vergil (who has *gnatus* in the Aeneid only) seem to apply the noun merely in solemn passages. Plautus and Terence use *gnatus* as a noun, *natus* as a participle (see Norden on *Aen.* 6.116-7 *gnatique patrisque / alma, precor, miserere*; Harrison on Verg. *Aen.* 10.525 *gnato*: "high-style"; Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 44 [= 45 V^2] *gnata*).

248 mactare: see on 196 *mactetur*, esp. the reference to Ov. *Met.* 13.185 *immeritam saevae natam mactare Dianae.*

tuam: Pyrrhus' argumentation is simple and coherent. In Aulis, it was your daughter whose life was at stake; on this occasion, it concerns a captive princess. Then it was for Helen's sake; now it is to satisfy Achilles (cf. Schetter, p. 236).

gnatam parens: Seneca likes to use the juxtaposition for stressing kinship; cf. below 690-1, 760-1, *Phoen.* 289 *ut pater natos regas*, *Med.* 283 *ne culpa natos matris insontes trahat*, 955-6 *parens / natos*, *Phae.* 555-7 *a fratre frater, dextera gnati parens / cecidit, maritus coniugis ferro iacet / perimuntque fetus impiae matres suos*, 998 *gnatum parens obisse iam pridem scio*, *Ag.* 32 *ergo ut per omnis liberos irem parens*, *Thy.* 40-1 *fratrem expauescat frater et gnatum parens / gnatusque patrem*, 89-90 (Tantalus' ghost) *ducam in horrendum nefas / auus nepotes?*, 1025-6 *pater / natos*, 1101 *natos parenti*. It is also found in other poets, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 10.466 *genitor natum*. In other instances, such emphasis is obtained by placing the words at the beginning and end of the line, e.g. *H.F.* 113 *natos reuersus uideat incolumes pater*, *Thy.* 564 *uxor armato timuit marito*.

For the placing of *parens* at the end of the line may be compared (in the same situation at Aulis) *Ag.* 166 *cum stetit ad aras ore sacrifico pater*. Ovid also stresses Agamemnon's conflicting roles as king and father: *Met.* 13.187-8 *atque in rege tamen pater est; ego* (sc. Ulysses) *mite parentis / ingenium uerbis ad publica commoda uerti*, 12.29-30 *postquam pietatem publica causa / rexque patrem uicit*.

249 **immolasti:** 'you have offered'. Originally, the verb denotes the sprinkling of a victim with salty meal (*mola salsa*) in preparation for the sacrifice, cf. *Oed.* 335 *et sparge salsa colla taurorum mola*, *Thy.* 688 *tangensque salsa uictimam culter mola*. For the combination with *mactare*, cf. *Thy.* 713-4 *quem prius mactet sibi / dubitat, secunda deinde quem caede immolet*.

solita: see on 164 *semper*. "Non raro eo colore rhetores utuntur ut ad augendam vim argumenti rem quam semel evenisse notum sit, ita tangant quasi eadem saepe et adeo semper in simili occasione evenerit" Leo (1878) 149 already observed, citing Sen. *Con.* 1.1.17 *quaeritis quid fecerim? quod solebam*, 7.5.15 *facit, inquit, quod solet: pro amatore sanguini non parcit*, 9.24.4 *feci quod soleo: nihil aliud respexi quam patrem*, 9.24.5 *cogita qualium misereri soleas*. Sen. trag. makes use of this device again e.g. below 360 *dant fata Danais quo solent pretio uiam*, *H.F.* 396, 497 *solita ... fata*, 1102 *mundum solitos ferre lacertos*, 1343-4 *illa te, Alcide, uocat, / facere innocentes terra quae superos solet*, *Phoen.* 154-5 *dextra noster et nuda solet / bene animus uti*, *Med.* 540-1 *contemnere animus regias, ut scis, opes / potest soletque*. Other variations are found in *Ag.* 177 *iam tum*, *Med.* 447 *hoc non est nouum*, *Thy.* 62 *non noui sceleris tibi*.

iam et: for the elision of a monosyllable in the fourth arsis, cf. below 302, 484, 656, 760; *iam* is also found elided below 418. For Vergil's practice in this respect, see e.g. Austin on *Aen.* 2.112 *iam hic*, 2.254 *et iam Argiua*, Gransden on 8.557 *iam apparet*. The threefold elision (cf. 245) underlines the impetuous (cf. 250 *impetum*) character of Pyrrhus' words.

expeto: note the shift of accent from Pyrrhus acting on behalf of his father to Pyrrhus himself (cf. 256 *aspergis*).

250-275 *Agamemnon declares that life has taught him to take a moderate stand as a victor.*

250 iuuenile: 'typical of or appropriate to a young man' (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. *Cl.* 1.1.3 *non ira ... non iuuenilis impetus*, Cic. *Brut.* 316 *iuuenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia*. The adj. is found once more in Sen. trag at *Thy.* 981 *iucunda mensae sacra iuuenilis*; the one occurrence in *Octauia* is 189 *iuuenilis ardor impetu primo furit*.

uitium: 'defect of character, moral failing, vice' (*OLD* s.v. 4).

est: for the structure of the line, cf. *H.F.* 353 *ars prima regni est posse in inuidia pati*, *Thy.* 470 *immane regnum est posse sine regno pati*, *Ag.* 202 *mors misera non est commori cum quo uelis*.

regere ... impetum: 'to control one's impulse'. In each Senecan tragedy, with the exception of *Oedipus*, someone turns up having problems in this respect: *H.F.* 974-5 *pectoris sani parum / magni tamen compesce dementem impetum*, *Phoen.* 347-8 *mitte uiolentum impetum / doloris*, *Med.* 157-8 *siste furialem impetum, / alumna*, 381, *Phae.* 255 *moderare, alumna, mentis effrenae impetus*, 263, *Ag.* 126-7 *quid tacita uersas quidue consilii impotens / tumido feroces impetus animo geris?*, 203, *Thy.* 136-7 *tandem lassa feros exuat impetus / sicci progenies impia Tantali*. Cf. Klei on *Dial.* 2.5.2: "*impetus* gebruikt Seneca van een plotselinge opwelling - *Ep.* 31.1 *sequere illum impetum animi ...*, 78.2 *saepe impetum cepi ...*, *ad Helv.* 1.1 - die juist door zijn spontaan karakter kan blijken te strijden met het gezond verstand; vgl. *Ep.* 37.5 *non consilio adductus illo, sed inpetu inpactus est*; *Ben.* 2.14.1." Cicero already uses it as the Latin equivalent for ὁρμή. See J.M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*, Cambridge 1969, index s.v. 'impulse'.

Agamemnon pushes off with a *sententia*, as he will also end with one (291). To the tenor of this one may be compared *Oct.* 189 cited on *iuuenile*, 446 *regenda magis est feruida adolescentia*, Cic. *Sen.* 20 *temeritas est florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis*, *Gorboduc* I.2.110-6 'Your eye, your counsell and the grave regarde / of Father ... / Shall bridle so their force of youthful heates, / And so restreine the rage of insolence, Which ...' (J.W. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, London 1893, 49; P. Bacquet, 'L'imitation de Sénèque dans «Gorboduc»', in: J. Jacquot, *Les tragédies de Sénèque et le théâtre de la Renaissance*, Paris 1964, 169), Schiller, *Tell*, I.4 'Wie soll die rasche Jugend sich bezähmen?' (F. Kunz, *Sentenzen in Senecas Tragödien*, Wiener-Neustadt 1897, 14). Another criticism of youth in Sen. trag. is found at *Thy.* 309 *peiora iuuenes facile praecepta audiunt*. At Hom. *Il.* 3.108 Menelaos remarks: 'young men's minds always turn with every wind'.

The *sententiae* are a vital element in Sen. trag. In this play, they will not only be used by Agamemnon, but also by Pyrrhus (327), Andromacha (515), Vlixes (587), Helena (869), and the chorus (1009 ff.). After Kunz, Canter pp. 85-99 has made a classification of the *sententiae* in Sen.

trag. under fourteen themes; see also Lausberg §§ 872-879, citing e.g. Quint. 8.5.3 *sententiae uocantur, quas Graeci* γνώμας *uocant; utrumque autem nomen ex eo acceperunt, quod similes sunt consiliis et decretis*; *Rhet. Her.* 4.17.24 *sententia est oratio sumpta de uita, quae aut quid sit aut quid esse oporteat in uita breuiter ostendit.*

Seidensticker, pp. 180-199, thoroughly deals with 'Gnomik' ("Ein besonders charakteristischer Zug senecanischer Gesprächsverdichtung ... immer wieder betont, häufig getadelt, selten richtig verstanden", p. 180) in two respects. Firstly, he compares Seneca's use of with the way it is applied by the Greek tragedians: "Überspitzt könnte man sagen, daß die griechischen Tragiker die Sentenz der einmaligen Situation des Dialogs und seinem konkreten Thema unterordnen, während man bei Seneca oft den Eindruck hat, als sei die Sentenz das Entscheidende und der spezielle Fall diene vor allem dazu, dem Dichter die Gelegenheit zur Formulierung psychagogischer und belehrender Sentenzen zu geben" (p. 185). Secondly, he explains Seneca's predilection for them: "Ohne Zweifel kam diese Aussageform Senecas Vorliebe für bedeutungsschwere Kürze entgegen. Die Sentenz bot ihm eine willkommene Möglichkeit, seine überlegene Formulierungskunst zu beweisen. Seneca ist hierin durchaus ein Kind seiner Zeit" (p. 195); "Die Sentenz bietet Seneca die Möglichkeit, in jedem Augenblick aus der Darstellungsebene in die Deutungsebene überzugehen" (p. 196; cf. below lines 333-6).

A. Traina, *Lo stile drammatico del filosofo Seneca*, Bologna 1974, 25 makes this distinction: "la cellula stilistica di Seneca e della sua età è la frase, la *sententia*; nell'epoca di Cesare e Cicerone era stata il periodo; nell'epoca di Frontone sarà la parola" (cf. Amoroso, p. 127).

251 aetatis: pregn. 'youth' (*OLD* s.v. 4a); cf. *Phae.* 446 *aetate fruere: mobili cursu fugit, Oct.* 586-7 *merita te diui patris / aetasque frangat coniugis, probitas pudor.*

feruor: 'ardour' (*OLD* 5a); cf. *Ep.* 68.13 *iam uitia primo feruore adulescentiae indomita lassauit*, cited by Zwierlein in his *app. crit.*, Cic. *Sen.* 45 *erat quidam feruor aetatis*, Liv. 3.12.7 *quod offendat in eo, feruorem et audaciam, aetatem cotidie auferre*, Ov. *Met.* 15.209 *posito feruore iuuentae.*

primus: 'that is in its early stages, young' (*OLD* s.v. 8); cf. e.g. *Ep.* 19.3 *quibus integra sunt et prima consilia, Dial.* 6.4.2 *in primo feruore* (sc. of grief). The A reading *primae* has had a row of defenders, like Gronovius ("Quis hic aliquid mutare audeat?"), Peiper, Damsté (1919) 59, also suggesting *imprimis* instead of *hic primus*, Carlsson (1929) 4 ('Angleichungsfehler'), Viansino, Zwierlein (1969 *Gn*) 767, and Fantham; Propertius uses *aetas prima*, denoting 'youth' (e.g. 2.8.17, 2.10.7, 2.28.19), and Verg. *Aen.* 7.51, 9.181 has *prima ... iuuenta*. The above quoted passage in *Ep.* 68, however, strongly favours the reading of E. For the abundant phrasing *aetatis ... primus*, Hillen, p. 20 compares *Phae.* 620 *tu qui iuuentae flore primaeuo uiges*, *Ag.* 493-4 *dirae Stygis / inferna nox.*

252 Pyrrhum: the proper name gives more weight and continues the gnomic tone better than would be the case with the expected *te*, esp. with the chiastic antithesis *aetatis alios ... / Pyrrhum paternus*. Likewise, *dramatis personae* sometimes denote themselves by their name; cf. below 308, 338, 863, *Med.* 566-7 (Medea to herself) *perge, nunc aude, incipe / quidquid potest Medea, quidquid non potest.*

paternus: the resemblance of father and son in this respect is also noted by Verg. *Aen.* 2.491 *instat ui patria Pyrrhus*. For the use of an adj. instead of the genitive of a noun, see on 44 *regiae*; an instance from Senecan prose: *Ep.* 67.9 *paternae uirtutis aemulus*. For the juxtaposition, cf. e.g. below 1074, 1150, *H.F.* 255 *gnatos paterni cadere regni uindices*, *Med.* 284 *hos* (sc. *liberos*) *paterno ut genitor excipiam sinu*, 600 *immemor metae iuuenis paternae*, *H.F.* 51-2 *patri / fraterna*.

spiritus: 'pride' (*OLD* s.v. 7d); cf. below 268, 505, 743, Cic. *Agr.* 2.93 *Campano fastidio ac regio spiritu*, Caes. *Gal.* 1.33.5 *Ariouistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.648 *qui spiritus illi*.

quondam: with *tuli*.

truces: 'harsh, pitiless'; of Achilles again below 832. Sen. trag. uses the adj. 21x, and applies it e.g. to Hercules (below 720), Polyxena (1152 *truci uultu*), the Centauri (*H.F.* 778), Zethus (*H.F.* 916), *tyranni* (*H.F.* 936), the Amazons (*Oed.* 479), the feelings of Clytemestra (*Ag.* 224), and the Underworld (*H.F.* 725 *regni trucis*). In his prose, it occurs four times: *Dial.* 3.15.2 *trucem atque inmansuetum bouem*, 5.15.2 *dignam tam truci portento poenam*, 12.7.8 *trucibus et inconditis Galliae populis*, *Nat.* 6.32.4 *fulminantis caeli trucem atque horridam faciem*.

The first occurrencies of the adjective in extant literature are of animals: Pl. *Bac.* 1148 *arietes truces nos erimus*, Pac. *trag.* 2-3 *quadrupes tardigrada agrestis humilis aspera / capite breui, ceruice anguina, aspectu truci*. Vergil, Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus made a sparing use of *trux*; it became more popular with Ovid (20x), Silius (22x), Statius (34x) and Valerius Flaccus (18x, see Korn on 4.109). Ribbeck, *ALL* 2.122, starts his explanation of the word at Plin. *Nat.* 20.17, the last instance in *OLD* s.v.: (Nature has created *herbas medicinae utiles*) *aspectu hospidas, tactu trucis, ut tantum non uocem ipsius fingentis illas rationemque reddentis exaudire uideamur, ne se depascat auide quadrupes, ne procaces manus rapiant*. In this sense 'prickly', it was transferred to animals (Pl. *Bac.* 1148), and then also to human beings, esp. their piercing look (see below 1152).

253 minas: besides the verbal threat of going home (*Il.* 1.169), the most specific actional threat is described at *Il.* 1.194, where Achilles is drawing his sword while torn between his intentions of killing Agamemnon and stopping his own anger.

tumidi: here 'inflamed with fury' (*OLD* s.v. 4), rather than 'puffed up with pride' (*OLD* s.v. 5); for the latter meaning cf. below 264, 301, *H.F.* 384 *dominare tumidus, spiritus altos gere*, *Med.* 178 *Pelasgo tumidus*

imperio Creo, *Ag.* 248 *spiritus tumidos* (on the use of *tumidus* and *tumere* by Sen. trag. and Vergil, see Liebermann, p. 122 f.). The words *minas* ... *tumidi* thus are a chiastic repetition of *spiritus... truces*, paving the way for the antithesis *tumidi lentus* (see on 221).

lentus: 'not easily moved, unresponsive' (*OLD* s.v. 8); cf. below 805 *lentus et segnis*, 897 *cum dimicantes lenta prospiceres uiros*, *Phae.* 672 *tam lentus audis scelera? tam lentus uides?* The qualification cannot be applied to Agamemnon's overall conduct during the conflict, but he may think of his composed reaction to Achilles' threat of going home: 'Run away by all means if your heart drives you' (*Il.* 1.173, transl. Lattimore).

Aeacidae: Achilles as grandson of Aeacus; see on 46 *Aeacius*.

254 quo plura : for the omission of *eo* or *hoc* before the second *plura*, cf. e.g. below 695-6, *Med.* 889-90 *quoque prohibetur magis, / magis ardet ignis* [H-Sz 591; *ThLL* VIII 65.82 ff.].

possis ... feras: for the use of the 2nd pers. sing. in *sententiae* (likewise Dutch 'je' = 'men'), cf., for instance, below 425 *speres*, *H.F.* 463-4 *quemcumque miserum uideris, hominem scias. / quemcumque fortem uideris, miserum neges*, *Med.* 428 *trahere, cum pereas, libet*, *Phae.* 876 *alium silere quod uoles, primus sile*. See G. Summa, *Symbolae criticae ad Senecae tragoedias*, Neustadt a.d. H. 1896, 11.

patienter: the first occurrences of this adverb are in Cicero, *Amic.* 91 *patienter accipere, non repugnanter*, *Phil.* 11.7 *quae tulisse illum fortiter et patienter ferunt*, *Fam.* 1.8.4 *si quidam homines patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint*, and in Caesar, e.g. *Gal.* 7.77.5 *qui se ultro morti offerant, facilius reperiantur, quam qui dolorem patienter ferant.* Horace introduced it into poetry, *Ep.* 1.17.13, *Ars* 271; Ovid uses it 11x, e.g. with *ferre* at *Tr.* 4.6.37 *nos quoque uix ferimus* (*tulimus patientius ante*), 5.4.15 *fert tamen, ut debet, casus patienter amaros*. As McKeown notes on Ov. *Am.* 1.14.25, it rarely occurs elsewhere in poetry, in Sen. trag. only here. To his instances Man. 2.262, Mart. 5.7.8, 14.165.2, may be added Luc. 8.633 *patientius*.

Seneca makes a frequent use of the adverb in his prose; with *ferre*, e.g. *Ben.* 5.25.6 *hanc* (sc. *uoluntatem bonam*) *utilem facere debemus nec irati relinquere in uitio, sed ut magistri patienter ferre offensationes puerorum discentium memoriae labentis*, *Dial.* 4.33.1 *potentiorum iniuriae hilari uultu, non patienter tantum ferendae sunt*, 5.23.7 *tulit hoc, ut dixi, Caesar patienter*, *Ep.* 67.6 *tormenta patienter ferre.*

For the conspicuous *p* alliteration, cf. e.g. in this play 64 *palmis pectora ... planctus*, 310 *paremque poscit Priamus*, 687-8 *prece / placare poteris*, 694-5 *preces placidus pias / patiensque*, *Phae.* 938 *profugum per omnis pertinax latebras premam*, 1010 *placidumque pelagus propria tempestas agit*, *Phoen.* 558 *petendo patriam perdis?*, Ag. 243 *quem paenitet peccasse paene est innocens.*

255 ff. The following passage was praised even by J.W. Duff in his *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, London [3]1960, 210 f. after some ten mainly depreciatory pages:

Yet all is not exaggeration in sentiment and style. When the worst has been urged against Seneca, there remain speeches that are spirited, descriptions that are effective, and thoughts that are memorable. The style is in general lucid, and, if epigrammatic, is founded on pure Latin and on harmonious versification. Perhaps no better example of the dramatic speech in Seneca can be given that that from the *Troades* in which Agamemnon pleads against the proposed sacrifice of the Trojan maiden Polyxena at Achilles' tomb. The arguments, put with clearness and vigour, are characteristically fortified by *sententiae* and antitheses.

caede: the subst. can denote both 'killing, slaughter' (*OLD* s.v. 1b: of individuals; 2a: in sacrifices), and concr. 'blood from a slain or wounded body' (*OLD* 4). Here the original meaning seems prevalent because of *dira* (cf. the *Met.* passages adduced on *caede dira*); the concrete sense is felt in the combination with *aspergis*. *ThLL* s.v. III 51.10 ff. lists this instance with e.g. *Ag.* 76, *Oed.* 485, *H.F.* 483 under that metonymical heading. The noun is used similarly of Polyxena at Catul. 64.368 *alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulcra*, Ov. *Met.* 13.468 (Polyxena) *quisquis is est, quem caede mea placare paratis*. At the end of his speech, Agamemnon will take up these opening words (another ring-composition!) with the variation *facinus atrox caedis* (289).

caede dira: the combination of subst. and adj. is not found before Ovid: *Met.* 3.625, 13.551, 15.802, *Tr.* 4.4.63-4 *locus ... ubi Taurica dira / caede pharetratae spargitur ara deae*; it occurs again at Sil. 5.206.

dira nobiles: note the juxtaposition of opposite words.

nobiles clari: there is nothing wrong with Agamemnon's respect for the shade of Achilles!

256 **aspergis:** 'willst du ... beflecken' (Thomann), de conatu; cf. H-Sz 316, Ernout-Thomas, p. 227. As a rule, Sen. trag. uses the verb in connection with blood; cf. 1107, *H.F.* 372 *parentis sanguine aspersam manum*, *Phoen.* 268 *paterno sanguine aspersas manus*, *Thy.* 93-5 *ne sacra manus / uiolate caede neue furiali malo / aspergite aras*. A comparable use in found in Cic. *N.D.* 3.88 *ne aram sanguine aspergeret*. See Fitch on *H.F.* 134-5; Shackleton Bailey (1956) on Prop. 1.12.16.

umbras: for the use of the plur. for a single shade (here without metrical necessity), cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 5.81 *animaeque umbraeque paternae* (of Anchises), *Geo.* 4.501 *umbras* (of Eurydice), Prop. 2.8.19 *exagitet nostros Manes, sectetur et umbras*, Luc. 10.524 *altera, Magne, tuis iam uictima mittitur umbris*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.638 *primi coniugis umbris* (*OLD* s.v. 7); it may be explained on the analogy of *manes* (31), *cineres* (195). The older editors printed *nobilem ... umbram*.

noscere hoc primum decet: Agamemnon's wording recalls *Ben.* 1.1.5 *exponam necesse est hoc primum nobis esse discendum, quid accepto beneficio debeamus*. In contrast with *Phae.* 140-1 *honesta primum est uelle nec labi uia, / pudor est secundus nosse peccandi modum*, there is no *secundum* here.

Rupert Schreiner, *Seneca als Tragödiendichter in seinen Beziehungen zu den griechischen Originalen*, München 1890, 34, 36, suggests that 256-7 might be an adaptation of Eur. *Hec.* 282 'those who have power ought not to exercise it wrongfully' (transl. Kovacs).

257 facere ... pati: for the chiastic antithesis see on 235-6. The two verbs are often found opposed: cf. *H.F.* 735 *quod quisque fecit, patitur*, *Oed.* 983-4 *quidquid patimur mortale genus, / quidquid facimus*, Cic. *Tim.* 18 *cum ipse* (sc. *mundus*) *per se et a se et pateretur et faceret omnia*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.42-3 *magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet / quiduis et facere et pati*, Liv. 24.38.2 *nec patiendo infanda nec faciendo*, Vell. 2.100.3 *nihil, quod facere aut pati turpiter posset femina.* Two later instances: Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 328-9 *non ferunt luctum parem / quae facio quaeque patior*, 407 *ut facere metuit quisque quod metuit pati.* The same contrast is found in Greek, e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1526-7, *Eu.* 868, *Pers.* 813-4, Hdt. 5.89.

uictor ... uictus: for this paronomasia, used in order to underline the contrast, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 278 *tandemque uenias uictor ad uictam domum*, 368-9 *pacem reduci uelle uictori expedit, / uicto necesse est*, 409-10 *cum uictor arma posuit, et uictum decet / deponere odia*; in Senecan prose, *Cl.* 1.9.8 *hodie tam felix et tam diues es, ut uicto uictores inuideant*, *Dial.* 2.6.6 *non est quod me uictum uictoremque te credas.* Some instances from other authors: *Eleg. Maec.* 1.93-5 *sic est: uictor amet, uictor potiatur in umbra, / uictor odorata dormiat inque rosa; / uictus aret uictusque metat*, *Epic. Drusi* 178 *quid faceret uictus, sic ubi uictor init?*, Luc. 1.128 *uictrix causa deis placuit sed uicta Catoni.* Ovid makes a frequent use of this word-play: e.g. *Am.* 1.2.52 *qua uicit, uictos protegit ille manu*, *Met.* 3.95 *dum spatium uictor uicti considerat hostis*, *Fast.* 1.523 *uicta tamen uinces*, 3.101-2 *nondum tradiderat uictas uictoribus artes / Graecia*, *Pont.* 1.2.123 *uicit semper, uictis ut parcere posset.* In Vergil, it is only found at *Aen.* 2.367-8 *uictis ... uictores*, 10.757 *uictores uictique* (Wills, pp. 251-253). Other instances of this type of paronomasia: 633 *dediscit ... didicit*, 671 *inermis ... armatis*, 1048 *decrescet ... crescet.*

258 uiolenta ... diu: this *sententia* is found again, with some small changes, at *Phoen.* 660 *inuisa numquam imperia retinentur diu*, *Med.* 196 *iniqua numquam regna perpetuo manent*; cf. also *Thy.* 215-7 *ubi non est pudor / nec cura iuris sanctitas pietas fides, / instabile regnum est*, *Dial.* 5.16.2 *nec diu potest quae multorum malo exercetur potentia stare*, *Cl.* 1.11.4 *quid enim est, cur reges consenuerint liberisque ac nepotibus tradiderint regna, tyrannorum exsecrabilis ac breuis potestas sit?* In other authors: Sen. *Con.* 7.8.1 *omnis nimia potentia saluberrime in breuitatem constringetur*, Sall. *Rep.* 1.3 *equidem ego cuncta imperia crudelia magis acerba quam diuturna arbitror*, Cic. *Off.* 2.25 *nec uero ulla uis imperii tanta est, quae premente metu possit esse diuturna* [see Otto (1890) s.v. *regnum* 3; Kunz, p. 7]. Steele, p. 4 thinks that this line, like *H.F.* 257-8 *regium capiti decus / cum capite raptum*, refers to Gaius; similarly, the passage *H.F.* 745-7 *sanguine humano abstine / quicumque regnas: scelera taxantur modo / maiore uestra* "is a lesson drawn from the career of Caligula."

nemo: Seneca uses the word 34 times in his plays, in *Tro.* again 751, 1017, 1018, 1023, 1025. Vergil in his *Aeneid* has it only four times (Williams on *Aen.* 5.305), Ov. *Met.* five times, Sil. three times; *nemo* is completely absent in Lucan, Val. Fl., Tib. and Hor. lyr. On the other hand, the word is often found in Juvenal (35 times) and Martial (30 times); for other authors the figures are: Prop. 7x, Hor. *Ep./Sat.* 12x, Ov. *Tr.* 15x, *Pont.* 4x. Axelson (1945) 76 concludes: "Eigentümlich ist der Widerwille gegen ein so bedeutsames Wort wie *nemo* (das sich nur z.T. durch rhetorisches *quis* oder Ausdrücke mit *quisquam* und *nullus* ersetzen liess); aber tatsächlich ist Seneca der einzige Vertreter der höheren Gattungen, der es gern gebraucht".

continuit: 'gnomic' perfect, probably suggested by the similar Greek use of the aorist, for instance 'by suffering the fool learns', Hes. *Op.* 218. The first occurrence in Latin literature seems to be at Catul. 62.42 *multi illum* (sc. *florem*) *pueri, multae optauere puellae*; cf. also Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.47-8 *non domus et fundus, non aeris aceruus et auri / aegroto domini deduxit corpore febris*, 1.19.48 *ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram*, Verg. *Geo.* 1.49 *illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes.* Metrical convenience may seem a most likely reason for this use of the perfect, cf. e.g. below 1029 *tulit*, *Phae.* 249 *pars sanitatis uelle sanari fuit*, *Thy.* 311 *saepe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua*; but it is also found in prose since Sal. *Cat.* 11.3 *auaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupiuit* [H-Sz 318]. Seneca uses it quite often, e.g. *Dial.* 2.11.2 *nam et pueri os parentium feriunt et crines matris turbauit lacerauitque infans et sputo adspersit aut nudauit in conspectu suorum tegenda et uerbis obscenioribus non pepercit*, 5.8.2 *nec tam ualetudini profuit utilis regio et salubrius caelum quam animis parum firmis in turba meliore uersari*, *Ep.* 7.7 *malignus comes ... rubiginem adfricuit.*

259 **moderata durant:** for this positive reverse of the medal, cf. *Ag.* 102 *modicis rebus longius aeuum est*, *H.F.* 739-45 *quisquis est placide potens / dominusque uitae seruat innocuas manus / et incruentum mitis imperium regit / animoque parcit, longa permensus diu / felicis aeui spatia uel caelum petit / uel laeta felix nemoris Elysii loca, iudex futurus*; Seneca has again worded the contrast at *Cl.* 1.11.4 (quoted above on *uiolenta ... diu*).

In 1601 Sir William Cornwallis published his *Discourses upon Seneca the tragedian.* N.T. Pratt, 'From Oedipus to Lear', *CJ* 61 (1965-66) 54, styling these *Discourses* 'rambling moralistic meditations' on eleven brief passages taken from different plays of Seneca and from *Octavia*, cites his observations on *moderata durant*:

> The whole world is upheld by moderation, from the highest to the lowest, especially man is beholding to her; for without her help, of all other, he is the most deceitable creature: without moderation, affection conquers reason; without moderation, the wit of man will serve a wrong master; without moderation, the body will rebel against the soul; without moderation, the soul yields to the body; in a world unmoderated, both soul and

body perish. This is she, that makes the distinction between virtue and vice; this is she, that makes courage valor, that without moderation would be anger, and then fury; this is she, that separates justice, and cruelty; providence, from fear; power, from tyranny; majesty, from pride: this is she that keeps temperance from starving herself, thrift from covetousness, humility from baseness; this is she that tempers, and keeps in frame the whole frame of the world, without whom violence and extremes her contraries, would overthrow and ruin all. Thus much we owe to moderation, to whom after our service to God, if we would sacrifice a serious meditation to her excellency, our actions would thrive the better: for no man is wise, nor virtuous, nor any thing worth, without moderation ...

quo ... hoc (261): this variation ("anscheinend mehr umgangssprachliches", H-Sz 590) of *quo ... eo* seems to have been introduced by Cicero. In Sen. trag. it is found again *Oed.* 83-5 *quoque sit dubius magis / status et cadentis imperi moles labet, / hoc stare certo pressius fortem gradu.*

Fortuna: as the introductory note on 1-6a already indicated, the goddess Fortuna is a key figure in Seneca's tragedies, found in every single one of them. Cf., in addition to the passages quoted, there: *H.F.* 524-5 (Chorus) *o Fortuna uiris inuida fortibus / quam non aequa bonis praemia diuidis!*, *Phoen.* 82 (Oedipus) *Fortuna, cedis?*, *Med.* 176 (Medea) *Fortuna opes auferre, non animum potest*, *Phae.* 978-80 (Chorus) *res humanas ordine nullo / Fortuna regit sparsitque manu / munera caeca peiora fouens*, *Oed.* 86 *haud est uirile terga Fortunae dare*, *Ag.* 698 *Fortuna uires ipsa consumpsit suas*, *Thy.* 615-8 *nemo confidat nimium secundis, / nemo desperet meliora lassis: / miscet haec illis prohibetque Clotho / stare Fortunam, rotat omne fatum.* In this play, she is found again at 269, 275 (lacking in the *Index Nominum* of Zwierlein's edition), 711, 735. She matches personified *Tyche*, occurring for instance at Pind. *Ol.* 12.2, Aesch. *Ag.* 664, Soph. *OT* 1080, Eur. *Ion* 1514.

At first sight, the fickle goddess seems the very opposite of immovable and inexorable Fate, but in Senecan prose, e.g. *Ep.* 16.4-5, *Dial.* 6.10.5-6, they sometimes seem identical [on this topic, see e.g. N.T. Pratt, 'The Stoic Base of Senecan Drama', *TAPhA* 79 (1948) 6: "Seneca seems to regard the ultimate power as having three different aspects, fate, fortune, and gods"; G. Pfligersdorfer, 'Fatum und Fortuna. Ein Versuch zu einem Thema frühkaiserzeitlicher Weltanschauung', *Lit. wiss. Jb.* NF 2 (1961), 1-30; I. Kajanto, 'Fortuna', *ANRW* II.17.1 (1981) 502-558, esp. 543: "According to Seneca's Stoic conviction, everything has been predetermined, everything is *fatum*. But to give a vivid expression to all the perils and hazards to which Fate submits us, he resorts to the familiar language of *fortuna / tyche*"].

altius: for the use of the word in this context, cf. e.g. *Dial.* 10.17.4 *omne enim quod fortuito obuenit instabile est, et quo altius surrexerit opportunius est in occasum*, 10.4.1 *potentissimis et in altum sublatis hominibus*, *Ag.* 101, *Oct.* 377-80 quoted above on 1-6a.

260 euexit: 'to raise, exalt' (*OLD* s.v. 4b); cf. e.g. *Dial.* 11.15.1 *idemque hic* (sc. *Sextus Pompeius*) *uixit superstes optimo fratri, quem fortuna in hoc euexerat, ne minus alte eum deiceret quam patrem deiecerat*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.130 *ardens euexit ad aethera uirtus*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.6 *euehit ad deos.*

261 se ... supprimere: 'to humble or abase oneself' (*OLD* s.v. 3b); cf. *Dial.* 2. 10.3 *hic morsus non sine quadam humilitate animi euenit supprimentis se ac descendentis* (Klei *ad loc.* compares *Dial.* 2.10.2 *humilitas animi contrahentis se*, *Ep.* 31.6 *summitti te ac deprimi ueto*). It is a neologism (Herrmann, p. 530).

Kunz (1897) 20 compares Schiller, *Die Braut von Messina*, 4.4 '... in deinen fröhlichen Tagen / fürchte des Unglücks tückische Nähe'.

262 uarios ... casus: cf. *Med.* 568-9 *tu, fida nutrix, socia maeroris mei / uariique casus*, *Thy.* 604-6 *anxius sceptrum tenet et mouentes / cuncta diuinat metuitque casus / mobiles rerum dubiumque tempus*, *Oct.* 927 *per casus ... uarios.*

tremere: for the trans. use 'to tremble at' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. e.g. below 317, *Oed.* 800 *conubia matris Delphico monitu tremo*, *Nat.* 6.32.2 *quid est cur sagittam tremam?*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.296 *te Stygii tremuere lacus*, 8.350 *iam tum siluam saxumque tremebant*, Liv. 22.27.3 *uirgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere*; likewise below 488 *tremesco.*

metuentem: see on 2 *metuit.*

deos: see on 2 *leues ... deos.*

From a reverse angle (victorious commander - defeated queen; see the introductory note on the contrasting character of this second act), Agamemnon rewords Hecuba's warning; cf. below 264 *didici.*

263 nimium: Sen. trag. has 30 instances of *nimium* (again below 265, 308, 463, 464), and 17 of *nimis* (in *Tro.* only at 758).

nimium fauentes: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.22-4 *sapienter idem / contrahes uento nimium secundo / turgida uela*; the verb is also used of the gods (*OLD* 1b) below 670, *Med.* 786, *Phae.* 81, *Oed.* 408, *Thy.* 619.

magna: '(of things) of importance or consequence, great' (*OLD* s.v. 11). For the use of the neut. plur. as a substantive, cf. *H.F.* 75 *magna meditantem*, *Thy.* 446 *falsis magna nominibus placent*, Cic. *Brut.* 213 *ut conferamus parua magnis*, Verg. *Ecl.* 1.23 *sic paruis componere magna solebam*, *Geo.* 4.176 *si parua licet componere magnis.*

momento: 'in an instant, immediately' (*OLD* 5b); with the addition of *temporis*, e.g. Verg. *Cat.* 3.9-10 *tale deae numen, tali mortalia nutu / fallax momento temporis hora dedit*, without it again *Phae.* 770-1 *ut fulgor teneris qui radiat genis / momento rapitur*, *Nat.* 3.27.2 *momento fit cinis, diu silua*, Liv. 21.14.3 *urbem momento cepit.*

obrui: 'to be crushed, overwhelmed' (*OLD* s.v. 4a); cf. below 416 *tunc obruta atque euersa*, *Ben.* 6.31.2 *nihil esse dubii, quin illa mole* (sc. the Persian army and fleet) *non uinci solum Graecia, sed obrui posset*, Sen. *Suas.* 2.9 *non uincent nos sed obruent.*

264 uincendo: for the shortening of final *-ō*, see above on 171 *subito.* With the gerund-form, it occurs once more in Sen. trag., likewise at the beginning of the line, at *Phoen.* 558 *petendo patriam perdis?* (at the beginning of *Oed.* 942 *soluendo non es* is a conjecture); similarly Juv. 3.232 *uigilando.*

didici: see on 242. The verbal form here is the counterpart of Hecuba's *documenta* (5).

265 nimium: may be taken with *tumidos* (Miller, Fantham) or with *feroces* (Thomann, Stroh). For the placing after the adj., cf. *Oed.* 75 *o saeua nimium numina,* Verg. *Geo.* 2.458 *o fortunatos nimium ... agricolas* [H-Sz 410: "Nachstellung begegnet namentlich bei steigernden Adv. wie *valde* und *nimis,* ... unter griech. bzw. hebr. Einflusz besonders in der Bibel"].

stamus: another echo of Hecuba (6 *starent*).

Amoroso (1984) 129 thinks *stamus* a wink at the audience: "L'uso della 1ª plurale e l'evidente riferimento alla condizione dei Romani del I sec. consentiva all'attore di dare a questa sentenza una carica di significato ammicante verso il pubblico. Simili atteggiamenti si trovano nell'*Agamemnon*; cf. E. Fantham, 'Seneca's *Troades* and *Agamemnon*, Continuity and Sequence', *CJ* 77 (1982), 120-121."

stamus ... / ... cecidit: for the 'Rahmende Stellung der Prädikate' (Seidler, p. 149), cf. e.g. below 965-6, 1162-4.

loco: recalls Hecuba's *quam fragili loco / starent superbi* (5-6). The second choral ode of *Thyestes* provides a good illustratation of Seneca's fondness of this line-ending in such phrases: 342-3 *nescitis, cupidi arcium, / regnum quo iaceat loco,* 365 *qui tuto positus loco,* 394 *obscuro positus loco*; cf. also *Phoen.* 629 *fortuna belli semper ancipiti in loco est, Oed.* 834 *tuto mouetur quidquid extremo in loco est,* 909-10 *quidquid excessit modum / pendet instabili loco.* For other wordings with *locus,* see 423-4 *prosperis rebus locus / ereptus omnis, dira qua ueniant habent,* 997 *interim hoc poenae loco est.* More instances have been collected by Liebermann, p. 121, n. 147.

The equation of conqueror and conquered permeates *Agamemnon*: cf. 752-4 *haec hodie ratis / Phlegethontis atri regias animas uehet, / uictamque uictricemque,* 869-71 *uicimus uicti Phryges. / bene est, resurgis Troia; traxisti iacens / pares Mycenas* [see Tarrant (1976) 4, n. 2].

266 fateor: a conversational turn, familiar from Latin Comedy, e.g. Pl. *Mer.* 983 *fateor, deliqui profecto, Pseud.* 913 *fuit meum officium ut facerem, fateor,* Ter. *Haut.* 158 *ita res est, fateor: peccatum a me maximest,* 644 *mi Chreme, peccaui, fateor*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 2.134 (Sinon) *eripui, fateor, leto me.* It is used likewise below 318, *Med.* 246, 936, *Thy.* 273, 513.

impotens: see on 215; for the combination with *superbus,* cf. *Ag.* 247 (*Fortuna*) *superba et impotens, Ep.* 80.8 *superbus atque impotens et fiducia uirium tumidus.*

267 regno: for the abl. with *impotens,* cf. *Med.* 143 *sceptro impotens.*

altius: echoes 259 *altius*.

memet: the particle *-met* usually intensifies the pronoun to which it is attached, e.g. *Med.* 228 *seruasse memet* (Costa: 'I and no other saved them'); here it seems added metri gratia with little idea of emphasis. It is already found in Old Comedy, e.g. Pl. *Am.* 607 (Amph.) *quis te uerberauit?* (Sosia) *egomet memet*. Sen. trag. makes a frequent use of it: *memet* again *Med.* 445, 546, 1018, *Phae.* 1228, *Oed.* 847, *mihimet Oed.* 24, *temet H.F.* 1011, 1252, *Med.* 899, *Phae.* 257, 588, *Oed.* 809, *Ag.* 51, 203, *tibimet Phae.* 1222, *Ag.* 225, 798, *semet Med.* 671, *Phae.* 163, 480, *Oed.* 341, 621, 638, *sibimet Oed.* 594 (the index of Oldfather-Pease-Canter is incomplete here). G.B.A. Fletcher, 'The Suffix *-met* in Post-Virgilian Poetry', *Hermes* 94 (1966) 254-256, lists instances from Ovid (*Pont.* 3.1.49 *memet*) up to Venantius Fortunatus; it is a reaction to Norden's comment on *Aen.* 6.505 *egomet*: "Da Formen dieser Art in den Satiren des Horaz noch häufig sind, aber wie es scheint, nach Vergil aus der Poesie verschwinden ..., so müssen sie von Vergil zur archaisierenden Färbung seines Stils verwendet worden sein", and to Austin's note on *Aen.* 4.606 *memet*. For various analyses on its origin, see Leumann, p. 464.

268 fregit: 'to repress, check, curb, restrain (passions, etc.)' (*OLD* 11); cf. e.g. *Ag.* 964-5 *indomita posthac uirginis uerba impiae / regina frangam*, Liv. 9.7.10 *quam concitationem animorum fregit aduentus exercitus*.

269 Fortunae fauor: cf. *Dial.* 11.9.7 *antequam quicquam ex suo fauore fortuna mutaret*, *Ep.* 42.4 *fortunae fauore*, 72.4 *fauorem fortunae*, Claud. *Cons. Olyb. et Prob.* 11 *his neque per dubium pendet fortuna fauorem* (see Taegert's note).

270 Priame?: Zwierlein, like Mignon, follows the punctiation that was advocated by Gronovius, adducing *Ag.* 526 *uehit ista Danaos classis? et Troas uehit!* The line, powerful as it already was, thus forms a personal (*tu - me, Priamus - Agamemnon*) repetition of the collective (*Troia - nos/Danai*) rhetorical question 264-5.

facis: jointly with both *superbum* and *timidum*. For this appliance of a verb, cf. *H.F.* 271 *qui scelera terra quique persequitur mari*, *Oed.* 140-1 *nec cruor, ferrum maculauit atra / turpis e plaga sanies profusa*, *Thy.* 334-5 *ista nostro in pectore / fides timorque, sed magis claudet fides*, 719 *quo iuuenis animo, quo tulit uultu necem*.

271 quicquam ... nisi: 'anything (else) but', cf. e.g. Apul. *Met.* 6.2 *aliud quicquam cogitas nisi de tua salute?*

sceptra: a common metonymy for 'kingship' (*OLD* 2), cf. e.g. below 728, 771, *Med.* 143 *sceptro impotens*, *Phae.* 217, 617, *Oed.* 705 *qui sceptra duro saeuus imperio gerit* (Canter, p. 132 has a list of instances).

uano: the adjectives are most important in this description, and their preponderance is accentuated by the parallel placing with the corresponding substantives; for this placing of the adj. in the fifth foot and the corresponding subst. at the beginning of the next line, cf. e.g. below 410-1 *effuso ... / fletu*.

putem: 'should I think'. Questions of this type are common in rhetorical style, cf. below 890-1, *Thy.* 546 *credat hoc quisquam?* The index of Oldfather-Pease-Canter incorrectly combines *putem* with *nisi.*

272 fulgore: 'splendour'; the use of the noun here combines the transferred meaning, e.g. Liv. 21.43.12 *dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani,* and the actual radiance of the golden sceptre: *Thy.* 229 *aurata ... sceptra,* V. Fl. 2.589-90 *aurea laeua / sceptra tenens.* Sen. trag. applies the word in a similar context at *Thy.* 414-5 *clarus hic regni nitor / fulgore non est quod oculos falso auferat*; cf. also *Oct.* 34, quoted above on 6.

nomen: 'a mere name' (*OLD* s.v. 16); cf. *Thy.* 542 *regni nomen,* with Tarrant's note: 'the title of dominion', rather than the thing itself.

falso: 'deceptive' (*OLD* s.v. 9); cf. *Thy.* 446 *falsis magna nominibus placent,* 661 *falsis axibus, Ep.* 115.7 *magnarum potestatium falsa lux.*

273 uinclo: again *Phae.* 1115, *Ag.* 746 (A), cf. *uincla* below 353, *H.F.* 649, 965, *Ag.* 894, *Thy.* 544, *uinclis* below 559 (A), *H.F.* 749, 1340, *Phae.* 882; see also on 154 *uincula.* For the meaning 'diadem', cf. *Thy.* 544 *imposita capiti uincla uenerando gere,* Stat. *Theb.* 12.89-90 *frontisque superbae / uincula.* The noun is in these tragedies also used of a helmet, *Phoen.* 471, and of a hair-ribbon, *Med.* 752. The diadem is denoted elsewhere by *regium capiti decus* (*H.F.* 257, *Ag.* 8, *Thy.* 701), *frontis nota regia* (*Thy.* 346), and *regiam capitis notam* (*Thy.* 531).

decentem: 'becoming' (*OLD* s.v. 2); again at *Thy.* 945-6 *flore decenti / uincire comam, Phae.* 764 *prata nouo uere decentia.* In its sense 'seemly, fitting' (*OLD* 1), it is found at *Thy.* 150-1 *nec dapibus feris / decerni potuit poena decentior.*

casus ... breuis: the similitude of 'chance', 'fate', 'fortune', 'god(s)', 'nature', has been noted on 2 *leues ... deos,* and on 124 *fatorum.* Axelson and Zwierlein (1986) 173 f., thinking the word *breuis* not in line with the following *nec mille forsan ratibus aut annis decem,* have preferred to read *casus ... leuis,* which is also found *Med.* 221-2 *confide regnis, cum leuis magnas opes / huc ferat et illuc casus*; cf. *Thy.* 598 *ima permutat leuis hora summis.* In my view, the reading of the MSS can be kept. Here, as below 886, one feels the original sense of *casus,* taking up 263 *obrui,* and 265-6 *stamus ... cecidit*; the adj. *breuis* repeats 263 *momento,* and is worked out in the following lines (*annis decem, non ... tam lenta*), to which may be compared *Ag.* 85-6 *quas in planum quaelibet hora / tulit ex alto,* 623-4 *restitit annis / Troia bis quinis unius noctis peritura furto, Thy.* 613-4 *quem dies uidit ueniens superbum, / hunc dies uidit fugiens iacentem.*

274 mille ... ratibus: see on 27; for the combination with *annis decem,* cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.198 (*quos*) *non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae.*

forsan: compared to other poets, e.g. Lucretius (only 6.729), Vergil (3x), Horace (in his *Carm.* only 2.16.31), Tibullus and Propertius (no occurrences), Sen. trag. uses *forsan* rather frequently: seven times, in *Tro.* again 660 [Axelson (1945) 31]. Of the synonymous words, he applies both *forsitan* (below 687) and *fortasse* (not in *Tro.*) four times.

In his prose, *forsan* is only found at *Ep.* 78.15 in a quotation of *Aen.* 1.203, *forsitan* 11x, *fortasse* 75x. On Statius' use of these words (e.g. *forsan* 8x in the *Siluae*, but only two occurrences in the epics), see van Dam, p. 447 f.

aut: = *nec* (*OLD* s.v. 5a); cf. below 1176.

275 non omnibus: tragic irony; the audience knows that it listens to a king who will be killed immediately at his home-coming.

lenta: 'tardy in taking action, slow' (*OLD* s.v. 7); cf. *Ag.* 403 *si propitios attamen lentos deos*, *Ben.* 7.29.2 *lentus et sapiens creditor*. Plutarch wrote an essay on this theme: *De sera numinis vindicta*. For other nuances of the adj. in *Troades*, see on 22 ('tenacious'), and 253 ('unresponsive'). In his other plays, Seneca applies the adj. to various substantives: *H.F.* 298 *reditus ... lentos*, 420 *mors ... lenta*, *Med.* 1016 *lento scelere*, *Phae.* 306 *lentos ... remos*, *Oed.* 346 *lentus ... cruor*, *Thy.* 499-500 *lento suem / odore*, 765-6 *lentis ... caminis*.

Leo's deletion of the line, (1878) 35: "videndum est annon interpolatori debeatur. certe languet sententiae modo succincte et cum colore poetico expressae subdita eiusdem rei pedestris explanatio", was properly refuted by Hoffa (1914) 472: "275 läßt sich trotz der Verschiebung in E wohl halten, wenn man bedenkt, daß mit V. 274 ein Abschnitt zu Ende ist, also eine Sentenze am Platze ..."

276-291 *Troy has been punished enough already; what can be left of the city, should remain.*

276 equidem: 'I for my part' (*OLD* s.v. 1). In Sen. trag., as in Vergil and Horace, it is always found emphasizing the first pers. sing.: cf. below 310, 349, 868, *H.F.* 348, 415, *Med.* 184, 254, *Phae.* 525, 1119, *Ag.* 158, 696; likewise in his prose: *Ep.* 65.21, 115.18, *Nat.* 1 praef. 3. Several philologists think (with Servius) that it was compounded of *ego* and *quidem* [see H-Sz 174]; others derive it from *ĕ-* (variously explained) and *quidem* [*OLD*; K-S 1.805, also stating, however, "vielleicht aus * *ég(o)quidem*"].

pace ... tua: 'by your leave or favour, with all due respect to you' (*OLD* s.v. *pax* 3); cf. *Nat.* 3.11.4 *pace Theophrasti dixisse liceat*, Pl. *Rud.* 698 *tua pace*, Ter. *Eu.* 466 *quaeso hercle ut liceat, pace quod fiat tua*, Lutatius Catulus, *poet.* 2.3 (Cic. *N.D.* 1.79) *pace mihi liceat, caelestes, dicere uestra*, Catul. 66.71 *pace tua fari hic liceat*, Cic. *Tusc.* 5.12 *pace tua dixerim*, *Mil.* 103 *pace tua, patria, dixerim*, Ov. *Tr.* 5.12.45 *pace ... uestra liceat dixisse*. At *Pont.* 3.1.7-9, Ovid makes the pun *pace tua, si pax ulla est tua, Pontica tellus, / ... / pace tua dixisse uelim*.

dixisse: aoristic perf.; see on 103 *sumpsisse*.

277 Argiua tellus: likewise at the beginning of the line *Thebana tellus* (*H.F.* 20), *Spartana tellus* (*H.F.* 662), *Pelasga tellus* (*Med.* 240), *hunc Graia tellus* (*Phae.* 906), *Argolica tellus* (*Thy.* 185), *Hyrcana tellus* (*Thy.* 631).

At *H.F.* 1180-1 *Argiuae impotens / dominator urbis*, the adj. clearly has the original sense 'of Argos, Argive'; it probably has also here (Boyle, François-Garelli, Miller, Thomann, Watling), but it is taken in its broader sense (cf. below 444 *Argiuos*) by Fantham ('dear land of Greece') and Caviglia ('la Grecia'). A similar ambiguity is found at *H.F.* 1124 *Argiua ... palaestra* (Billerbeck against Smith "im allgemeinen Sinn 'griechisch'").

affligi: for the combination with *vinci* in the following line, cf. above 24-5.

278 uinci ... uolui: the alliterative phrase is also found, for instance, at Ov. *Ars* 1.666 *uinci ... uolet* and Luc. 8.238 *uinci Roma uolet.*

ruere: 'to be brought to ruin' (*OLD* s.v. 7); cf. below 428 *ruentis Ilii,* 1131 *ruentis ... Troiae, Med.* 239-40 *tota cum ducibus ruet / Pelasga tellus,* Phaed. 3.10.4 *Cassandrae quia non creditum, ruit Ilium, Ilias* 1019 *ruit omnis in uno Hectore causa Phrygum.*

aequari solo: 'to raze to the ground' (*OLD* s.v. *aequo* 3b); cf. below 639, *Dial.* 11.1.1 *septem illa miracula et si qua his multo mirabiliora sequentium annorum extruxit ambitio aliquando solo aequata uisentur,* Liv. 22.23.4 *omnibus circa solo aequatis* (similarly Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.17-8 *tantaque commoti uis est Aquilonis, ut altas / aequet humo turres*).

279 utinam arcuissem: all MSS read *etiam arguissem* here. Lipsius' emendation *arcuissem* was taken over by all editors. For *etiam,* Madvig (1873) 120 proposed *utinam*: "neque *etiam* ferri potest neque ipse modus condicionalis *arcuissem* ad sententiam recte accommodari, neque haec recte cum proximis cohaerent". This conjecture, styled 'facilis et certa' by himself, was accepted by Leo, Richter, Herrmann, Zwierlein (1969 *Gn*) 767: "*etiam* kann unmöglich die beiden gegensätzlichen Gedanken *affligi Phrygas uincique uolui* und *ruere et aequari solo arcuissem* verbinden", and by Caviglia; it is supported by *Thy.* 749 *utinam arcuisset.* The transmitted reading has been defended by Hoffa ("... *solo* / (non modo non uolui, sed) *etiam arcuissem,* (*si potuissem*)", Moricca, Viansino ("*etiam*: i.e. non modo nolui, sed etiam ..."), Giardina, Fantham ("the apparent inconsequence of *etiam* is well explained by the following sentence, *sed regi frenis nequit* ..."), Amoroso, Boyle and Chaumartin.

Though neither reading really pleases me, I favor Madvig's suggestion. Swoboda's *Troiam* for *etiam* was already rejected by Madvig: "Swobodae coniectura *etiam* removetur, cetera manent acceditque novum vitium, quod *Phryges* et *Troia* inepte contraria ponuntur."

The inf. with *arceo* (*OLD* 5b) is already found at Ov. *Met.* 12.426-7 *dictis quae clamor ad aures / arcuit ire meas, Pont.* 3.3.56 *quam lex furtiuos arcet habere uiros.*

regi frenis: for the use of this metaphor from horsemanship, cf. *Med.* 3 *nouam frenare ... ratem,* 591-2 of jealous love *caecus est ignis stimulatus ira / nec regi curat patiturue frenos,* 866-7 *frenare nescit iras / Medea, non amores, Phae.* 574 *saepe obstinatis induit frenos Amor, Thy.*

496 *uix dolor frenos capit*, *Ag.* 203 *regina, frena temet*, and see below on 726 *habenas*; in Seneca's prose, e.g. *Ep.* 23.4 *uoluptates tenere sub freno*, *Dial.* 5.1.1 *iram excidere animis aut certe refrenare et impetus eius inhibere*. It is used similarly of *ira* in Luc. 2.145-6 *tum data libertas odiis, resolutaque legum / frenis ira ruit*. For more instances, also from other authors, see Liebermann, p. 120, n. 143. For the idea, cf. *H.F.* 403 *arma non seruant modum*.

nequit: Sen. trag. uses only this form of the verb: three more times at the end of a trimeter (below 496, *Phae.* 606, *Ag.* 199), once (*Phae.* 337) in a choral ode; *H.O.* 438 has *nequis*, *Oct.* 581 *nequeunt*. In his prose, the forms *nequeat* (*Ep.* 94.50), *nequeunt* (*Dial.* 3.15.1, *Ep.* 99.29) and *nequirent* (*Ep.* 51.13) occur.

280 ira: since Seneca has written a treatise *De ira* (= *Dial.* 3-5), it is not surprising that this disposition turns up regularly in his tragedies; cf. e.g. above 190 *irati*, below 672 *dabit ira uires*, *Thy.* 39 *nihil sit ira quod uetitum putet* (with illustrative examples in the following lines), 504 *cum sperat ira sanguinem, nescit tegi*, 552-3 *ira cum magnis agitata causis / gratiam rupit cecinitque bellum*, *Med.* 153 *ira quae tegitur nocet*, 943-4 *ira pietatem fugat / iramque pietas*, 916-7 *quo te igitur, ira, mittis, aut quae perfido / intendis hosti tela?*, *H.F.* 75-6 *perge, ira, perge et magna meditantem opprime, / congredere, manibus ipsa dilacera tuis*. For a more complete list, see Liebermann, p. 111. In the opening chapter of *De ira*, Seneca describes the emotion as follows: *hic* (sc. *affectus*) *totus concitatus et in impetu est, doloris armorum, sanguinis suppliciorum minime humana furens cupiditate, dum alteri noceat sui neglegens, in ipsa inruens tela et ultionis secum ultorem tracturae auidus*.

ardens: both out of rage (*ira*) over the long resistance and from joy over the triumph (*uictoria*), but the actual heat of the fire-raising in the city may also be felt in the word.

hostis: rather than admitting 'I could not control my troops', Agamemnon diplomatically uses a generalizing statement (present tense *nequit*), and the generalizing word 'foe' to enhance the excuse.

Bentley's *ultio* (cf. *Med.* 25) disturbs the attractive combination of (personified) abstract and concrete nouns (for this combination, see on 213-4; Leo [1878] 197 ff.; Smith, pp. 112-114).

Ensis is a neat suggestion, made by Zwierlein, (1977) 154 f., (1986) 90, with a reference to *H.F.* 404-5 *nec temperari facile nec reprimi potest / stricti ensis ira*, Sil. 2.21-2 *notum, quid caede calentibus armis, / quantum irae liceat, motusue quid audeat ensis*, and by Fitch, *EMC* 19 (1985) 452, *CP* 84 (1989) 237. It met the approval of Delz (1989) 504 (cf. his 'Tekstkritik und Editionstechnik', in: Fritz Graf, *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie*, Stuttgart und Leipzig 1997, 67: "*ardens ensis* wurde zu *ardensis* verkürzt und falsch ergänzt"). In favour of this conjecture is the parallel combination of subjects that is found in the next lines: *dolor / tenebraeque ... / gladiusque*.

281 commissa: 'entrusted to'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.342 *se committere nocti.*

An echo of this passage is heard in Racine, *Andromaque* I.2.211-2 (Pyrrhus to Orestes) 'la victoire et la nuit, plus cruelles que nous, / nous excitaient au meurte et confondaient nos coups'.

nocti: Troy fell at night, cf. *Ag.* 610-1 *uidimus patriam ruentem / nocte funesta*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.250 ff., Eur. *Hec.* 914.

indignum: '(of actions, etc.) not seemly, shameful, scandalous, shocking' (*OLD* 6); cf. *Dial.* 3.1.2 *quidam itaque e sapientibus uiris iram dixerunt breuem insaniam; aeque enim inpotens sui est, decoris oblita, necessitudinum immemor, in quod coepit pertinax et intenta, rationi consiliisque praeclusa, uanis agitata causis, ad dispectum aequi uerique inhabilis.* A specification is found in Racine, *Andr.* I.2.209-10: 'la vieillesse et l'enfance / en vain seur leur faiblesse appuyaient leur défense'.

282 dolor: 'a feeling of resentment, indignation' (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. *Med.* 49 *grauior exurgat dolor*, 155 *leuis est dolor, qui capere consilium potest*, *Phae.* 549 *tela faciebat dolor* (the congruency with *ira* is well illustrated by Verg. *Aen.* 7.508 *telum ira facit*, 1.150 *furor arma ministrat*). For the personification of *dolor*, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 27-9 *uiuaces aget / uiolentus iras animus et saeuus dolor / aeterna bella pace sublata geret*; at the end of *Oedipus* (1060-1), *rabidus Dolor* is among others invoked by Oedipus to be his guide (cf. *Oed.* 652, *H.F.* 693 for *Dolor* being part of a similar list of personified abstractions).

283 irritat: 'to excite to some action or feeling, rouse, stimulate' (*OLD* s.v. 2), in Sen. trag. only here; cf. *Med.* 671-2 *immane quantum augescit et semet dolor / accendit ipse uimque praeteritam integrat.*

furor: the noun turns up as *caecus Furor* (*Oed.* 590) and *in se semper armatus Furor* (*H.F.* 98) in a list of personified abstractions.

284 gladius ... felix: for the personification of the sword, cf. for example *H.F.* 404-5, quoted on 280 *hostis*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.731-2 *at perfidus ensis / frangitur, in medioque ardentem deserit ictu*, Ov. *Met.* 5.77 *surgentibus obstitit ensis*. For the predominancy of *ensis* over *gladius*, see on 50.

infecti: 'stained' with blood (*OLD* s.v. *inficio* 2); cf. *H.F.* 499 *multo sanguine infectae manus*, *Phae.* 551-2 *terras cruor / infecit omnis fusus et rubuit mare*, *Cl.* 1.11.1 *mare Actiacum Romano cruore infectum*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.413 (*arma*) *sanguine cernis adhuc sparsoque infecta cerebro.*

semel: for this use of *semel* 'at any one time, once' (*OLD* 4: "indicating a single occurrence upon which some consequence ensues"), cf. *H.F.* 865-6 *nemo ad id sero uenit, unde numquam, / cum semel uenit, potuit reuerti*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.569-70 *sic toto Aeneas desaeuit in aequore uictor, / ut semel intepuit mucro,* Cic. *Phil.* 5.20 *cum ... semel gladium scelere imbuisset, nulla res ei finem caedendi ... attulisset.*

285 uecors: 'frenzied' (*ue-* or *uae-* being "an inseparable prefix denoting a fault either of excess or deficiency in the word to which it is attached", *OLD* s.v.); in other plays used of Medea (*Med.* 123), Phaedra (*Phae.* 1155), Iocasta (*Oed.* 1005), Clytemestra (*Ag.* 734), *iuuenes* (*Phoen.* 291).

In Seneca's prose, it is only found at *Dial.* 3.20.2 *uecors animus*. Catullus had applied the adj. to *furor* (15.14) and *rixa* (40.4), Livy to *audacia* (28.22.14).

libido: occurs in Sen. trag. again at *Phae.* 195-7 *deum esse amorem turpis et uitio fauens / finxit libido, quoque liberior foret / titulum furori numinis falsi addidit*, 206-7 *illa magnae dira fortunae comes / ... libido*, 542-4 *rupere foedus impius lucri furor / et ira praeceps quaeque succensas agit / libido mentes*, 981 *uincit sanctos dira libido*, *Thy.* 45-6 *supraque magnos gentium exultet duces / Libido uictrix.*

euersae ... / ... Troiae: in my view, rather a partitive genitive with *quicquid*, than a dative with *superesse*. Fantham, p. 95 feels that the latter "gives the more vivid sense, in keeping with the stress throughout the play on Troy's end".

286 exactum: 'to exact (a penalty)' (*OLD* s.v. *exigo* 8c); cf. *Phoen.* 91-3 *dextra quid cessas iners / exigere poenas? quidquid exactum est adhuc, / matri dedisti*, *Ben.* 5.7.2 *ego a me poenas exigam.*

satis: the adverb is found in a comparable context at *Thy.* 136-8 (Chorus) *tandem lassa feros exuat impetus / sicci progenies impia Tantali. / peccatum satis est*; cf. also Eur. *Hec.* 278 (Hecuba trying to prevent the killing of Polyxena) 'enough have been killed'.

287 et ultra: more usual is *superque*, e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 17.19 *dedi satis superque poenarum tibi.*

ut: for the *ut*-clauses with *patiar* (290), cf. Pl. *Epid.* 148 *patierin ut ego me interimam?* For the position of *ut*, see below on 1118.

occidat: 'to die' (*OLD* s.v. 2); again below 751, 789, 941.

288 tumulo ... riget: cf. 196 *tumulum riget.* As though the shade of Achilles did not exist (cf. the next choral ode), Agamemnon reduces the offering to a gift to the grave and a sprinkling of the ashes.

donum detur: *figura etymologica*, again below 921 *dedit ... donum*; at *Dial.* 6.10.1, Seneca uses *nihil horum dono datur.*

289 atrox: 'cruel'; a surprisingly rare adj. in Seneca, found again only at *H.F.* 32 *terribile dirum pestilens atrox ferum*, *Thy.* 193-4 *aliquod audendum est nefas / atrox, cruentum*, 745-6 *an ultra maius aut atrocius* (sc. *nefas*) / *natura recipit?*, *Dial.* 4.2.4 *atrox pictura*, 4.36.3 *effigies ... atrox et horrida*. It is derived from *ater*, and has a long first syllable with Seneca, whereas it is short in earlier writers where its quantity can be discerned.

caedis: to Damsté (1919) 59, the word was "utique intolerabile" here, so he proposed some verb like *quaeris* or *tendis*. In my opinion, there is nothing wrong with this genitive of definition, to which may be compared, for instance, above 44 *regiae caedis nefas*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.256 *nostraeque iniuria caedis.*

thalamos: see on 61. Gronovius in his notes records the view of Petitus, who supposes that these lines were written by Seneca when Nero was put up by Poppaea to murder Octavia: "Quasi dicat, satis poenarum & ultra exactum ab Octavia, quae Pandataria clausa erat: nec audiendam esse Poppaeam, quae sibi firmum & stabile cum Nerone conjugium non

credebat fore, quamdiu viveret Octavia: itaque Poppaea Octaviae caedem suum conjugium vocabat."

uocent: Achilles had hinted at it (195 *desponsa*). In view of *cunctorum* (290), the E reading, with a generalizing subject: 'people' (cf. Thomann: 'man ... nenne'), seems preferable to A's *uocem*.

290 non patiar: just as Pyrrhus had concluded his speech with the key-word *expeto* (249), Agamemnon rounds off with *non patiar*, followed by an explanatory statement and a *sententia*. Caviglia, p. 34, n. 19 calls attention to the third *Suasoria* of Seneca the Elder, on the theme: 'Deliberat Agamemno an Iphigeniam immolet negante Calchante aliter nauigari potuisse'. Agamemnon there acquiesces in the offering, but makes the solemn vow: *uicta Troia uirginibus hostium parcam*.

in ... redit: 'comes back to, recoils upon' (*OLD* s.v. *redeo* 3, citing examples only from Seneca); cf. below 870-1 *ad auctorem redit / sceleris coacti culpa*, *Thy.* 311 *saepe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua*, *Ben.* 6.32.2 *haec* (sc. the disgraceful conduct of his daughter Julia) *tam uindicanda principi quam tacenda, quia quarundam rerum turpitudo etiam ad uindicantem redit, parum potens irae publicauerat* (sc. Augustus).

culpa cunctorum: for the alliteration at the end of a speech, cf. e.g. *Phae.* 482 *ciuium coetus cole*, *H.F.* 278 *uenias uictor ad uictam domum.*

On the meaning of this thought for Seneca's *Agamemnon*, see Seidensticker, pp. 119 ff., esp. 127 ff.

291 qui ... iubet: with a minor change (*potest* instead of *possit*), this line is quoted by Augustinus in a sermon of A.D. 401 (*serm. Frang.* 8.5), reminding the older generation of their duty towards the *pueri*; he does not mention Seneca's name, however: *'ait enim quidam'*. Once more, *c. Faust.* 20. 9, he cites a Senecan line (*Phae.* 195-6), introducing it with *'unde quidam eorum tragicus ait:'* [P.L. Schmidt, 'Rezeption und Überlieferung der Tragödien Senecas bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters', in: E. Lefèvre (ed.), *Der Einfluß Senecas auf das europäische Drama*, Darmstadt 1978, 46; H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics,* Stockholm 1967, 245, 476 f., 692]. Kunz, p. 27 quotes *peccatum qui non punit, peccari imperat* (Ribbeck, *scen. Rom. poes.*, Leipzig 1873, 387). Caviglia refers to Cic. *Off.* 1.7.23, *in Pis.* 5.10.

In Gwinne's *Nero* (see on 2 *dominatur aula*), Seneca is one of the characters; he speaks in a similar sententious manner (sig. C 3v.), cited by J.W. Binns (1974) 222:

> Quicunque parcit improbis perdit probos.
> Probi tenentur praemio, poena improbi
> ...
> Qui parcit omni ac nemini, est aeque ferus.

For the use of a sententia to conclude a speech, see above on 162.

292-348 *Gradually the talk gets a more grim character, in which personal insults and threats alternate with subtle puns.*

292 Achillis ... manes: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.448 *placet Achilleos mactata Polyxena manes*. For *manes* = the shade of one person, see on 31.

praemium: 'reward, prize' (*OLD* s.v. 2); again below 998 *praemium eripui tibi*. Cf. 192 *honores*.

ferent: 'will get', see on 209 *tulere*; cf. also below 976, *Phoen.* 590 *at ille praemium scelerum feret?*, Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.11-2 *multa laborum / praemia laturus*, Ov. *Ars* 2.701-2 *at Venerem quicumque uoles adtingere seram / si modo duraris, praemia digna feres*.

Without any reaction to Agamemnon's extensive argumentation (cf. the note on 349 ff. on the circular character of such passages), Pyrrhus in one line "dickköpfig" repeats the one and only question of interest to him. The exaggerated opening *nullumne* enables Agamemnon to go on in a composed way, trying to convince his opponent (Seidensticker, p. 169).

293 laudibus: 'praises, eulogy' (*OLD* s.v. 1b); cf. e.g. *Oed.* 402 *populare Bacchi laudibus carmen sonet*, *H.F.* 829 *magnique meritas Herculis laudes canit*, *Dial.* 9.16.3 *laudemus totiens dignum laudibus*, Pl. *Capt.* 420-1 *quantis laudibus / suom erum seruos conlaudauit!*

cuncti canent: the alliteration and the use of homoeoteleuton: *ferent - canent - audient*, intensify Agamemnon's oily tone.

294 magnum ... nomen: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.412 *magnum manet Ardea nomen*, Liv. 25.39.15 *apud omnes magnum nomen Marcii ducis est* (*OLD* 11b: 'famous, great').

295 quod: '(as connective particle, referring to what precedes) as to which, wherefore, now, etc., (often with some adversative force) but' (*OLD* s.v. 1). With *si*, it occurs in Sen. trag. once again at *H.F.* 350 *quod si impotenti pertinax animo abnuet*. This use is found once in Plautus, *Trin.* 217 *quod si exquiratur ab stirpe auctoritas*, often in Cicero, Lucretius, and Propertius [H-Sz 571].

leuatur: 'is relieved'; cf. *Phae.* 404 *non leuat miseros dolor*. The line probably is a pun on '*sit tibi terra leuis*'; cf., as a contrast, *istam terra defossam premat, / grauisque tellus impio capiti incubet* (*Phae.* 1279-80).

296 opima: 'choice' (i.e. in prime condition, of sacrificial victims, *OLD* s.v. 2); cf. Var. *R.R.* 2.1.20 *boues altiles ad sacrificia publica saginati dicuntur opimi*; This use of the adj. is found in prose (e.g. Cic. *Div.* 1.119, Liv. 7.37.1, Sen. *Ben.* 1.6.3, *Ep.* 115.5) as well as in poetry (Ov. *Pont.* 4.9.50). In Sen. trag. it occurs again in *H.F.* 909 *greges opimos*, 922-4 *uictima haut ulla amplior, / potest magisque opima mactari Ioui, / quam rex iniquus*, *Oed.* 303 *opima sanctas uictima ante aras stetit*; without the context of a sacrifice, *Phae.* 1042 *opima ceruix* (of the bull from the sea), *Oed.* 843-4 *greges ... opimos*. The neutr. plur. used as a subst. (sc. *spolia*, *OLD* 1) is found in *H.F.* 48 *opima uicti regis ad superos refert*.

gregis: like most editors, I see no reason to exchange this unanimous reading of the MSS for Bücheler's *greges*. Since the words *sanguine infuso* accentuate the pouring of blood rather than the slaughtering of animals, the severing of the necks seems a no less appropriate action than the killing of herds. For this use of *caedo* ('to cut off or through', *OLD* s.v. 8), cf. e.g. Liv. 8.7.21 *postquam ceruice caesa fusus est cruor.*

Bücheler's *caedantur greges* was printed by Leo, and taken over by Richter, Herrmann (in his *app. crit.*, however, *greges* ω : *gregis* Bücheler), and Zwierlein. But since Bücheler has not cleared up his conjecture and Leo has not added any comment, we have to guess at its purport. From *Phrygii*, it is clear that he considers *greges* a nominative, but what about the *opima colla*? It has been suggested, that the words have to be taken as an acc. graecus with *caedantur*. Such a connection with a passive verbal form seems questionable to me; the only other combination of such an acc. and a verb in Sen. trag., viz. *Med.* 353 *totos horruit artus*, is different, as Axelson (1967) 33 comments. Zwierlein (1986) 90 considers it an apposition after the model abAB of *H.F.* 14 *clara gemini signa Tyndaridae*, in line with Seneca's liking for the 'eingeschlossene Apposition' of e.g. *Tro.* 63 *turba captiuae mea*. To me, the placing of *caedantur* makes this line different; moreover, it here would concern the apposition of a whole (*greges*) to a part (*colla*), as Fitch (1989) 243 notes. Neither does the latter's suggestion, of taking *colla* as a metonymy for *uictimae*, convince me.

For the idea of offering animals instead of a human being, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 260-1 (transl. Kovacs) 'Was it Fate that induced them to perform human sacrifice at a tomb, a place where the sacrifice of a bull is more fitting?' [on human sacrifices in the Euripidean plays, see E.A.M.E. O'Connor-Visser, *Aspects of Human Sacrifice in the Tragedies of Euripides*, Amsterdam 1987].

297 flebilis: 'worthy of tears, lamentable', *OLD* s.v. 1, for the use of the dative with it quoting Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.9-10 *multis ille bonis flebilis occidit, / nulli flebilior quam tibi, Vergili*, Sen. *Dial.* 1.4.8 *pati timidis ignauisque flebilia*, V. Fl. 3.202 *flebilis urbi*; in this play, the adj. occurs again below 678, 706, 784.

298 quis: the E-reading *qui* is metrically impossible, of course.

quis iste: see on 40 *ignis iste*; *quis iste* is found again at *Ag.* 913, 962.

iste mos: 'that usage you are talking about', referring to 249 *solita iam*; for the contemptuous tone, that often goes along with it, cf. e.g. Pl. *Trin.* 1099 (*OLD* s.v. incorrectly 1009) *sed quis iste est tuos ornatus?* (Ernout-Thomas, p. 188: "*Iste* prenait facilement une valeur péjorative qui s'explique par le fait que, dans la langue du barreau, il s'appliquait à la partie adverse, et aussi parce que, d'une façon générale, on est plus porté à voir les défauts de la personne à qui l'on a affaire que les siens"). On its use, see Axelson (1945) 71 f.

in inferias: Fantham, p. 93 notes Seneca's extended non-spatial use of *in* + acc. (again below 446, 485, 536, 738, 755, 914, 955).

inferias: the Romans used the word of an offering made to the *manes* of a departed person, and connected it with *inferi*. In fact, it is probably related to *inferre*; cf. Paul. *Fest.* p. 112 M (Lindsay 99.26) *inferiae sacrificia, quae dis Manibus inferebant*, Cato, *Agr.* 132.2 *Iupiter dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto, macte uino inferio esto*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.66-8 *inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte / sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulcro / condimus et magna supremum uoce ciemus* [*OLD* s.v.; Fordyce on Catul. 101.2 *inferias*; Hardie on Verg. *Aen.* 9.215 *ferat inferias*]. Sen. trag. uses the noun again at *Phoen.* 172 *tunc tibi inferias dedi*, *Phae.* 1198 *cruorque sancto soluit inferias uiro*; in his prose, it only occurs in *Ben.* 5.16.1 *diu debitas inferias Gallicis bustis duces Romanos*. The pouring of libations to the dead is already found in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 23.218-21 (Achilles mourning for Patroclus). The usual gifts were wine, milk, honey, and flowers.

299 impensus: 'to pay out, expend (with emphasis on the sacrifice involved)' (*OLD* s.v. *impendo* 3). Seneca seems to like this business-metaphor: *Med.* 487 *hos quoque impendi tibi*, 663 *uxor impendes animam marito*, *Ben.* 3.19.3 *impendisse spiritum fidei*, *Dial.* 3.5.2 *hic aliorum commodis uel impendere se paratus est*, *Cl.* 1.17.3 *nulla regi gloria est ex saeua animaduersione (quis enim dubitat posse), at contra maxima, si uim suam continet, si multos irae alienae eripuit, neminem suae impendit*. For the combination with *in* + acc., cf. *Ben.* 3.1.2 *impendere in se*, *Ep.* 113.31 *me in hanc pulcherrimam uirtutem ultro etiam inpendere iuuet*, Ov. *Met.* 13.266-7 *at nil inpendit per tot Telamonius annos / sanguinis in socios*.

hominis: the E reading, generally preferred over A's *homini* as the *lectio difficilior*, was defended by Zwierlein (1986) 91 with a reference to 210 *uirtutis*. Note the effectful placing of the word: at Aulis it was to appease a goddess that Iphigenia had to be sacrificed, now it is for a human being; Agamemnon wishes to demolish the association with that previous event. For the polyptoton *homo ... hominis*, see on 38.

Agamemnon's rhetorical question could have been parried easily by Pyrrhus with a reference to Achilles' offering of twelve Trojan captives to the spirit of Patroclus (Hom. *Il.* 23.175-6, 181-2); similarly Aeneas sacrifices eight Italian youths to Pallas' shade: *Sulmone creatos / quattuor hic iuuenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens, / uiuentes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris / captiuoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammas* (*Aen.* 10.517-20; cf. 11.81-2).

In Roman history, human sacrifices are recorded in 228 and 216 B.C., when on the Forum Boarium a *Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca* were buried alive (Liv. 22.57.6). A single occurrence on the same spot in the 1st cent. A.D. (*nostra quoque aetas uidit*) and their being prohibited in later times (also with subdued nations) is mentioned by Pliny (*Nat.* 28.12 ff.) [see e.g. Reid, *JRS* 2 (1912) 34-52; Cichorius, *Röm. Studien* (1923) 7 ff.; Latte, p. 256 f.]. P. Grimal, *Sénèque ou la conscience de l'Empire*, Paris 1978, 426 puts forward the hypothesis that Seneca wrote this play in exile during the reign of Claudius, since Claudius had ordained the

abolition of such rites in Gaul (Suet. *Claud.* 25.13), and - like Agamemnon - tried to control his anger; with due respect for the French scholar, I cannnot attach much weight to this argument.

detrahe inuidiam: Seneca uses the combination of words again *Ben.* 5.16.4 *quasi potentiae suae detracturus inuidiam*, *Ep.* 47.14 *ne illud quidem uidetis, quam omnem inuidiam maiores nostri dominis, omnem contumeliam seruis detraxerint?*. It is also found in other authors: Ov. *Ep.* 7.106 *inuidiam noxae detrahit ille meae*, Min. Fel. *Oct.* 40.3 *cum maxima iudicandi mihi inuidia detracta sit* [*ThLL* V 826.36 ff.].

inuidiam: 'odium, dislike' (*OLD* s.v. 2).

300 coli poena: with this succinct and pointed oxymoron, Agamemnon clearly states the absurdity of Pyrrhus' demand, as Seidensticker aptly notes. For *poena*, Fitch on *H.F.* 604 prefers the sense 'sufferings, hardship' instead of 'punishment' there and here, comparing *Phae.* 399 (erroneously?) and *Ep.* 5.5 *frugalitatem exigit philosophia, non poenam.* With Thomann ('Rache') and Watling ('an act of brutal vengeance'), I would rather translate 'revenge' (*OLD* s.v. 2). The word picks up *luet* (194) and *poenarum* (287); it will return below 333, 655, 657, 746, 935, 955, 973, 997, 1015.

301-48 Fantham and Boyle properly have the *altercatio* begin here; Canter confines it to the stichomythic part 327-48. Fantham refers to the samples in Cic. *Att.* 1.16.9-10 and Att. 2.1.5. For the course of the debate, one may compare Liv. 4.6.1 *cum ... res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem uertisset.*

301 o: a more emotional form of address than a vocative alone; cf. below 453, 461, 469, 750, 766-68 (see also on 164).

tumide: 'puffed up with pride'; see on 253 *tumidi*, add *Thy.* 609 *inflatos tumidosque uultus*. Pyrrhus' speech recalls the taunts uttered by his father to Agamemnon: his insolence (*Il.* 1.149, 158, 288), his cowardice (*Il.* 1.225-8) and his greed (*Il.* 1.122, 149). As Seidensticker notes (p. 170), this first reproach shows how poorly he has listened to Agamemnon's statement at 259 ff. and his confession at 266 ff.

tumide ... / ... timide: this kind of paronomasia is much more rare in Sen. trag. than the type with a change in the same word like *Ithacus ... Ithaci* (38), *stetit stante* (31), or with related words like *uictor ... uictus* (257). Some other instances: below 1148 *mirantur ac miserantur, H.F.* 1184-5 *tuique nominis semper mihi / numen secundum*, *Phoen.* 89-90 *unica Oedipodae est salus, / non esse saluum*, 141-3 *hoc animo sedet / effundere hanc cum morte luctantem diu / animam*, *Oed.* 700-1 *qui pauet uanos metus, / ueros meretur.* In his prose: *Ep.* 27.7 *stultorum diuitum adrosor et, quod sequitur, adrisor*, 27.9 *numquam nimis dicitur quod numquam satis discitur* [Lausberg § 637: "Die *annominatio* >Paronomasie< ist ein (pseudo-)etymologisches Spiel mit der Geringfügigkeit der lautlichen Änderung einerseits und der interessanten Bedeutungsspanne die durch die lautliche Änderung hergestellt wird, andererseits"].

302 extollit: 'to raise (the mind, etc.) to a higher plane, exalt, elevate' (*OLD* s.v. 6); cf. *Ep.* 87.16 *uirtus extollit hominem*, 87.32 *bona ... extollunt quidem et dilatant* (sc. *animos*), *sed sine tumore*, 124.23 *animus ... emendatus ac purus, aemulator dei, super humana se extollens*, *Dial.* 11.18.1 *studia quae ... felicitatem extollunt.* Similarly, *Ag.* 252 *prospera animos efferunt.*

cum: elision of *cum* in the fourth arsis is found again in *Thy.* 680 *responsa dantur certa, cum ingenti sono*, *H.O.* 924 *uixit satis quicumque cum Alcide occidit*; cf. 760 *dum*, 249, 656 *iam*, 484 *quem.*

increpuit: in its literal sense 'to make a sharp loud noise, snap, rattle, clang, roar, twang, etc.', the verb is found, for instance, at Cic. *Pis.* 99 *circumspectantem omnia, quicquid increpuisset pertimescentem*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.527 *iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens*, 12.332 *sanguineus Mauors clipeo increpat.* A transition to the use here (*OLD* s.v. 1b: "fig., of dangers, alarms") is given by Sen. *Ep.* 90.43 *at uos ad omnem tectorum pauetis sonum et inter picturas uestras, si quid increpuit, fugitis attoniti*; cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1.18 *quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri* (*non est ferendum*), *Mur.* 22 *simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultus*, Liv. 4.43.10 *si quid increpet terroris*, 44.41.7 *si ... aliquid tumultus increpuit*, Tac. *Dial.* 5.5 *sin proprium periculum increpuit.*

For the confusion in the MSS *increpuit* A, *increuit* E, cf. *H.O.* 1016 *et aula tectis crepuit* (A, *creuit* E) *excussis.*

303 regum tyranne: Pyrrhus' anger sharpens Agamemnon's usual title *rex regum*, found at Cic. *Fam.* 9.14.2, Liv. 45.27.9 *rex ille regum*, Auson. *Epit.* 1.1 *rex regum Atrides*; he is styled *regum ... maximus rector* below 978, *rex ille regum, ductor Agamemnon ducum* at *Ag.* 39.

For the contrast *tyrannus* - *rex*, cf. *Cl.* 1.11.4 *quid interest inter tyrannum ac regem (species enim ipsa fortunae ac licentia par est), nisi quod tyranni in uoluptatem saeuiunt, reges non nisi ex causa ac necessitate?*, up to 1.12.3 *clementia efficit, ut magnum inter regem tyrannumque discrimen sit, uterque licet non minus armis ualletur; sed alter arma habet, quibus in munimentum pacis utitur, alter, ut magno timore magna odia compescat, nec illas ipsas manus, quibus se commisit, securus adspicit*, *Ag.* 251-2 (Aegisthus to Clytemestra) *rex Mycenarum fuit, / ueniet tyrannus: prospera animos efferunt* [S. Hammer, *De Seneca Philosopho Principum Censore*, Posnaniae 1936, 193; Ch. Favez, 'Le roi et le tyran chez Sénèque', in: *Hommages à Léon Herrmann*, Bruxelles 1960, 346-349].

iamne: as Bannier (1920) 81 notes, the transmitted reading is quite fitting in the context and needs no correction like *etiamne* (Koetschau) or *iterumne* (Bentley): "Warum soll Pyrrhus auf Agamemnon und die Chryseis anspielen, und wird Agamemnons Weigerung die Polyxena zu opfern nicht sehr gut durch *iamne flammatum geris amore ... pectus* motiviert?"; *iamne* occurs again below 331.

flammatum: for the figurative use of the verb (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 3.330-1 *ast illum ereptae magno flammatus amore / coniugis*, 4.54 *his dictis impenso animum flammauit amore.*

geris: 'to have (physical or mental qualities, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 3b). In Sen. trag. the combination with *pectus* occurs again at *H.F.* 977-8 *lacerum gerens / et inane pectus*, *Phoen.* 582-3 *durum geris / saeuumque in iras pectus*, *Phae.* 994 *non imparatum pectus aerumnis gero*; in instance from *H.O.*: 652 *pectora pauper secura gerit.* Cf. Pl. *Bac.* 509 *satine ego animum mente sincera gero*, Ter. *Hec.* 311 *qui eos gubernat animus eum infirmum gerunt.*

304 amore subito: in Euripides' *Hecuba* (e.g. 121-2), Agamemnon had opposed the offering of Polyxena because of his love for Cassandra. Pyrrhus now bluntly insinuates that he has fallen in love with Polyxena as well. *Subito* is the reading of the best MSS, and should be kept. In its combination with *nouae*, it was defended by Bannier, comparing e.g. Ov. *Ep.* 11.47 *nescia, quae faceret subitos mihi causa dolores, / et rudis ad partus et noua miles eram*, *Rem.* 81 *opprime, dum noua sunt, subiti mala semina morbi*, V. Fl. 1.672 *subitae noua puppis imago.* As emendations have been proposed *amoris aestu* (Bentley, Richter; cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.5.36 *aestus amoris*), *amoris igne* (Leo), *amore nuptae* (Peiper), *amore subido* (Rossbach, Brakman), *amore rabido* (Damsté), *amoris ictu* (Giardina); *solito* of some younger MSS found acceptance with Herrmann, Thomann and Amoroso. Ter Haar Romeny (1897) 94 had the wild idea of proposing *ardore solito pectus ad uenerem nouam.*

ueneris nouae: Gronovius' observation "non videtur satis cohaerere cum praecedentibus" made him suggest that either a line is missing or the question mark should be removed in order to connect lines 304 and 305. As for this latter suggestion, the order of words does not make it an attractive one to me: apart from the harsh hyperbaton *ueneris nouae / ... spolia*, the placing of the two words in front of *solusne* would be most unusual. The two instances in Sen. trag. where the word to which *-ne* is attached does not open the sentence are less harsh: *regias egone ut faces / inulta patiar?* (*Med.* 398-9), *quid flamma? largas iamne comprendit dapes?* (*Oed.* 307). The possibility that a line has fallen out cannot be excluded, of course, and Zwierlein has accepted it in his text; in my opinion, there is no need to resort to that ultimate remedy here.

Seidensticker, p. 170, n. 62 takes *ueneris nouae* as a gen. obj. with *amore.* He was preceded by Bannier, referring to K-S 1.417, and followed by subsequent editors (Caviglia, Fantham, Boyle, Chaumartin): lit. 'with a sudden love and for a new love-object' (Boyle). Despite that general consent, the parallel placing with *subito* makes me take the words rather as a genitive marking the origin of the *amor*; on this basic meaning of the case, already indicated by its very name, see e.g. Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 2.433. For the transferred use of *uenus* "of a woman who inspires love in one" (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. e.g. Pl. *Curc.* 212 *tun meam Venerem uituperas?*, Lucr. 4.1185-7 *nec Veneres nostras hoc fallit; quo magis ipsae / omnia summo opere hos uitae postscaenica celant / quos retinere uolunt adstrictosque esse in amore*, Verg. *Ecl.* 3.68 *parta meae Veneri sunt munera.*

Carlsson (1926) 63 f. upheld the text by connecting *flammatum* with both the abl. *amore subito*, and (= *plenum*) the gen. *ueneris nouae*; cf. also H-Sz 79: "Bei diesen Qualitätsadj. mit freiem Gen. der Beziehung entwickelte sich oft sekundär eine kausale Nuance, die wir annähernd mit 'wegen' wiedergeben können, vgl. z.B. Prop. 1.16.2 *nota pudicitiae*, (...) Ov. *Met.* 10.616 *mens interrita leti*, Sil. 3.326-7 *hiemisque aestusque famisque inuictus*, wohl auch Sen. *Tro.* 303 f."

nouae: here merely a 'new, i.e. another' love; contrast *Ag.* 188-9 *nunc nouum uulnus gerens / amore Phrygiae uatis incensus furit* (sc. Agamemnon), where the adj. may also be a pun that wounds in battle were unknown to him.

305 solusne totiens: for the juxtaposition, cf. e.g. below 489 *multos una*, *Med.* 354 *totiens uno*, *Ag.* 646 *unus tota.*

de nobis feres: cf. *Med.* 826-7 *et uiuacis fulgura flammae / de cognato Phaethonte tuli*, *Phae.* 422 *nullusque de te gloriam pastor ferat* (*OLD* s.v. *de* 6).

306 reddam: 'duly pay, render', the proper word of ritual offerings (*OLD* s.v. 9b); cf. Catul. 64.362 *denique testis erit morti quoque reddita praeda* (also of Polyxena), Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.30-1 *reddere uictimas / aedemque uotiuam memento*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.2.7-8 *donaque amicorum templis promissa deorum / reddere uictores Caesar uterque parent.*

307 si negas retinesque: this use of the present instead of the future tense in the protasis of a condition, marking "le caractère immédiat de la condition", Ernout-Thomas p. 375 f., is found e.g. Pl. *As.* 193-4 *si mihi dantur duo talenta ... / hanc tibi noctem ... dabo*, *Mil.* 266 *si inuenio qui uidit, ad eum uineam pluteosque agam*, Cic. *Phil.* 7.19 *si bellum omittimus, pace numquam fruemur*, Sen. *H.F.* 1284-5 *arma nisi dantur mihi, / altum omne Pindi Thracis excidam nemus*, *Med.* 297-9 *capite supplicium lues,/ clarum priusquam Phoebus attollat diem / nisi cedis Isthmo*, *Thy.* 541 *meam relinquam, nisi tuam partem accipis* (all threats), *Phae.* 596-7 *si coepta exsequor, / forsan iugali crimen abscondam face.*

maiorem dabo: Pyrrhus shifts from taunts to threats.

308 dignam: cf. below 861-3, *H.F.* 111-2 *facere si quicquam apparo / dignum nouerca*, 926-7 *ipse concipiam preces / Ioue meque dignas*, 957 *immune caelum est, dignus Alcide labor*, *Ag.* 33-4 *coacta fatis gnata fert utero graui / me patre dignum*, *Thy.* 271-2 *dignum est Thyeste facinus et dignum Atreo, / quod uterque faciat*, with Tarrant's note: "Seneca's characters have an acute, if twisted, sense of their *dignitas*, and insist on committing only those crimes appropriate to it". Cf. also the use of *decet* at *Med.* 50, *Oed.* 1003, *Ag.* 124.

quam det: for the use of the pron. rel. + subj. with *dignus*, cf. *Thy.* 875-7 *nos e tanto uisi populo / digni, premeret quos euerso / cardine mundus?*, Pl. *As.* 80-1 *me dignum quoi concrederet / habuit*, *Ps.* 611 *non uidere dignus qui liber sies*, Ter. *Eun.* 866 *tu indignu' qui faceres*, Cic. *Leg.* 3.5 *qui modeste paret, uidetur, qui aliquando imperet, dignus esse*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.653-4 *dignus patriis qui laetior esset / imperiis* [K-S 2.302 f.].

Pyrrhus: for this proud utterance of one's name, instead of using the pers. pronoun, cf. below 338 (again Pyrrhus), 569 (Ulixes), 576 (Andromacha), 863 (Helena), 962 (Hecuba), *H.F.* 960 *non capit terra Herculem*, *Med.* 166 *Medea superest*, 516-7 *est et his maior metus / Medea*, Ov. *Met.* 13.460 *scilicet haud ulli seruire Polyxena uellem*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.540-1 (Priamus) *at non ille ... Achilles / talis in hoste fuit Priamo.* It is also found in Senecan prose, for instance at *Dial.* 1.2.10 (Cato speaking) *Cato qua exeat habet* [see B.L. Hijmans Jr, 'Drama in Seneca's Stoicism', *TAPA* 97 (1966) 238, n. 8].

nimium diu: for the rhetorical exaggeration (above 44 ff. the murdering of Priam was a *luctus recens*), expressing his eagerness, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 614-5 *iam diu pateris manus / cessare nostras, Iuno.*

309 a caede ... cessat: 'to desist or rest (from an activity)' (*OLD* s.v. *cesso* 2a); cf. Liv. 4.2.5 *nec ... cessatum a leuibus proeliis est*, 21.11.5 *non nocte, non die unquam cessauerant ab opere*, Tac. *Ann.* 15.35 *Neroni ne inter uoluptates quidem a sceleribus cessabatur* (*OLD* cites no instances from poetry).

caede ... regia: see on 44 *regiae caedis.*

310 paremque poscit Priamus: for the *p* alliteration see on 254.

parem: subst. 'an equal in rank, prestige, etc.' (*OLD* s.v. *pār*[2] 1b); cf. *Ep.* 109.10 *itaque prodest qui uirtutes alicuius paris sui amat.*

equidem: see on 276; here it has the same sarcastic tone as in *Ag.* 158-9 *equidem et iugales filiae memini faces / et generum Achillem.* Since he has failed to convince Pyrrhus with his arguments, Agamemnon now tries to parry his threat with gibes.

nego: Agamemnon makes the start in the following game of repeating the opponent's words sarcasticly (see also on 325). He picks up *negas* (307) with a shift of meaning ('refuse' - 'deny'), and varies the symmetrical position of the names (308 *Pyrrhus*, 310 *Priamus*) in Pyrrhus' lines with a chiastic counterpart (*Pyrrhi* - *maximum ... decus, saeuo ... ense* - *Priamus*). Notice the keeping of the *p* alliteration at the end, and the shift of accent in *Priamus.*

311 maximum: this superl. form often introduces a pointed definition; cf. below 422-3 *hic mihi malorum maximum fructum abstulit, / nihil timere*, *Phae.* 1119-20 *equidem malorum maximum hunc cumulum reor, / si abominanda casus optanda efficit*, *Oed.* 629-30 *maximum Thebis scelus / maternus amor est*, *Ag.* 271-2 *id esse regni maximum pignus putant, / si quidquid aliis non licet solis licet*, *Thy.* 176-8 *ignaue, iners, eneruis et (quod maximum / probrum tyranno rebus in summis reor) / inulte*, 205-7 *maximum hoc regni bonum est, / quod facta domini cogitur populus sui / tam ferre quam laudare* (see Tarrant's note).

312 saeuo ... ense: for the appliance of the adj. to weapons (*OLD* s.v. 2e), cf. *Phae.* 533 *arma saeua*, *Thy.* 573 *saeui ... ferri*, *Oct.* 530-1, 733, 796-7, Ov. *Ib.* 294-5 *saeuo ... ense*, Luc. 7.313 *in uictos saeuum destringere ferrum.*

peremptus ... iacet: see on 238.

313 supplex paternus: Priam's begging for the corpse of Hector, described by Hom. *Il.* 24.486 ff., was one of the scenes from the Trojan War Aeneas saw depicted in Carthage: Verg. *Aen.* 1.487 *tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.* These two words remind Pyrrhus, who was so eager to recount the deeds of his father (236-7), of the quite different attitude of his father then; cf. Priam's last words to Pyrrhus, Verg. *Aen.* 2.540-3 *at non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles / talis in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque / supplicis erubuit corpusque exsangue sepulcro / reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit.*

supplex ... supplices: Pyrrhus follows Agamemnon's way of acting; notice once more the shift of accent.

supplices: was misinterpreted by Farnabius: "Supplici illi pepercit pater, hostem ego interfeci", and by Kingery: "I recognize my father's suppliant (spared because he was a suppliant), and the same man as an enemy (whom I slew because he was an enemy in arms). Though plural, *supplices* and *hostes* refer to Priam." Gronovius correctly noted the reference to both Priam and Agamemnon: "Immo hoc dicit: Recte meministi hostis supplicis: sic enim potes recordari, id patri meo sorte datum, ut qui hostes illi forent, tandem supplices fierent, quorum in numero & tu fuisti." His view was repeated by Damsté.

315 praesens: 'in person'.

graui pauidus metu: the words repeats the taunt of cowardice (302). For the abundant phrasing, cf. e.g. 780 *mobili uelox pede*, 1130 *pauidi metu*, 1152 *truci uultu ferox*; for *graui ... metu*, cf. below 1072 *metu ... graui*, *Ag.* 246 *graues ... metus*, *Oct.* 674-5 *graui / ... metu.*

316 ad ... fortis: cf. *Ep.* 70.17 *fortior eris ad necessitatem exeundi*, 104.2 *cum me fortiorem senectus ad multa reddiderit*, Cic. *Font.* 43 *ad pericula fortem*, Liv. 7.40.2 *fortes ad sanguinem ciuilem*; below 755, Seneca uses *fortis in* + acc. For the use of the gerundium with *fortis ad*, cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1.19 *quem tu ... ad uindicandum fortissimum fore putasti*, *de Orat.* 3.4 *homini forti ... ad resistendum.*

Aiaci: when Agamemnon was totally desperate and proposed to flee home (Hom. *Il.* 9.27), Nestor gave him the advice to send Phoenix, Ajax and Odysseus (*Il.* 9.168-9) to Achilles, pleading for a reconciliation.

317 Ithaco: see on 38. Seneca leaves out Phoenix, who seems to be an intruder in the Homeric text: note his sudden introduction there (*Il.* 9.168), the fact that he sets out before his companions and the use of the dualis, e.g. 182 'these two walked along the strand of the loud-roaring sea'.

clausus: 'having locked up yourself' in your tent. Seidensticker (p. 172), who is followed by Caviglia, takes it as a reference to the wall that had been built on the advice of Nestor (Hom. *Il.* 7.337-43), but to me this seems too little a particular reproach to Agamemnon. The contrast is with the walk along the seashore to the ships of Achilles at the end of the camp.

hostem: the same ambiguity as at 314. But Pyrrhus does not primarily think of the Trojans, as Seidensticker supposes, but of Achilles; for the use of *hostis* of a personal enemy (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. *Ag.* 896 *hostem quaerit implicitus suum*, 953 (Clytemestra to Electra) *hostis parentis*.

318 non timebat: the same ironic tone as *haud ... nego* (310). Agamemnon defends himself against the triple accusation of being a coward (*pauidus, nec ... fortis, tremens*) by ridiculing Achilles.

319 inter: 'amid' (*OLD* s.v. 8, "indicating accompanying conditions or circumstances, particularly favourable, or unfavourable, to the action"); cf. e.g. *Ag.* 19-20 *inter undas feruida exustus siti / aquas fugaces ore decepto appetit*, 182-3 *inter ruentis Graeciae stragem ultimam / sine hoste uictus marcet ac Veneri uacat*, *Med.* 649 *raptus, heu, tutas puer inter undas*, *Oed.* 32-4 *inter ruinas urbis et semper nouis / deflenda lacrimis funera ac populi struem / incolumis asto*, *Oct.* 43-4.

caedes: cf. 255 *caede*; *ThLL* III 51.68 f. lists the use here under *i. q.* <u>corpora</u> *caesorum* (cf. *OLD* 4: 'the corpses of slaughtered persons').

ustas rates: Agamemnon is so irritated by Pyrrhus' insults that he mixes up the situation at the time of the embassy (*tunc*) with a later moment when the Trojans managed to throw the fire in just one ship (*Il.* 16.122-4). The contrast here described is also found in *Laus Pis.* 173-5 *sic mouisse fides saeuus narratur Achilles, / quamuis mille rates Priameius ureret heros / et grauis obstreperet modulatis bucina neruis*.

320 segnis iacebat: cf. 805 *segnis iaces*. The verb is more scornful, of course, than the 'sitting', which is mentioned in *Il.* 9.193-4 (transl. Lattimore) 'Achilleus rose to his feet in amazement / holding the lyre as it was, leaving the place where he was sitting'.

belli ... immemor: again not exactly according to Homer, for 'he was pleasuring his heart, and sang of men's valiant deeds' (*Il.* 9.189).

321 leui ... plectro: Kingery wrongly insists on a long *e*; 'with a light plectrum' does correspond with *Ag.* 329 *leuiore lyra* (immediately followed by the opposite 332 *chorda grauiore*), Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.40 *leuiore plectro* (opp. *maiore plectro* 4.2.33). The opposite is also found, e.g. Stat. *Silu.* 1.5.1 *non Helicona graui pulsat chelys enthea plectro*, 1.3.100 *lyra maiore*. Ov. *Met.* 10.150-4 words the difference: (Orpheus) *cecini plectro grauiore Gigantas / sparsaque Phlegraeis uictricia fulmina campis. / nunc opus est leuiore lyra puerosque canamus / dilectos superis inconcessisque puellas / ignibus attonitas meruisse libidine poenam*. Homer only records Achilles singing of 'the valiant deeds of men' (see the former note); but Stat. *Silu.* 4.4.35-6, illustrating the preceding maxim *uires instigat alitque / tempestiua quies, maior post otia uirtus!*, pictures him singing of Briseis: *talis cantata Briseide uenit Achilles / acrior et positis erupit in Hectora plectris* (Coleman *ad loc.*: "this detail is in keeping with the Roman tendency to romanticize their relationship in contrast to Homer's unemotional treatment"; cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.4.3).

Plectrum, literally 'the striking thing' (from πλήσσω), occurs again in Sen. trag. below 833 *tinnulas plectro feriente chordas*, *Med.* 626 *modulante plectro*, *Phae.* 297 *posito ... plectro*. Here it indicates the genre; cf. the use of *stilus*, e.g. *Dial.* 9.1.13 *in usum tuum, non in praeconium aliquid simplici stilo scribe.*

canoram: 'resonant, sonorous' (of musical instruments and their sounds, *OLD* s.v. 1a); the adj. occurs in Sen. trag. also at *H.F.* 263 (Amphion) *canoro saxa modulatu trahens*, and *Med.* 356 *uoce canora* (of the Sirens; *OLD* 1b).

uerberans: 'battering'. Agamemnon airs his scorn by using a word more appropriate to a husky warrior than to a musician; the more usual *ferire* is found e.g. below 833, *H.O.* 1063 (of Orpheus) *maerentem feriens chelyn*. Other verbs used for this activity are found in *Eleg. Maec.* 51 *Actius ipse lyram plectro percussit eburno*, Stat. *Ach.* 2.157-8 (Achilles himself) *Apollineo ... fila sonantia plectro / cum quaterem*; cf. also V. Fl. 5.693 *citharae pulsator Apollo*. Billerbeck (1988) 119 calls attention to the loosely appositive use of the present participle here, as at *H.F.* 471 *premens*, 546 *suspiciens*, *Med.* 290 *moriens*. She makes a reference to the remarks made by Westman (1961) 117 f. about the use of the part. fut.: "(frei ist der Anschluss, weil) die Eigenbedeutung des Partizips einer Aussage entspricht, die nicht bloss eine Modifikation der Haupthandlung enthält, sondern mit dieser Handlung grundsätzlich auf gleicher Stufe steht. In anderen Worten: durch das Futurpartizip wird in solchen Fällen der Subjektsbegriff und nur dieser aufgegriffen und über ihn etwas wesentlich Neues ausgesagt, das mit der bisherigen Aussage in keinem engeren syntaktischen Zusammenhang steht."

chelyn: 'lyre', made originally from a tortoise-shell. It is mentioned as the instrument of Apollo (*Ag.* 326 *resonetque manu pulsa citata uocale chelys*, [Ov.] *Ep.* 15 (*Sapph.*) 181 *inde chelyn Phoebo, communia munera, ponam*), of Amphion (*Oed.* 611-2 *manuque sustinet laeua chelyn / qui saxa dulci traxit Amphion sono*), and of Orpheus (*H.O.* 1033, 1063). In Homer's report, Ajax and Odysseus found Achilles 'delighting his heart in a clear-toned lyre' (*Il.* 9.186), the only case in the *Iliad* of a man making music; contrast the minstrels in the *Odyssey*. The word *chelys* becomes extremely popular with Statius (27 occurrences according to Dilke on *Ach.* 1.186, van Dam on *Silu.* 2.1.7); it is also used by Val. Flaccus, 1.139 *pulsatque chelyn post pocula Chiron*, and by Silius, 11.451 *Centauro dilecta chelys*. Seneca's line shows a close resemblance to an anonymous fragment, Caesius Bassus, *GLK* VI 262, quoted by Courtney (1993) 280: *o qui chelyn canoram plectro regis Italo.*

On the playing techniques of the lyre we are well informed, since the activities of the hands are depicted in a very consistent fashion from Minoan times on. The fingers of the left hand pressed or plucked individual strings; the right hand swept across all the strings with a plectrum. This technique was also employed in the west Semitic area and Egypt; it is still in use among the lyre-playing peoples of east Africa.

The plectrum, attached by a cord to the base of the lyre, had a comfortable handle and a short, pointed blade of ivory, horn, bone, or wood. The right hand is usually holding the plectrum well beyond the strings, as if it had completed a vigorous outward sweep. The left hand not only plucked individual strings, but also served to modify the sounds produced by the plectrum by damping certain strings [see more fully M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992, 64-70].

Note the effective use of the 'Golden Line' structure a b C A B at the end of the phrase (see on 240).

322 tunc: emphatic repetition of 318 *tunc*.

magnus: heroic epithet of Hector (again below 461, 784, Verg. *Aen.* 6.166, Ov. *Met.* 12.446; Verg. *Aen.* 5.371 even *maximus* ... *Hector*), of Achilles (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 12.163; cf. above 237), and of Ajax (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 13.340). Here it forms a perfect introduction to stress the contrast *contemnens* ... *timuit.*

arma: picks up 320 *armorum*, likewise *tua* - *tuus*.

contemnens: the compound is used six times by Sen. trag. (*H.F.* 612 *morte contempta*, *Phoen.* 197 *nemo contempsit mori*, *Med.* 120 *merita contempsit mea*, 540 *contemnere* ... *regias* ... *opes*, *Phae.* 269 *contemne famam*; *H.O.* 3x, *Oct.* 1x), the simple verb only once (*H.F.* 90).

323 in: 'in, amid' (*OLD* s.v. 40c: "where the action is surprising in the light of circumstances mentioned"); cf. in Sen. trag. *H.F.* 168 *congesto pauper in auro*, 752 *in amne medio faucibus siccis*, *Phoen.* 80 *unde in nefanda specimen egregium domo?*, *Oed.* 76-7 *negatur uni nempe in hoc populo mihi / mors tam parata?*, *Thy.* 4-5 *siti / arente in undis*. In other authors, *H.O.* 608 *in tot populis uix una fides*, Ter. *Ad.* 773-4 *in ipsa turba atque in peccato maxumo / ... potatis*, Cic. *Brut.* 148 *Scaeuolae multa in seueritate non deerat tamen comitas* [*ThLL* VII 1.782.33 ff.; Hillen, p. 17, n. 60]. Cf. above 319 *inter*.

324 naualibus: 'berths'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.593 *diripientque rates alii naualibus*, Ov. *Met.* 11.455-6 *protinus eductam naualibus aequore tingi / armarique suis pinum iubet armamentis*. Griffin *ad loc.*, referring to L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, 363-5, notes that the chief features of an ancient naval base were boathouses for the galleys and sheds for the sails and rigging; stone slips led from the boathouses into the water.

alta: 'profound, undisturbed' (*OLD* s.v. 10b); of *pax*, again below 326, *H.F.* 929 *alta pax gentes alat*, *Ag.* 596-7 *pax alta nullos ciuium coetus / timet*, *Thy.* 576 *alta pax urbi reuocata laetae est*, Luc. 1.249-50 *pax alta per omnes / et tranquilla quies populos*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.625 *si pax alta maneret*, *Ach.* 1.807-8, Claud. 22.287. On *altus* in Sen. trag., see Liebermann, p. 123 f.

325 nempe: 'without doubt', 'to be sure', often used ironically; cf. below 340, 744, *Phae.* 244 (Nutrix) *aderit maritus.* (Phaedra) *nempe Pirithoi comes?*, *Thy.* 411-2 *populus occurret frequens— / sed nempe et Atreus*, *H.O.* 437 (Nutrix) *at Ioue creatum.* (Deianira) *nempe et Alcmena satum.*

Of the three techniques, used by the Greek tragedians to connect the parts of a dialogue: 'Konjunktionen und Partikeln', 'Grammatische Ellipse und Fortsetzung der Konstruktion', and 'Stichworttechnik', the last one is most popular with Sen. trag. For his rare use of conjunctions and particles in this respect, see Seidensticker, p. 37, n. 84; in *Troades*, again 340 *nempe*, 330, 429 *et*.

Thessalis ... / ... alta: for the sarcasm, expressed by the almost exact repetition of words, cf. below 329-30, 343-7, *H.F.* 463-4 (Lycus) *quemcumque miserum uideris, hominem scias. /* (Amphitryon) *quemcumque fortem uideris, miserum neges*, *Med.* 504-5 (Iason) *ingrata uita est cuius acceptae pudet. /* (Medea) *retinenda non est cuius acceptae pudet*, *Ag.* 157-9 (Nutrix) *meminisse debes sobolis ex illo tuae. /* (Clytemestra) *equidem et iugales filiae memini faces / et generum Achillem*, *Thy.* 1110-2 (Thyestes) *uindices aderunt dei; / his puniendum uota te tradunt mea. /* (Atreus) *te puniendum liberis trado tuis*. A striking example from Greek Tragedy is found at Soph. *OT.* 547-52; see J.L. Hancock, *Studies in Stichomythia*, Chicago 1917, 33-35.

Definitions of this linguistic phenomenon in *Rhet. Latin. Minor.* are: *sarcasmos est plena odio atque hostilis inrisio* (616.23), *sarcasmos chleuasmo proxima est et similis figura* (62.12), *chleuasmos est ironiae proxima figura,[...] inter chleuasmon autem et ironiam hoc interest, quod ironia specie magnificationis illudit et, dum laudat, irridet: at chleuasmos palam cum amara insultatione castigat* (62.3) [see Canter, p. 137, n. 20; Lausberg § 583].

On Seneca's rather frequent use of 'Stichworttechnik' ("von den griechischen Tragikern recht sparsam verwendet"), see Seidensticker, pp. 38 ff., citing as instances from other plays *Med.* 159-68, *Oed.* 695-707, 509-29, 790-802, *Thy.* 204-20.

326 rursus: 'a second time, again' (*OLD* s.v. 3), again below 549. For a different use of this adverb, that is applied by Sen. trag. another 13 times, see *Oed.* 320 (in a description of the many colours of *imbrifera ... Iris*) *sanguinea rursus* (*OLD* 5b 'then again').

Hectoris patri: unable to strike Pyrrhus with the sneering at his father, Agamemnon returns to Priam with an antonomasia nicely connecting the two scenes. This type of synecdoche is found again below 518 *dux Cephallanum*, 827 *uirgini ... diuae*, 921 *uictrix dea*. On *antonomasia*, see Canter, p. 127, citing *Rhet. Gr.* 3.204.23, and *Gram. Latini* 1.273.22 *est dictio per accidens proprium significans*; Lausberg §§ 580-581, with the definitions *Rhet. Her.* 4.31.42 *pronominatio est, quae sicuti cognomine quodam extraneo demonstrat id quod suo nomine non potest appellari*, Quint. 8.6.29-30 *antonomasia, quae aliquid pro nomine ponit, poetis utroque modo frequentissima, et per epitheton, quod detracto eo cui apponitur ualet pro nomine: 'Tydides' (= Diomedes), 'Pelides' (= Achilles); et ex his quae in quoque sunt praecipua, eqs.*

fuit: rounds off the repetition of words.

327-36 In the following strictly stichomythic lines, the opponents change their tone: real arguments instead of personal insults, *sententiae* instead of allusions, and a returning to the essential issue (330-1). On this passage, see Seidensticker, p. 173.

All Senecan plays contain at least one stichomythic passage (for a definition see Pollux 4.113), but on a smaller scale than Greek tragedies; in its strict 1/1 form, this passage and *Ag.* 145-57 are the longest ones in Sen. trag. Usually, e.g. *H.F.* 422-37, *Med.* 159-73, *Oed.* 511-29, *Thy.* 204-19, the stichomythy is varied by the use of *antilabe* (see below on 339) and/or the use of more lines. Despite the relative shortness of such passages and their infrequence in a rigid form, these variations and the uniformly high tension add to their part in the whole of the play.

Comparing Seneca to his Greek predecessors, Hancock praises the allusive, subtly sarcastic style of this passage and *H.F.* 448-58 (another vigorous quarrel scene); but with his surface brilliance and epigrammatic subtlety, Seneca in general falls behind the Greeks in representing the real progress of two alert minds subtly working together (Hancock, pp. 23-25).

327 est regis alti: 'it is a feature of a high-born king'; for this use of *est* + gen. (*OLD* s.v. *sum* 15a), with an inf. as subject, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 435 *uirtutis est domare quae cuncti pauent*, Cic. *Mil.* 82 *est ... uiri fortis ne suppliciis quidem moueri*, Sal. *Jug.* 14.7 *erat maiestatis populi Romani prohibere iniuriam*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.27.2 *scyphis pugnare Thracum est*, Ov. *Met.* 4.115 *timidi est optare necem* [K-S 1.452 f.].

According to later versions of the story, Achilles might have had a more selfish reason: his love for Polyxena; cf. Trevet's comment on the preceding line: "improperat Agamemnon Pirro quod Achilles captus amore Polixenae ... pacem et foedus init cum Priamo, volens ducere filiam eius." In the Latin account of Dictys, with Dares the chief source for the medieval writers on the Troy-saga, Achilles had not withdrawn from battle because of anger with Agamemnon, but because he wished to end the war and wed Polyxena. According to Philostratus and Dictys, they met when Polyxena accompanied Priamus to Achilles' tent to ask for Hector's body. The medieval romances followed the account of Dares, who rejected the idea of the capture and ransom of the Trojan hero's body, and made Achilles see the princess for the first time, when she went with her family to visit Hector's tomb at Apollo's temple (Scherer [1964] 98, 102).

regis ... regi: a polyptoton with forms of *rex* is also found below 982, *Oed.* 242 *regi tuenda maxime regum est salus*, *Ag.* 39 *rex ille regum*, 291 *regum relicto rege*, *Thy.* 912 *regumque regem*; here it is again (cf. 229, 233) accompanied by an ictus-shift. In this and his next answer (329), Pyrrhus resorts to Agamemnon's initial defensive weapon: the gnome (cf. Phaedra's replies, *Phae.* 872-81).

spiritum ... dare: 'grant life'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.145 (the Trojans' reaction to Sinon's tale) *his lacrimis uitam damus et miserescimus ultro.*

regi ... / ... regi: the link words in stichomythic lines likewise often show a shift of accent; cf. e.g. *H.F.* 431-2 (Megara) *quot iste famulus tradidit reges neci!* / (Lycus) *cur ergo regi seruit et patitur iugum?*

spiritum eripuit: see above 44-50.

329 mortem: for *mortem dare* (*alci*) instead of the more usual *morti/leto dare alqm* (for that phrase, see e.g. Williams on *Aen.* 5.806, referring to the archaic formula in Cic. *Leg.* 2.22), cf. *Thy.* 1057 *uulnera dedi*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.570-1 *dedisset / funera*; see also on 64 *planctus date.*

misericors: 'merciful', in Sen. trag. only in this and the next line. For the thought, cf. *Dial.* 3.16.3 *interim optimum misericordiae genus est occidere*, *Ben.* 2.5.3 *misericordiae genus est cito occidere*, *H.O.* 929-31 *quicumque misero forte dissuadet mori, / crudelis iste est: interim poena est mori, / sed saepe donum; pluribus uenia obfuit.* For the subst. use of the adj., cf. above 190 *irati.* For an application of the *sententia*, see Apul. *Met.* 4.11 *uir sublimis animi uirtutisque praecipuus, multis nos adfatibus multisque precibus querens adhortatur per dexteram Martis, per fidem sacramenti, bonum commilitonem cruciatu simul et captiuitate liberaremus.*

saepe: only here in *Troades*; again in 'Erfahrungssätze' (Töchterle on *Oed.* 524-5 *saepe uel lingua magis / regi atque regno muta libertas obest*): also in the middle of the trimeter *H.F.* 1187 *saepe uindicta obfuit*, *Oed.* 684 *ab inquieto saepe simulatur quies*, 820, *Ag.* 130, 152, *Thy.* 211, at the beginning *H.F.* 1238 *saepe error ingens sceleris obtinuit locum*, *Phae.* 574, *Oed.* 827, *Thy.* 311. Similarly *solet* (below 515, 581), *multis* (887).

330 et: 'and after all that ...' (introducing an indignant exclamation, usu. in the form of an ironical question, *OLD* s.v. 15); cf. below 429, 598, *Med.* 525-6 *et quis resistet, gemina si bella ingruant, / Creo atque Acastus arma si iungant sua?*, *Phae.* 673-4 *et quando saeua fulmen emittes manu, / si nunc serenum est?*

busto: orig. 'a funeral pyre' (cf. Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.185 *pyra, est lignorum congeries; rogus, cum iam ardere coeperit dicitur; bustum uero, iam exustum uocatur*), hence 'a grave-mound' (*OLD* s.v. 2); of Achilles' tomb, e.g. Pl. *Bac.* 938 *ellum non in busto Achilli, sed in lecto accubat*, Catul. 64.363 *teres excelso coaceruatum aggere bustum.* Paul. *Fest.* p. 32 M (Lindsay 29.7 ff.) states: *bustum proprie dicitur locus, in quo mortuus est combustus et sepultus, diciturque bustum, quasi bene ustum; ... sed modo busta sepulcra appellamus.*

In these four lines (327-30), Agamemnon has stuck to the device of repeating his opponent's words, but his shift to using interrogatory sentences intensifies his irony and sarcasm. But it is no mere rhetoric we hear: the passage serves to expose Pyrrhus, who again and again gets entangled in the snares of his own lofty statements.

331 iam: 'at this point in the passage of time, now' (as opp. to any other time, *OLD* s.v. 1); here again in contrast with ten years ago at Aulis. Instead of using another gnome, Pyrrhus now turns to "the Yankee trick of question for question", as Hancock notes; for this device, he compares *Oed.* 696, *Ag.* 956, 962.

immolari: see on 249 *immolasti*; with *Thy.* 714, cited there, these are the only occurrences of the verb in Sen. trag.

332 praeferre patriam liberis: cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.29-30 *postquam pietatem publica causa / rexque patrem uicit.* From their early history, the Romans knew the example of the first consul Brutus, who banished L. Tarquinius Superbus (510 B. C.) and ordered the execution of his own two sons, who had joined an insurrection to restore the Tarquins: see Liv. 2.4-5, Verg. *Aen.* 6.817-23, V. Max. 5.8.1 *exuit patrem ut consulem ageret, orbusque uiuere quam publicae uindictae deesse maluit.*

regem decet: concern for what is proper is often worded in Senecan tragedy, cf. e.g. below 256, 261, 336, 619, 1003, *H.F.* 409-10 *cum uictor arma posuit, et uictum decet / deponere odia*, *Med.* 50 *maiora iam me scelera post partus decent*, *Ag.* 124 *te decet maius nefas*, *Thy.* 86 *me pati poenas decet* (see also on 308 *dignam*).

For this kind of dialogue, in which a personal question is answered with a gnomic statement, Seidensticker, p. 193, n. 74 refers to *Phae.* 871 ff., where Theseus' questions: *causa quae cogit mori?* (871), and *lacrimae nonne te nostrae mouent?* (880), evoke Phaedra's replies: *si causa leti dicitur, fructus perit* (872), and *mors optima est perire lacrimandum suis* (881). Theseus' other remarks meet a similar fate; for example, to his words *effare: fido pectore arcana occulam* (875), she replies *alium silere quod uoles, primus sile.*

333-6 Thematically, the debate culminates in these four *sententiae*. The general questions, whether *lex* or *pudor* is the ultimate touchstone for one's behaviour, whether a victor is allowed to do whatever he likes or that a high position calls for self-restraint, exceed the discussion about Polyxena. In fact, one feels as if one was hearing Seneca and Nero argue (cf. M. Rozelaar, *Seneca, Eine Gesamtdarstellung*, Amsterdam 1976, 565), and the *Octauia* strengthens that feeling; cf. e.g. 450-4:

SE. Hoc plus uerere quod licet tantum tibi.
NE. Fortuna nostra cuncta permittit mihi.
SE. Crede obsequenti parcius: leuis est dea.
NE. Inertis est nescire quid liceat sibi.
SE. Id facere laus est quod decet, non quod licet.

and 574-8:

NE. Prohibebor unus facere quod cunctis licet?
SE. Maiora populus semper a summo exigit.
NE. Libet experiri, uiribus fractus meis
an cedat animis temere conceptus furor.
SE. Obsequere potius ciuibus placidus tuis.

lex nulla: cf. Liv. 26.31.2 *quidquid in hostibus feci, ius belli defendit*, Eur. *Heraclid.* 963 (transl. Way) 'Prithee what law withholdeth him from death?', *Ion* 1046-7 (transl. Way) 'but when ye would wreak vengeance on your foes, / there is no law that lieth in the path.'

capto parcit: cf. *Cl.* 1.18.1 *et in mancipio cogitandum est, non quantum illud impune possit pati, sed quantum tibi permittat aequi bonique natura, quae parcere etiam captiuis ... iubet*, where Calvin notes:

> Satis ostendit Budaeus in suis annotationibus, quid esset aequum & bonum, quod iuri summo seu rigori iuris opponitur. Nam cum ius omnia recta & inflexibilia exigat, aequitas de iure aliquid remittit. haec Graecis ἐπιείκια, illud τὸ κατὰ τὸν νόμον δίκαιον dicitur. Sensus est igitur, dominos non respicere quantum suo iure in seruos possint, sed quadam aequitatis norma temperare imperium. Eadem etiam aequitas bello deuictos & captos conseruari iubet. Nam si iure summo agatur, praesertim in medio belli tumultu, non est nec misericordiae nec mansuetudini locus.

He then quotes these lines with Cic. *Off.* 1.11.35 *parta autem uictoria conseruandi sunt ii, qui non crudeles in bello nec immanes fuerunt*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.69-70 *uendere cum possis captiuum, occidere noli. / seruiet utiliter, seu pascat durus, aretque*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.851-3 *tu regere imperio populos Romane memento. / hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem, / parcere subiectis, & debellare superbos*, Alexander in Curt. 4.1.14 *et uincere, & consulere uictis scio* [F.L. Battles - A.M. Hugo, *Calvin's Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia*, Leiden 1969, 270].

poenam impedit: a late reaction to 300 *quem coli poena iubes.*

334 lex ... pudor: for the contrast, cf. Prop. 3.13.50 *aurum lex sequitur, mox sine lege pudor* (Shackleton Bailey: 'the conscience which requires no law'), Liv. 9.34.22 *nec lex nec pudor coercet*, Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.35-6 *iam nusquam ianitor aut lex / aut pudor* [D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 'Echoes of Propertius', *Mnemos.* Ser. 4, 5 (1952) 311, (1956) 181 f.]. For other instances of such antithesis between single words, not closely juxtaposed, see e.g. below 336 *minimum ... multum*, 572 *unum ... omnia*, 581 *necessitas ... pietas*, 741 *nullas ... tales.*

uetat fieri: cf. *H.F.* 273 *fertque quae fieri uetat*, Ov. *Fast.* 6.762 *propter te, fieri quod uetat, ipse facit.*

pudor: 'consciousness of what is seemly' (*OLD* s.v. 2), 'sensitiveness to what is right' (Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 4.27); cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.1 *pudor aut modus*: "*pudor* is not so much shame (αἰσχύνη) as αἰδώς, the fear of going too far." The importance of *pudor* for Seneca is illustrated by the fact that it occurs in all his plays: e.g. *H.F.* 1240 (Hercules) *non sic furore cessit extinctus pudor*, *Phoen.* 301 (Oedipus) *non patris illos* (sc. *natos*) *tangit afflicti pudor* ('regard', *OLD* 1c), *Med.* 488 (Medea to Iason) *tibi patria cessit, tibi pater frater pudor*, *Phae.* 140-1 *honesta primum est uelle nec labi uia, / pudor est secundus nosse peccandi modum*, 430 *malus est minister regii imperii pudor*, *Oed.* 1008 *iam malis cessit pudor*, *Ag.* 112-3 *periere mores ius decus pietas fides / et qui redire cum perit nescit pudor*, *Thy.* 26-7 *nec sit irarum modus / pudorue, mentes caecus instiget furor*, 215-7 *ubi non est pudor / nec cura iuris sanctitas pietas fides, / instabile regnum est.*

In his prose, it is found some forty times. It is not only contrasted with *lex*, but also with *metus*: e.g. *Ep.* 10.2 *quidquid aut metu aut pudore celabat animus*, Ov. *Fast.* 1.251 *proque metu populum sine ui pudor ipse regebat*, Cic. *Rep.* 5.6 *perfecitque ... ut pudor ciues non minus a delictis arceret quam metus* (Walter, p. 112, n. 216 for the role of *pudor* in Seneca erroneously refers to Th.B.B. Siemers, *Seneca's Hercules furens en Euripides' Herakles*, Diss. Utrecht, Heerlen 1951, 56 ff.).

335 quodcumque ... licet: for this view on the prerogative of power, cf. in Sen. trag. *Ag.* 271-2 (Aegisthus) *id esse regni maximum pignus putant, / si quidquid aliis non licet solis licet*, *H.F.* 489 (Lycus) *quod Ioui hoc regi licet*, *Thy.* 214-5 (Atreus) *ubicumque tantum honesta dominanti licent, / precario regnatur*, *Med.* 195 (Creon) *aequum atque iniquum regis imperium feras*. In other authors, *Oct.* 451 (Nero) *fortuna nostra cuncta permittit mihi*, Sal. *Jug.* 31.26 *nam impune quae lubet facere, id est regem esse*, Suet. *Cal.* 29 *memento omnia mihi et in omnis licere*, Soph. *Ant.* 506-7.

libuit ... licet: Otto (1890) s.v. *licet* 2 quotes Aquila Romanus 27 *frequens illud apud ueteres eiusmodi est: 'cui quod libet, hoc licet'*, 'erlaubt ist, was gefällt' (Goethe, Tasso); Aelius Spartianus (Script. Hist. Aug.), *Caracalla* 10 *dixissetque Antonius 'uellem, si liceret', respondisse fertur (Iulia): si libet, licet*; Publil. Syr. 106 *cui plus licet, quam par est, plus uult, quam licet*; Cic. *Phil.* 1.13.33 *licet, quod cuique libet, loquatur*. Other passages where the two verbs are combined: Pl. *Mos.* 20 *nunc, dum tibi lubet licetque, pota, perde rem*, Sal. *Jug.* 14.24 *nunc neque uiuere lubet neque mori licet sine dedecore*, Cic. *Att.* 14.19.4 *cui facile persuasi id quod rogaret ne licere quidem, non modo non libere.*

336 minimum ... licet: cf. in Senecan prose, *Ep.* 90.4 *tuto enim quantum uult potest qui se nisi quod debet non putat posse* (Summers: 'There is no danger in a man's having as much power as he likes, when he holds the view that he has power to do only what it is his duty to do'; he notes the correspondence between *quod debet* there and *minimum* here), *Dial.* 11.7.2 *Caesari quoque ipsi, cui omnia licent, propter hoc ipsum multa non licent* (Hammer, p. 192, n. 19).

cui multum licet: for instance the kings, who are addressed by the chorus in *Thy.* 607-8 as *uos quibus rector maris atque terrae / ius dedit magnum necis atque uitae.*

licet: no better way to conclude this fragment than with the emphatic repetition of the verb at the end of the line; cf. *Med.* 504-5 (Iason) *ingrata uita est cuius acceptae pudet.* / (Medea) *retinenda non est cuius acceptae uidet.* See also below 592-3 *timerem*, 967-8 *tuos*, 1006-7 *accidat*, 1039-40 *mare cum uiderent*, *H.F.* 896-7 *comes*, *Oed.* 685-6 *fides*, *Ag.* 754-5 *precor*, *Thy.* 207-8 *metus*, 596-7 *uoluptas*. For the effect of emphatic repetion, cf. also above 329-30 (the common element repeated in the second foot, and the contrasting verbs (*dabit* - *petis*) at the end, *Thy.* 613-4 *quem dies uidit ueniens superbum, / hunc dies uidit fugiens iacentem.*

"Praeclara dignissimaque magno rege sententia" is the comment on the line made by Gronovius.

337 his ista iactas: "annon te pudet haec iactare apud Graecos, quos decem annorum graui iugo, longe remotus ab illo, qui nunc tam graues sententias loquitur, intemperantissime pressisti? quosque adhuc premeres, nisi Pyrrhus euersa Troia imperio tuo finem attulisset?" (Gronovius, who also mentions Delrius' suggestion *iacta*). As Austin notes on *Aen.* 1.102 *talia iactanti*, the verb takes its tone from its context (cf. *OLD* s.v. 10: a. 'to utter with force, hurl', b. 'to mention or discuss freely'). For this appliance of the verb to boastful talk (*OLD* s.v. 11), cf. *H.F.* 340-1 *qui genus iactat suum, / aliena laudat.* With *his*, Pyrrhus probably makes a gesture towards the chorus of Greek soldiers.

338 subactos: 'to drive or bring under (under a yoke)' (*OLD* s.v. *subigo* 3b); cf. *Dial.* 6.1.3 *subactis iam ceruicibus omnium et ad Seianianum iugum adactis*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.5.1-2 *nondum subacta ferre iugum ualet / ceruice.* Denoting 'to subdue' (*OLD* 5), the verb occurs e.g. *Thy.* 303-4 *egestas tristis ac durus labor / quamuis rigentem tot malis subigent uirum.*

Pyrrhus: see on 308. The indispensability of Pyrrhus (and the bow and arrows of Hercules) for the capture of Troy had been revealed to the Greeks by the Trojan seer Helenus. Sophocles has elaborated the theme in his *Philoctetes* (see *Phil.* 114-5, 1334 ff.).

exsoluit: "sacramento in militiam praestito absoluit, Troia scil. capta, quae fato capi non potuit sine uno ex Aeacidarum genere" (Farnabius). Axelson's *exsoluet* was taken over by Zwierlein (1986) 92: "Die Replik ergibt nur Sinn, wenn man in ihr mit Axelson eine Drohung sieht (vgl. 307 ff.)"; it also met the approval of Delz (1989) 504. I prefer to keep the transmitted reading; to me, Pyrrhus' words are rather a boast than a threat (see the note on 339 *hos Scyros animos*).

Billerbeck (1988) 53 f. calls attention to the use of a compound with *e*(*x*) instead of the simple verb after the hephthemimeres: *H.F.* 912 *exornet comas*, *Phoen.* 630 *exaequat duos*, *Phae.* 913 *euitant nefas*, *Oed.* 788 *exsoluit sopor*, *Thy.* 114 *exaudit sonos*, 978 *ora quae exoptas dabo.* The simple verb is found e.g. below 600-1 *me fata maturo exitu / facilique soluant*, *Med.* 872-3 *metuque soluet / regnum simulque reges.* Seneca in his prose uses the compound only once, at *Ep.* 79.12.

iugo: cf. *Ag.* 249 (Aegisthus to Clytemestra) *grauis ille sociis stante adhuc Troia fuit.*

339 hos: Agamemnon probably reacts to Pyrrhus' gesture towards the soldiers (337 *his*) by making a similar gesture towards him.

hos Scyros animos: sc. *facit*; cf. e.g. below 743 *spiritus ... facit*, *H.F.* 422 *animosne mersus inferis coniunx facit?* I take Agamemnon's surprised taunt: 'such pride in a man from Scyros?' as a reaction to Pyrrhus' boast that he has freed the Greeks from their yoke.

This aposiopesis with *hos animos* also occurs at Luc. 8.542-4 *o superi, Nilusne et barbara Memphis / et Pelusiaci tam mollis turba Canopi / hos animos?*, and Juv. 1.88-9 *alea quando / hos animos?* More instances of aposiopesis in other poets: Pl. *Per.* 296-7 *qui te di deaeque — scis quid hinc porro dicturus fuerim, / ni linguae moderari queam*, Ter. *Andr.* 164

quem quidem ego si sensero ... , *Eun.* 989-90 *ego te, furcifer, / si uiuo ...* , Verg. *Aen.* 1.135 *quos ego —!*, Claud. *In Eutr.* 2.133 *quam similes haec aula uiros!* [see H-Sz 824; Lausberg §§ 887-889, with Quint. 9.2.54 ἀποσιώπησις, *quam idem Cicero* (*de Orat.* 3.53.205 = Quint. 9.1.31) *reticentiam, Celsus obticentiam, nonnulli interruptionem appellant, et ipsa ostendit aliquid affectus uel irae ... uel sollicitudinis et quasi religionis; uel alio transeundi gratia*, Isid. 2.21.35 *aposiopesis est, cum id, quod dicturi uidebamur, silentio intercipimus*].

Scyros: the small island where Pyrrhus was reared by his grandfather Lycomedes before Odysseus brought him to Troy (for the latter event see e.g. Hom. *Od.* 11.506-9). A similar contempt may be heard in Andromache's words in Eur. *Andr.* 14-5, contrasting herself, 'a gift of special honour', to 'the islander' Neoptolemus, to whom she is given; cf. also *ibid.* 209-10, Soph. *Phil.* 324-6.

Having ended the exchange of *sententiae* by another personal attack (337-8), Pyrrhus now is so carried away by his emotions that he interrupts Agamemnon's line. For the use of ἀντιλαβαί, varying the stichomythia, cf. for instance *H.F.* 426-9, 1186 ff., *Med.* 168-73, *Phae.* 239-45, *Ag.* 791-9. In other passages lines are divided in even four parts, e.g. *Med.* 170-1:

(Nut.) Moriere. (Med.) Cupio. (Nut.) Profuge. (Med.) Paenituit fugae.
(Nut.) Medea — (Med.) Fiam. (Nut.) Mater es. (Med.) Cui sim uide.

scelere ... fratrum: Atreus, Agamemnon's father, killed and cooked the children of his brother Thyestes, who had seduced Atreus' wife Aerope, and served them up to him at a banquet. Thyestes later mated with his own daughter Pelopia and so begot Aegisthus. Seidensticker thinks that the doubtful origin of Agamemnon himself, because of Thyestes' adultery, most likely is alluded to in the first place: cf. e.g. *Thy.* 46-7 *impia stuprum in domo / leuissimum sit facinus*, 240 *dubius sanguis*.

quae ... caret: for the continuation of the construction by means of a relative clause, cf. below 348, 664; see Seidensticker, p. 38, n. 85, with instances from other plays.

340 inclusa fluctu: cf. Hecuba's contempt of Ithaca below 991-2 *sterilis et saeuis fretis / inclusa tellus*.

cognati: cf. 176 *suum* and 193 *nostra ... maria*.

341 Atrei: this form of the genitive is also found at Cic. *Tusc.* 4.77, *N.D.* 3.53; cf. *Achillei* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.34, *Epod.* 17.14), *Ulixei* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.7, *Epod.* 16.60). For the ablative, Seneca uses *Atrea* (*Thy.* 486) and *Atreo* (*Thy.* 271), as vocative *Atreu* (*Thy.* 513).

Atrei et: this conspicuous synaloephe in the first arsis, noted e.g. by B. Schmidt, *De emendandarum Senecae tragoediarum rationibus prosodiacis et metricis*, Berlin 1860, 21, was one reason for Zwierlein (1976) 182 to delete this line; the other was the bad connection of 340 and 341, indicated by both Peiper and Friedrich. The former supposed that some

lines of Agamemnon had fallen out; Friedrich (1933) 146 f. considered 341, containing exactly the same insult as 339 *scelere quae fratrum caret*, an interpolation, resulting from *Atrei et Thyestae* as an explanatory gloss on *fratrum*. On second thought, Zwierlein (1983) 210 f. has sided with Fantham and Caviglia in retaining the line. Fantham gives two, in my opinion convincing, reasons for it: "First, Pyrrhus must do more than defend himself, and 340 gives only defense; 341 is the required counterattack. Second, the ironic wordplay of *nobilem noui domum* is powerful and effective."

Thyestae: this genitive form is also found, e.g. at *Ag.* 293 *gnatus Thyestae*, Hor. *Ars* 91 *cena Thyestae*; cf. the vocative *Thyesta* (*Thy.* 783). For the accusative, Seneca uses the form *Thyesten* (*Thy.* 476 E; *Thyestem* A), for the ablative *Thyeste* (e.g. *Thy.* 259).

nobilem noui: for another wordplay with *nobilis* (= *nosco* + *-bilis*), cf. Acc. 550-1 D (283-4 R^2) *ergo med Argos referam, nam hic sum gnobilis, / ne cui cognoscar noto*. The combination *nobilem ... domum* is found again (without the irony) at *Phoen.* 209 *altis nobilem muris domum*.

noui: 'to know the character of (persons, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. *nosco* 10b); cf. e.g. *H.F.* 386 (Megara) *Thebana noui regna*, *Phoen.* 83 *fata bene noui mea*, 276-7 *optime regni mei / fatum ipse noui*.

342-3 Agamemnon retaliates with a counterattack on Pyrrhus' origin.

uirginis: Deidamia, the daughter of Lycomedes. Note the effective juxtaposition *uirginis concepte*.

furtiuo: 'stealthy, secret, clandestine' (*OLD* s.v. 2); the adj. often relates to love-affairs: Catul. 7.8 *furtiuos hominum ... amores*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.171 *nec iam furtiuum Dido meditatur amorem*, Ov. *Fast.* 6.573 *furtiuos ... amores*, Prud. *c. Symm.* 1.160 *furtiuus amor*. Cf. the use of *furtum*, Ov. *Ep.* 6.43-4 *non ego sum furto tibi cognita: pronuba Iuno / adfuit et sertis tempora cinctus Hymen*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.903-4 (Achilles to Lycomedes) *tacito iam cognita furto / Deidamia mihi*.

stupro: 'illicit sexual intercourse in any form (whether forced or not) or an instance of it' (*OLD* 2); cf., of the same event, Ov. *Ars* 1.697-8 *forte erat in thalamo uirgo regalis eodem; / haec illum stupro comperit esse uirum*.

343 sed: as Costa notes on *Med.* 964-5 *frater est, poenas petit: / dabimus, sed omnes*, Seneca is fond of this qualifying or limiting use of *sed*: cf. *Med.* 575-6 *haec nostra nati dona nubenti ferant, / sed ante diris inlita ac tincta artibus*, *H.F.* 724-5 *uultus est illi Iouis, / sed fulminantis*, *Phoen.* 106-7 *ensem parenti trade, sed notum nece / ensem paterna*, *Oed.* 951 *morere, sed citra patrem* [on *sed* = 'und zwar', see H-Sz 487, K-S 2.77].

nondum uiro: because of his age and his female dress; cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.499-500 *populus superamur ab uno / uixque uiro* (the story of Caeneus). According to Suetonius, Tiberius liked to propound the riddle which name Achilles bore in that period. Hyg. *Fab.* 96.1 gives the answer to that riddle: *Pyrrha*, after the colour of his hair.

344 mundum: 'the universe' (*OLD* s.v. 1b); below 355 it is found in its primary, more usual meaning 'heavens, sky'. M. Cini, 'Mundus in Seneca tragico. Tradizione e variazione di un poetismo', *Quaderni dell' Instituto di Filologia latina* 3, Bologna 1974, 61-77, observes, that Seneca uses the word in these two senses, but never = *orbis terrae*, 'the earth' (*OLD* 2).

345 caelitum: see on 7. For the general meaning 'gods', cf. Catul. 64.191 *caelestum*, used of the *di inferi*.

346 Thetide: see on 176 *suum*.

umbras: 'the underworld' (*OLD* s.v. 7b); cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 5.733-4 *non me impia namque / Tartara habent, tristes umbrae*, *H.O.* 1477-8 *hic tibi emenso freta / terrasque et umbras finis extremus datur* (Nováková, pp. 57 ff.).

Aeaco: cf. Achilles' boast, Hom. *Il.* 21.187-9 (transl. Lattimore):

> but I claim that I am of the generation of great Zeus.
> The man is my father who is lord over many Myrmidons,
> Peleus, Aiakos' son, but Zeus was the father of Aiakos.

Aeacus' mother was Aegina, a daughter of the river-god Asopus; according to Pind. *Isthm.* 8.24, he also judged between the gods. After his death, he became a judge of the dead, with Minos and Rhadamanthys (Pl. *Apol.* 41a, *Gorg.* 523e, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.98); as such, he plays a prominent part at the end of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*.

The tripartition of the universe between the sons of Kronos and Rhea is told at Hom. *Il.* 15.187-93. Sen. trag. hints at it quite often, e.g. *H.F.* 53, 599, 833, *Med.* 597-8, *Phae.* 904.

347 manu Paridis: Achilles' death was related in Arctinus' *Aethiopis*, but was foretold him by his mother (Hom. *Il.* 21.278) and by dying Hector's prophecy, *Il.* 22.359-60 (transl. Lattimore):

> on that day when Paris and Phoibos Apollo
> destroy you in the Skaian gates, for all your valour.

The reports on Apollo's part vary; for the view that he directed Paris' hand, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.56-8 *Phoebe, ... / Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque / corpus in Aeacidae*, Ov. *Met.* 12.598-606.

348 nec deorum ... quisquam: not only Paris stayed at a distance, so did Apollo; cf. Hom. *Il.* 20, in which Poseidon (318-52) and Apollo (443-54) rescue Achilles' enemies but do not fight directly with him. For *nec* = 'not even' (*OLD* 2b), cf. e.g. Sen. *Con.* 1.7.4 *corrupit frater uxorem meam, quam nec tyrannus uiolauerat.*

comminus: 'at, or to, close quarters, in hand-to-hand fighting' (*con-* + *manus, OLD* 1), only here in Sen. trag.; in his prose, *Ep.* 36.7, *Nat.* 1.17.2 (not in Busa-Zampolli), 3.28.3, 4a.praef.13 *ut te petere possint.*

petit: perf., cf. 50 *redit*.

349-359 *Unable to win by words and unwilling to end the dispute by force, Agamemnon decides to appeal to Calchas.*

The debate has come at a dead-lock: neither Agamemnon nor Pyrrhus has succeeded in convincing his opponent, and on the human level in the terms of a chess-game it now merely looks like a repetition of moves. The way out must come from outside, from the *fata*. On the circular character of such passages, with little effect on the development of the dramatic action, see Seidensticker, pp. 76 ff., citing *H.F.* 422 ff., *Med.* 150 ff.

349 compescere ... uerba: in other passages (*Med.* 174, *H.O.* 1427, 1456), the verb is used of the 'curbing' of one's own words/tongue (*OLD* 5a). In Sen. trag., the verb is found in combination with various objects: *H.F.* 518-9 *impiam regis feri / compesce dextram!*, 974-5 *pectoris sani parum / magni tamen compesce dementem impetum*, *Phoen.* 404 *compesce tela*, *Phae.* 165 *compesce amoris impii flammas*, 515 *poma compescunt famem*, *Thy.* 651 (*arcana ... regio*) *alta uetustum ualle compescens nemus*; in his prose e.g. *Dial.* 2.13.3 *in magna familia ... aegros insanosque compescere*, 12.1.2 *ad compescendos moderandosque luctus*.

audacem: '(in a bad sense) audacious, presumptuous, reckless, rash' (*OLD* s.v. 2); with the positive meaning 'daring, confident', the adj. is found below 777, 1151. Note Agamemnon's subst. use of the adj. (Fantham: 'the bold speaker') instead of *te* or *audaciam tuam* (cf. his use of *Pyrrhum* at 252), contrasting with similarly placed *captis* in the next line.

malo: for the use of the word as a means of coercion, cf. *Oed.* 518-9 *audita fare, uel malo domitus graui / quid arma possint regis irati scies*, *Ag.* 959 *sed agere domita feminam disces malo*, *Dial.* 2.12.3 *aliquando illos tanquam pueros malo poenaque admonet, afficit*, *Ep.* 47.3 *magno malo ulla uoce interpellatum silentium luitur*, Liv. 2.54.10, Sal. *Jug.* 100.5. In Comedy, the word is often applied to the 'whipping' of a slave, e.g. Ter. *Ph.* 555 *uerum enim metuo malum*, 644, 851. Farnabius comments: "supplicio vel in malum tuum".

350 poteram: 'ich könnte', cf. *Oed.* 35-6 *sperare poteras sceleribus tantis dari / regnum salubre?* This use of the ind. instead of the subj. is found from earlier authors (Lucr. 2.1035 *quid magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici*) till late Latin (Lact. *opif.* 13.1 *poteram nunc ... exponere, nisi me pudor ... reuocaret*) [H-Sz 328].

sed: the line of thought is: 'but (I'll do you no harm, for) ...'

meus: emphatic, another rebuke of Pyrrhus' not sparing Priam.

captis ... parcere: an echo of 333 *lex nulla capto parcit*, but the use of the verb may also remind of Anchises' famous words at Verg. *Aen.* 6.853 *parcere subiectis* (after 851 *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*). Cf. also Augustus' words, *Mon. Anc.* 7.14 *uictorque omnibus superstitibus ciuibus peperci*.

351 scit ... ensis: likewise with a non-human subject, *H.F.* 175 *nouit paucos secura quies*, *Oed.* 88 *uirtusque nostra nescit ignauos metus*, also + infinitive (*OLD* 8b 'to know how to, be able to') *Ag.* 259 *nec regna socium ferre nec taedae sciunt.*

interpres deum: same line-ending below 938; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.359 (Aeneas addressing Helenus) *Troiugena, interpres diuum.*

deum: the old form (see on 32 *liberum*) of the gen. plur., always found at the end of a line, again below 478, 938, *Med.* 227, *Phae.* 671, 959 (anapaestic dimeter), *Oed.* 630, 711 (glyconeus). There are thirteen occurrences of *deorum* (in *Tro.* at 28 and 348), and an equal number of *caelitum* (in *Tro.* 7, 345, 665). Less frequent are *diuum* (*H.F.* 264, *Phae.* 680, *Oed.* 1028, *Ag.* 651, here metrically incorrect in E), and *diuorum* (*Thy.* 90 *magne diuorum parens*). Ennius, on the other hand, never uses *diuorum* nor *deorum*; he does use *diuom* (six times in the *Annals*, once in the *Satires*), *deum* (four times in the dramatic fragments) and *caelitum* (see on 7; cf. Skutsch on *Ann.* 444 = 456 V^2).

352 Calchas: Hom. *Il.* 1.69-72 (transl. Lattimore) introduces him as 'Kalchas, Thestor's son, far the best of the bird interpreters, / who knew all things that were, the things to come and the things past, / who guided into the land of Ilion the ships of the Achaians / through that seercraft of his own that Phoibos Apollo gave him.' His prominent role is obvious several times in Aeneas' report to Dido, cf. 2.100 *Calchante ministro,* 122-9, 176 *canit ... Calchas*, 182, 185 ff. To the order of words *interpres deum / Calchas*, cf. *Oed.* 838-40 *ecce grandaeuus senex, / arbitria sub quo regii fuerant gregis, / Phorbas.*

fata ... poscent: a Vergilian phrase, cf. *Aen.* 7.272 *hunc illum poscere fata*, 8.477 *fatis huc te poscentibus affers*, 4.614 *sic fata Iouis poscunt* (Caviglia incorrectly *Geo.* 4.614). As for the importance and immovability of Fate, see on 124 *fatorum*; cf. also *Nat.* 2.35.2 *fata aliter ius suum peragunt, nec ulla commouentur prece; non misericordia flecti, non gratia sciunt; cursum inreuocabilem ingressa ex destinato fluunt. quemadmodum rapidorum aqua torrentium in se non recurrit, ne moratur quidem, quia priorem superueniens praecipitat, sic ordinem fati rerum aeterna series rotat, cuius haec prima lex est, stare decreto.*

353 tu: the short interval between the summoning of Calchas and his appearing on the stage has been criticized by A. Marek, *De temporis et loci unitatibus a Seneca tragico obseruatis,* Diss. Breslau 1909, 32, and Friedrich, p. 102. The criticism was repeated by Zwierlein (1966) 29-31 in order to illustrate his thesis that Seneca wrote his plays for recitation. It need not be considered a real problem when one realizes that Shakespeare in *The Winter's Tale*, II.ii.18-20, likewise has Emilia arrive almost instantaneously after she has been summoned.

Steidle (1941) 280 has made the suggestion that Calchas must be thought present in Agamemnon's retinue, but I doubt it; from *uocetur*, I rather gather that Agamemnon orders one of his soldiers to bring the seer onstage.

Boyle *ad loc.* points out, that nowadays directors of the play have used Calchas' presence throughout this scene (preferably at the back of the stage) with powerful dramatic effect. Would a pause, filled with tension, shortly before the concluding verdict be less impressive? In my view, Handel has given ample proof in the final bars of his 'Hallelujah'-chorus in the *Messiah*.

qui ... qui ... cui ... cui ... cuius: for the series of relative clauses, describing the various fields of interest for the seer, cf. Aeneas' address to Helenus, Verg. *Aen.* 3.359-61 *qui numina Phoebi, / qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis / et uolucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae.* For a later instance, see Auson. *Ephem.* 3.13-5 (*Omnipotens*) *quo sine nil actum, per quem facta omnia; cuius / in caelo solium, cui subdita terra sedenti / et mare et obscurae chaos insuperabile noctis.* For the solemn character created by the anaphora, cf. above 117 ff.

Pelasgae: 'Greek'. The Pelasgi were an ancient pre-Hellenic people, mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2.840-1; cf. 17.288, 301, 10.429) as Trojan allies. Herodot devotes an interesting chapter (1.57) to them and their language. In Latin poetry, the word usually refers to the Greeks in general, cf. below 597, 628, 737, 753, *Med.* 127 *Pelasgae ... urbes*, Enn. *Ann.* 14 Sk (17 V^2) *occubuit Priamus sub Marte Pelasgo* (see Skutsch *ad loc.*), Verg. *Aen.* 1.624 *regesque Pelasgi*, 2.83 *Pelasgi*, Ov. *Met.* 7.49-50 *Pelasgas / ... urbes*; Fantham's conclusion, from its other occurrences in the play, that "Seneca seems to associate it with Ulysses, and Pelasgian guile" does not hold here. The adj. is absent from Senecan prose.

uincla soluisti: sc. at Aulis. For the phrase, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 17(18).11-2 *cum uincula prorae / solueret*, Luc. 5.422 *rumpite quae retinent felices uincula proras.* Catul. 64.367 describes the capture of Troy with the words *urbis Dardaniae Neptunia soluere uincla.*

soluisti ... / moras: cf. below 1126-7 *moras / ... solui*; for the more usual *rumpere moras*, see on 681.

rati: for the collective singular, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 378 Sk (385 V^2) *caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum.*

354 reseras: lit. 'to unbar', hence 'to make known, disclose (secrets or sim.)' (*OLD* 4b). The verb is composed of *re-* + *sera* 'a (detachable) bar', cf. Paul. *Fest.* p. 283 M (Lindsay 355.10); after occasional occurrences in Ennius (*Ann.* 210 Sk = 217 V^2), Cicero (*Phil.* 7.2, *Off.* 2.55), Q. Cicero (*poet.* 8), Lucretius (1.11), and Vergil (*Aen.* 7.613, 8.244, 12.584), the verb is found rather often in its literal sense in the elegiasts, e.g. Tib. 1.2.18, Prop. 1.16.19, Ov. *Am.* 3.1.45, *Ars* 3.577, *Ep.* 4.141-2. In its other occurrencies in Seneca's tragedies (*H.F.* 963, *Phae.* 863, *Oed.* 395, *Ag.* 361, 718, 756), the verb also has this original sense. The transferred sense here has a precedent in Ov. *Met.* 15.143-5 *et quoniam deus ora mouet, sequar ora mouentem / rite deum Delphosque meos ipsumque recludam / aethera et augustae reserabo oracula mentis*; Ovid had also extended the application of the verb to the 'opening' of a period (*Pont.* 4.4.23), and the 'laying bare, exposing' of a breast (*Met.* 6.663).

The use of the verb here also has a parallel in its only occurrence in Seneca's prose: *Ep.* 90.28 *haec eius* (sc. *philosophiae*) *initiamenta sunt, per quae non municipale sacrum sed ingens deorum omnium templum, mundus ipse, reseratur.* In prose, the verb is also found once in Livy: 40.8.20 (at the end of an emotional speech) *dicite palam, quidquid aut ueri potestis, aut comminisci libet. reseratae aures sunt, quae posthac secretis alterius ab altero criminibus claudentur*; it occurs twice in Val. Max. (1.8.1, 2.10.2). Later on, it is used e.g. by Lucan (5x), Val. Flaccus (3x; cf. esp. 2.437-8 *obuius at Minyas terris adytisque sacerdos / excipit hospitibus reserans secreta Thyotes*), Silius (13x; cf. esp. 7.436 *incipit ambiguus uates reseratque futura*), Statius (9x), and Apuleius (5x). An instance from the 4th cent.: Tiberianus 2.3 *aurum, quo pretio reserantur limina Ditis.*

polum: Sen. trag. uses the word for 'pole' (*OLD* s.v. 1, e.g. *Ag.* 68 *niuali ... polo*), 'heaven' (*OLD* s.v. 2, e.g. *H.F.* 963, *Oed.* 249, *Thy.* 49), and 'underworld' (*H.F.* 607 *deterior polus*, 1105 *atri regina poli*, *Phae.* 836 *umbrantem polum*, *Ag.* 756 *reserate paulum terga nigrantis poli*).

Tarrant on *Ag.* 756 adduces *Tro.* 354 as an instance of the "recurrent Senecan idea" of "the identification of the Underworld with the other pole". This view would create a nice tripartition: *polum* (underworld) - *uiscerum* (earth) - *mundi fragor et stella* (heaven). In my opinion, the absence of a characteristic epithet like *deterior* or *ater* (see the passages quoted above), forms too great an objection; it seems preferable to take the noun as 'heaven', denoting 'the will of the gods'. In my view, Calchas' words contain a different tripartition: *qui ... soluisti* (incidental) - *qui reseras* (generic) - *cui ... fati* (foundation), followed by the unexpected clause *cuius ... ora.*

355 uiscerum secreta: the *haruspices* were diviners imported into Rome from Etruria. According to Livy 1.56.4-5, they appeared during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus; their importance increased from the Second Punic War on. They sought to interpret three types of phenomena (Cic. *Diu.* 1.12, 2.26): *exta, monstra (ostenta, portenta, prodigia),* and *fulgura.* Significant for the *exta* (or *uiscera*) were the size, shape, colour, and markings of the vital organs, especially the livers and gall-bladders of sheep (*OCD* s.v. *haruspices*). Extensive descriptions of an *extispicium* are found in *Oed.* 353-83 and Luc. 1.616 ff. (in contrast with the general view, that the Senecan passage has been a model for Lucan, Dingel [1985] 1078 f., suggests that the latter here has inspired his uncle).

mundi fragor: 'thunder'; cf. *Nat.* 2.59.11 *pauescis ad caeli fragorem,* Verg. *Aen.* 2.692-4 *uix ea fatus erat senior* (sc. Anchises), *subitoque fragore / intonuit laeuum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras / stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit,* Manil. 1.99 *nubila cum tanto quatiuntur pulsa fragore.* For an illustration of it being a portent in Homeric times, see *Od.* 101 ff. Cini (see on 344 *mundum*) notes that Sen. trag. is innovating in his substituting *mundi* for traditional *caeli.*

In the second book of his *Naturales Quaestiones*, Seneca deals with lightning and thunder. About their foretelling power he notes (32.2): *hoc inter nos et Tuscos, quibus summa est fulgurum persequendorum scientia, interest: nos putamus quia nubes conlisae sunt fulmina emitti; illi existimant nubes conlidi ut fulmina emittantur. nam cum omnia ad deum referant, in ea opinione sunt tamquam non quia facta sunt significent, sed quia significatura sunt fiant.* He opposes the view that their omen is more important than others (34). He also records Caecina's tripartition of lightnings (*consiliarium, auctoritatis et quod status dicitur*): *consiliarium ante rem fit sed post cogitationem, cum aliquid in animo uersantibus aut suadetur fulminis ictu aut dissuadetur. auctoritatis est ubi post rem factam uenit, quam bono futuram maloue significat. status est ubi quietis nec agentibus quicquam, ne cogitantibus quidem, fulmen interuenit, et aut minatur aut promittit aut monet* (39), and their names (49).

356 stella: a 'shooting-star', cf. Verg. *Geo.* 1.365-7 *saepe etiam stellas uento impendente uidebis / praecipitis caelo labi, noctisque per umbram / flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus, Aen.* 2.693-4 (cited on *mundi fragor*), 5.528 *uolantia sidera*; the noun is also used of a 'comet' (Ov. *Met.* 15.849-50). For the portent of shooting stars (meteors), cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 4.75-6, Ap. Rhod. 3.1377-8. Seneca's interest in celestial phenomena is apparent especially in the first and seventh book of his *Nat. Quaest.*; he quotes Verg. *Geo.* 1.367 slightly altered at 7.20.1 *longos a tergo flammarum albescere tractus*, and at 1.14.2 (MSS *stellarum* instead of *flammarum*), adding: *hae uelut stellae exiliunt et transuolant uidenturque longum ignem porrigere propter immensam celeritatem, cum acies nostra non discernat transitum earum, sed, quacumque cucurrerunt, id totum igneum credat.*

longā: with *flammā*; cf. *Phae.* 738-40 (*fugit*) *ocior cursum rapiente flamma, / stella cum uentis agitata longos / porrigit ignes.* Hillen, p. 83 f. lists this passage under 2.1.1.6.2 'Explikative Ablative in adnominalen Bezug auf das Objekt'.

semitam: 'trail' left by a moving object (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. Man. 1.851 *ardua cum gracili tenuatur semita filo*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.388 *claraque per zephyros etiamnum semita lucet*, 11.3-4 (*postquam*) *ad terras longe comitata cadentem / signauit muros ultricis semita flammae.* The phenomenon is also found in *Phoen.* 430-2 *qualis cadit / delapsa caelo stella, cum stringens polum / rectam citatis ignibus rumpit uiam*, *Phae.* 1107 (*qua*) *longum cruenta tramitem signat nota.* Vergil rounds off his description (see on *mundi fragor*) 2.697-8 *tum longo limite sulcus / dat lucem.*

trahens: cf. Lucr. 2.206-7 *nocturnasque faces caeli sublime uolantis / nonne uides longos flammarum ducere tractus.*

357 dant: although it is the *lectio facilior*, I prefer the plural reading ($\Sigma\mu$; in 918 they also have the correct text *cladi*); *dat* was upheld by Courtney (1968) 174, comparing *H.O.* 235-6 *Scylla et Charybdis Sicula contorquens freta / minus est timenda*, "wantonly altered by Leo" (*minus timendae*). For such variance in the MSS, cf. below 902 *sonet* E - *sonent* A.

ingenti ... / mercede: abl. pretii (cf. 193-4), hinting at Iphigenia (Aulis), and Chryseis (Troy); cf. Agamemnon's furious words to Calchas, Hom. *Il.* 1.106-7 (transl. Lattimore)

> Seer of evil: never yet have you told me a good thing.
> Always the evil things are dear to your heart to prophesy.

358 constant: '(esp. w. dat. of person making the expenditure) to cost' (*OLD* s.v. 11); cf. *H.F.* 462 *semperque magno constitit nasci deum*, *Phoen.* 664 *imperia pretio quolibet constant bene*, *Med.* 603 *constitit nulli uia nota magno*, Pl. *Truc.* 538 *iam mi auro contra constat filius*. Fitch on *H.F.* 462 notes the unusual frequency of metaphors drawn from finance and trade throughout Seneca's work. In the sense 'to cost', *constare* is used metaphorically some 22x in the prose works, in contrast with only one instance in Ovid's verse and none in Vergil. In *Phae.* 1153 *constat inferno numerus tyranno*, *OLD* 10b distinguishes another commercial metaphor with a different meaning of the verb: 'balance'.

ora: 'what a person says, his words or utterance' (*OLD* s.v. *os* 4c); cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.39 *cum Platone ... quem ex tuo ore admiror*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.837 *faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos*, Ov. *Met.* 8.521 *sociamque tori uocat ore supremo*, *Fast.* 6.674, V. Fl. 5.99-100 *mixtoque sonantem / percutit ore lyram*.

deus: either Apollo, from whom Calchas had received his gift of prophecy (Hom. *Il.* 1.72) and whose oracle was pretended by Sinon (*Aen.* 2.114), or 'the god' of *Ben.* 4.7.1-2 *quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et diuina ratio toti mundo partibusque eius inserta? quotiens uoles, tibi licet aliter hunc auctorem rerum nostrarum compellare; et Iouem illum Optimum ac Maximum rite dices et Tonantem [...]. hunc eundem et Fatum si dixeris, non mentieris; nam cum fatum nihil aliud sit, quam series implexa causarum, ille est prima omnium causa, ex qua ceterae pendent*; cf. 4.8.3 *sic nunc naturam uoca, fatum, fortunam; omnia eiusdem dei nomina sunt uarie utentis sua potestate*. For the latter meaning, cf. below 770, and Ov. *Rem.* 560 *omnibus illa deus plusue minusue dedit*, with Henderson's note: "'God', in a conventional, vague, general sense, as commonly in both Latin and Greek, differing hardly at all in meaning from the plural, and more or less the equivalent of *fortuna* (τύχη)", *Fast.* 2.782 *audentes forsque deusque iuuat*. See also Motto, 'Seneca on Theology', *CJ* 50 (1954-55) 181; Nisbet-Hubbard (1970) 377 on Hor. *Carm.* 1.34: "It seems strange to the modern mind that Horace should equate *deus* and *Fortuna* (...). But Greek gods were always capricious and irresponsible by the grim standards of an inflexible Jehovah. Tyche represents such success and failure as do not result from calculation. In origin at least, she was not a symbol of blind chance, but of divine power operating inscrutably"; idem (1970) 385 on 1.34.13 *deus*: "the non-specific word, placed between *Diespiter* and *Fortuna*, shows their essential identity."

359 effare: see on 167.

Calchas: the E reading has been preferred by all editors; cf. Prisc. 6.10.54 S. 702 (II 239.14), cited at N-W I 446: "Sciendum, quod in *as* desinentia masculina, si *nt* habeant in genetivo, vocativum in *an* volunt terminare more Graeco, vel similem hunc nominativo servare, ut *o Calchan* vel *o Calchas*". But he adds Vergil's practice in *Aen.* 11.97 *salue aeternum mihi, maxime Palla,* 11.169 *quin ego non alio dignem te funere, Palla,* as no less an imitation of Greek poets (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 12.231). This vocative-form is also used by Ovid (*Met.* 4.644 *tempus, Atla, ueniet,* 7.400 *teque, senex Peripha,* 12.296 *te quoque, saeye Drya*), so the A reading (*calca*) in itself is not inferior.

consilio rege: for the line-ending cf. *Phae.* 621 ... *imperio rege.*

360-370 *Calchas declares that not only Polyxena has to be offered but Astyanax as well.*

360 quo ... pretio: Friedrich, p. 101 notes the resemblance to the oracle in Sinon's fake story (Verg. *Aen.* 2.116-9) *sanguine placastis uentos et uirgine caesa, / cum primum Iliacas, Danai, uenistis ad oras: / sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum / Argolica.*

solent: see on 249 *solita.*

pretio: Calchas aptly answers to Agamemnon's metaphor; for the reference to Aulis, cf. Clytemestra's words (*Ag.* 170) *cruore uentos emimus, bellum nece!*

Calchas' first line perfectly matches Talthybius' opening *o longa Danais semper in portu mora* (164): *Danais* - *Danais, semper* - *quo solent*; the words *Thessali ... ducis* (361) enhance the link. The action of the play, starting with that report but held up by the debate, is now revived by his short, but for the drama effective, message. Amoroso cites M.V. Bragington, *The supernatural in Seneca's tragedies*, Diss. Yale, Menasha 1933, 337: "Calchas coöperates with the ghost of Achilles by setting the action in motion".

361 mactanda: Calchas repeats the verb used by Achilles (196). At 1063 the messenger will begin his report with the words *mactata uirgo est.*

Thessali ... ducis: cf. above 181 *Thessalici ducis.*

362 sed quo ... : most editors punctuate *ducis;* and *nurus*, to make this clause subordinate to *tradat* (364). I rather follow Gronovius and Boyle, reading a full stop after *nurus*: in this way, the oxymoron death-wedding (reminiscent of Aulis) on the one hand, and the specific role of Pyrrhus on the other, stand out better. At Aulis, a father had to sacrifice his own daughter, now a son has to sacrifice a maiden to his own father. Fantham's text has the usual punctiation, but translation runs: 'the virgin must be sacrificed on the tomb of the Thessalian leader; but in the costume that is worn for marriage by brides of Thessaly or Ionia or Mycenae. Let Pyrrhus present her ...'

iugari: 'to join in marriage' (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. *H.F.* 852 *uirgines nondum thalamis iugatae*, Catul. 64.21 *tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.345-6 *cui pater intactam dederat primisque iugarat / ominibus*. The verb is absent from Senecan prose.

cultu: 'style of dress or ornament', 'get up' (*OLD* s.v. 5b, citing e.g. Ov. *Tr.* 5.10.33-4 *hos quoque, qui geniti Graia creduntur ab urbe, / pro patrio cultu Persica braca tegit*, Sen. *Cl.* 1.24.1), or concr. 'adornments; esp. personal adornments, clothes, finery, etc.' (*OLD* 6); cf. below 865, 883, 946.

363 Ionides: the only instance of *Ionis* in *OLD*; Sen. trag. elsewhere uses forms of *Ionius*.

-ue: '(in general, linking two or more words, cls., between which there is an alternative but which are not mutually exclusive) or' (*OLD* s.v. 1); the enclitic conjunction is weaker than its synonym *uel* [K-S 2.111, H-Sz 502 f.].

uel: K-S 2.107 derive the particle from the 2. sing. of the imperative of *uelle* (likewise *OLD*), comparing the similar transition of *age* and *puta* (*ut puta*). H-Sz 500 f. think an old 2. pers. sing. of the indicative more likely; cf. Leumann, p. 526.

For this juxtaposition, instead of the normal *-ue* ... *-ue* (not in Sen. trag.) or *uel* ... *uel* (*H.F.* 743-4, *Phoen.* 487, *Med.* 535, *Phae.* 611, *Oed.* 931-2, *Thy.* 963-4), there is no real parallel. Fantham cites Pers. 3.29 *censoremue tuum uel quod trabeate salutas* (cf. H-Sz 525 "vielleicht"), but the text there is uncertain. Combined over a slightly greater distance, *-ue* and *uel* are also found at Verg. *Aen.* 6.319 (*quid uult concursus ad amnem?*) *quidue petunt animae? uel quo discrimine* ... .

nurus: besides 'daughter-in-law' (cf. above 57, below 882), the word denotes a 'young woman', e.g. *Med.* 73 *matres* ... *nurus*, *Phoen.* 576 *nuribus* ... *Argolicis*, *H.O.* 338 *Thessalae* ... *nurus*, 525 *Thessalas* ... *nurus*, Ov. *Met.* 3.529 *mixtaeque uiris matresque nurusque*, 12.216 *cinctaque adest uirgo matrum nuruumque caterua*, 2.366 *nuribus* ... *Latinis* (Bömer *ad. loc.* shows Ovid's preference for this use of the word in combination with such an 'Ethnikon'), Stat. *Silu.* 2.6.24-5 *Graiae* ... *Latinae* / ... *nurus*. The noun is not found in Senecan prose.

In my view, Axelson's suggestion of athetizing the line, since it would only be natural that Polyxene as bride of a Thessalian king should wear a Thessalian bridal attire, is rightly rejected by Zwierlein (1986) 92.

For the solemn effect, evoked by a trimeter consisting of four words (again below 367), cf. above 195.

364 Pyrrhus parenti: for the juxtaposition, cf. above 248 *gnatam parens*.

tradat: 'to hand over in marriage' (*OLD* s.v. 5c); cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 14.335-6 *haec ubi nubilibus primum maturuit annis, / praeposito cunctis Laurenti tradita Pico est*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.40 *at enim Augustus filam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est*.

365 rite: the importance of a correct (religious) procedure at a sacrifice is likewise stressed in *Thy.* 689-90 *seruatur omnis ordo, ne tantum nefas / non rite fiat*; cf. *Med.* 58 (a wedding-song) *populis rite fauentibus*, *Oed.* 226 (Creon in the temple of Phoebus) *pias numen precatus rite summisi manus*. Cf. in Senecan prose: *Dial.* 6.13.1 *cetera rite perfecit*, 7.26.7 (explaining *fauete linguis*) *hoc uerbum non, ut plerique existimant, a fauore trahitur, sed imperat silentium ut rite peragi possit sacrum nulla uoce mala obstrepente*, *Nat.* 2.49.1 (on the *nomina fulgurum quae a Caecina ponuntur*; cf. the note on 355) *ait esse postulatoria, quibus sacrificia intermissa aut non rite facta repetuntur.*

non tamen: Calchas uses the same transition to a new important element in the play as Hecuba had done at 56 *non tamen superis sat est* (note the similar placing); cf. *Phoen.* 101 *nec tamen.*

tenet: 'to cause to wait, detain, keep, hold up' (*OLD* 17b); cf. below 552, Ov. *Met.* 12.9-10 (*nisi*) *Boeotaque tellus / Aulide piscosa puppes tenuisset ituras.*

366 puppes: see on 27 *rates*; the noun is used again below 919, 1179.

nobilior: since he was a boy and contemplated heir to the throne. Note the elevated periphrasis used by Calchas, again 368 *quem fata quaerunt*, instead of mentioning the boy by his name: he is killed because he is the son of Hector, and grandson of Priamus (369). This will be done throughout the play: 456 *nostrae paruulam stirpem domus*, 528 *Hectorea suboles*, 551 *futurus Hector.*

As for the death of Astyanax, felt in advance by Andromache at Hom. *Il.* 24.734-5, Seneca follows the account of Arctinus' *Iliou Persis* in which he was killed by Odysseus; in Lesches' *Ilias Parua* he is hurled from the city wall by Neoptolemus.

In Accius' *Astyanax* (263-286 D, 164-188 R^2), Andromache probably hid the child in the hills, but Odysseus traced him and threw him from the wall. Vergil mentions him twice: *Aen.* 2.456-7 *Andromache ... / ... auo puerum Astyanacta trahebat*, 3.489 *o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago*, but does not tell anything about his fate.

With his second pronoucement, Calchas introduces a new element, that has nothing to do with Pyrrhus' demand and the ensuing quarrel with Agamemnon. No wonder that this dual action in the play, spoiling the effective parallelism with the offering of Iphigenia, has been criticized, for instance, by Corneille (see Andre Steegman, 'Seneca and Corneille', in: T.A. Dorey and D.R. Dudley, *Roman Drama*, London 1965, 187, referring to his *Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris 1963, 842), by Friedrich, pp. 99-101, and by Fantham, p. 260. Fantham considers it "a fault of dramatic construction that this demand comes without motivation."

True as this may be, the very fact that this second requirement comes as a thunderclap in a clear sky (it is as such a good illustration of the unpredictable character of the *fata*) adds, in my opinion, to its dramatic impact at the end of the scene. Moreover, this new thematic line offers

Seneca so much material for new analogies and contrasts (the play thus turns into a surpassing as well as a repetition of the miserable events at Aulis), that to my mind he has turned the fault into a merit (it is also judged of positively by Steidle and Schetter).

367 cruore ... cruor: for the polyptoton, see on 38 *Ithacus* ... *Ithaci*; with an abl. comp. it is also found at *Nat.* 2.34.2 *uero uerius nihil est.* Here (see on 363), the polyptoton and the apostrophe *Polyxene* also add to the solemnity of the line.

368 fata: resumes 360 *fata.*

turre de summa: cf. Eur. *Andr.* 10 'Astyanax hurled from the high towers', *Tro.* 725 'he said he should be flung from the Trojan walls' (transl. Barlow). Sen. trag. uses only this form of the ablative, again below 622, 1071, 1092, *Phae.* 532; *turri* is found e.g. at Cic. *Tusc.* 5.59, Caes. *Gal.* 5.43.6 (N-W I 335).

369 Priami nepos Hectoreus: cf. the periphrasis of Ascanius, Verg. *Aen.* 4.163 *Dardanius* ... *nepos Veneris* (Austin: "the sporting columns of many daily newspapers will supply a form of modern counterpart").

Hectoreus: cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.416, and see on 137 *Herculeas.* Since Cic. *poet.* 24 *Hectoreo* ... *ense*, this personal adjective is used by various poets instead of a genitive: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.542-3 *corpusque exsangue sepulcro / reddidit Hectoreum*, Ov. *Met.* 12.67 *Hectorea* ... *hasta.* Sen. trag uses it again below 415, 528, 1087, *Ag.* 647; it is absent from his prose.

letum oppetat: 'let him meet death'; the expression is found in poetry, e.g. Enn. *scen.* 183 J (203 V^2) *utinam mortem obpetam*, Sil. 15.336 *Marcellum* ... *letum oppetiisse sub armis*, as well as in prose, e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 4.7 *eam* (sc. *mortem*) ... *fortes saepe etiam libenter oppetiuerunt*, *Tusc.* 1.116 *mortes pro patria oppetitae*, Liv. 45.26.8 *pro patria qui letum oppetissent* [*ThLL* IX 2.750.15 ff.]. Sen. trag. uses the verb once again below 650 *mortem oppetat*; in his prose it only occurs at *Ep.* 67.8, in a quotation of Verg. *Aen.* 1.94-6.

370 mille uelis: see on 27.

impleat: cf. *Ag.* 40-1 *mille* ... *rates / Iliaca uelis maria texerunt suis*, Ov. *Met.* 13.182 *Aulidaque Euboicam complerunt mille carinae.*

SECOND CHORAL ODE (371-408)

Whereas the first performance of the chorus formed a logical part of the action, this second ode does not constitute such a coherent link with the foregoing events. Despite Calchas' horrible demands, there is no sign of emotion or reaction to his words. It is an intellectual reflection on death, in its conclusion *post mortem nihil est* (397) even clashing with the report of Achilles' apparition. At the end of the ode, if one thinks the lines spoken by the Trojan women, its composed tone does not correspond with Andromache's address, 409 *quid, maesta Phrygiae turba, laceratis comas ...?* This poor connection is one reason why I attribute this ode to a chorus of Greek soldiers; another reason is that they seem a more fit mouthpiece to voice this counterpart of the first ode.

True, one may wonder why these soldiers remain on the stage, whereas the other men leave after Calchas' verdict. But the traditional view that the ode is sung by the Trojan women offers just as serious a problem. After the reply to Talthybius' address (166-7), there is no trace of them until this ode; we must therefore guess whether they have remained on the stage all the time or have left right after Talthybius' report (it seems unlikely that they have left without waiting to hear Talthybius). As a consequence, the ode has been taken either as a reaction to Calchas' verdict or to Talthybius' message.

The former view was upheld by C. Lindskog, *Studien zum antiken Drama II*, Lund 1897, 42 f. He considered the ode a dirge on the tragic fate of Polyxena and Astyanax and of mankind in general: even after death there is no hope of something good (but neither fear of some evil). Likewise, Anliker thought that it was a reaction to Calchas' words, but rather a consolation (esp. 405-6) for the horror of death.

Fantham, Boyle, and Scherer, on the other hand, assume that the Trojan women have left after Talthybius' report (Fantham does not exclude that they have left even earlier). Scherer emphasizes the consolatory character of the ode, because of the rhetorical question *non prodest animam tradere funeri* (376) and the statement *post mortem nihil est ipsaque mors nihil* (397), and objects to the view that it should be taken as a dirge on Polyxena's fate. In Herrmann's view, the ode is a reaction of the women to their own present and impending misery; they do not know that Polyxena and Astyanax have to be immolated.

It has also been suggested that the ode has the intention of denying Achilles' apparition; so e.g. Gronovius in his heading to the ode: "Chorus e mulieribus Troianis tam mente quam corpore captis, quo Achillis animam apparuisse neget, ex Epicuri sententia, quae nec Stoicorum multo sanior, stulte & (ut semel de toto Choro moneam) impie animam cum corpore interire asserit"; Miller (1927) 541: "The evident purpose of

these considerations is to discount the story that Achilles' shade could have appeared with its demand for the death of Polyxena". This idea also returns in Owen's scheme of the first half of the play:

A. 1-163 Hecuba and chorus mourn.
B. 164-202 Talthybius' ghost story.
C. 203-371 Agamemnon / Pyrrhus.
B[1]. 372-408 Choral denial of ghosts.
A[1]. 409 ff. Andromache abandons mourning.

In my view, the choral song does not have such a simple meaning, since it would actually unsettle the further action in the play. I rather suppose (with Schetter and Fantham) that Seneca, though as a poet handling traditional mythic themes in his plays, wishes to juxtapose the opposite philosophical rational view in order to evoke a feeling of uncertainty in his readers (audience). For a blending of the two "levels", see 391 *qui tetigit*. It is in line with his own constant wavering between a belief in a (happy) life after death and the conviction of a definitive end, e.g. *Dial.* 1.6.6 *contemnite mortem: quae uos aut finit aut transfert* (cf. *Ep.* 63.16, 65.24, 76.25). Just as the demand on Astyanax brought the surprise of a new theme, this ode, with its contrasting level of thought, is meant to hit the audience in its possible gratuitous acceptance of the traditional myth. I feel an analogy here with the Agamemnon-Pyrrhus scene, where the audience is tossed to and fro between the natural right of the strongest and the written (*lex*) and unwritten (*pudor*) laws of civilization.

Though the ode may be considered a compositional error from a technical point of view (Zwierlein: "Es steht völlig losgelöst als in sich geschlossene philosophische Betrachtung"), one can therefore also take it as "eine wohl erwogene dramaturgische Fügung" (Schetter) in its location between Achilles' apparition and Andromache's dream of Hector (438-60), two essential components of the play. Regenbogen had already noted the deliberate placing of this ode, emphasizing insignificance and transitoriness, right before the tragic events of Act III. For the first half of the play, the placing of the ode then contributes to the following parallel scheme (again Owen):

A. Ode I: The joys of Elysium and the Fortunate Dead.
B. Talthybius / Chorus; The reality of Achilles' ghost.
C. Agamemnon / Pyrrhus conflict.
A[1]. Ode II: There is no Elysium and this is the good fortune of the dead.
B[1]. Andromache / Senex; Hector's ghost, a vain dream.
C[1]. Andromache / Odysseus conflict.

Let us return to the identity of the performers and add some views that have been put forward on this issue. Schetter sticks to the chorus of Trojan women, but he admits that Seneca's intention of making the audience uncertain can only be realised "um den Preiß, daß sich die

Choristinnen für die Dauer des Liedes gleichsam ihres Personseins als Trojanerinnen entäußerten und zum abstrakten Medium der Psychagogie des Dichters wurden." Fantham properly concludes that the ode is not spoken by the Trojan women but from outside the dramatic action "to convey a philosophical antidote to archaic superstition" (p. 263), and that it should be understood as the poet's own manifesto (p. 85). She advises a modern producer to use disembodied voices for it and to isolate this chorus from the actors, perhaps burying them in darkness between 202-409, 524-813, 860-1008, and 1056 following (p. 40). Motto-Clark feel that it is sung by the Trojan women, taking their change of attitude as a "simply shocked reaction" to Calchas' pronouncement. To Boyle the contradictions "seem part of *Troades'* overall dramatic and thematic design and of the play's disjunctive or 'asyndetic' structure" (p. 172).

The metre

The metre is the minor asclepiad with a spondeic base, and a dihaeresis always after the sixth syllable (see Introduction, p. 25); the final line is shortened. There is no synaphea.

Christianity and the ode

The criticism of these lines, reflected by the words *stulte* and *impie* in Gronovius' heading, is also found with other commentators: see e.g. M. Dreano, 'Un commentaire des tragédies de Sénèque au XVIe siècle par Martin-Antoine Del Rio' in: J. Jacquot, *Les tragédies de Sénèque et le théatre de la Renaissance*, (1964) 206. Pious translators, like Garnier and Vondel, also had their problem with them (see Introduction, p. 32 f.).

Praise

Praising remarks have been made e.g. by Owen: "of a deep and subdued poetic beauty"; Boyle: "especially effective ... with its dramatic shifts in tone and speed, yet its steady rhythmic punch, and pervading it an insistent and incisive rhetoric, an intense imagistic power"; Caviglia considers it Seneca's most Aeschylean chorus and suggests a possible influence on Hamlet's famous monologue. See also on 392 *usquam est.*

[C. Lindskog (1897) 42 f.; L. Herrmann (1924) 371 f.; O. Regenbogen (1930) 202; A.L. Motto (1954-55 b) 186 ff., (1970) 61 f.; K. Anliker (1960) 95; A. Cattin (1963) 26 ff.; O. Zwierlein (1966) 78, 88 f.; R.M. Haywood (1969) 417-419; W.H. Owen, *WS* (1970) 118-137; A.A. Gil (1979) 108; F. Caviglia (1981) 43-48; G. Lawall (1981) 244 ff.; E. Fantham (1982) 37-40, 85, 263; A.L. Motto-J.R. Clark (1988) 229; P.J. Davis (1993) 47 f., 137 ff.; A.J. Boyle (1994) 31, 156, 172; B. Scherer (1999)].

371 uerum: cf. *H.F.* 727 *uerane est fama ... ?*

an: here "introducing a second question, which is an alternative to the first" (*OLD* s.v. 3); see on 210. Hoffa (1914) 473 styles the question "nur eine formelhafte Frage", like Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.5-6 *auditis, an me ludit amabilis / insania?*

fabula: 'a legend, myth', *OLD* s.v. 5, quoting *Rhet. Her.* 1.13 *fabula est quae neque ueras neque ueri similes continet res, ut eae sunt quae tragoediis traditae sunt.* For the use of the word in regard to the horrors of the underworld, cf. *Dial.* 6.19.4 *cogita nullis defunctum malis adfici, illa quae nobis inferos faciunt terribiles, fabulas esse* [...]: *luserunt ista poetae et uanis nos agitauere terroribus*, *Ep.* 82.16 *etiam cum persuaseris istas fabulas esse nec quicquam defunctis superesse quod timeant*, Prop. 3.5.45 *an ficta in miseras descendit fabula gentes.*

372 uiuere: 'to go on living, live on, survive' (*OLD* 5); cf. Enn. *Ann.* 383 Sk (= 392 V[2]) *si uiuimus siue morimur*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.848-9 *tuane haec genitor per uulnera seruor, / morte tua uiuens?*, Liv. 28.34.8 *illos quidem merito perisse ipsorum maleficio ait, uicturos suo atque populi Romani beneficio*, Petr. 71.6 *ut mihi contingat tuo beneficio post mortem uiuere.*

conditis: Herrmann and Viansino print the question mark after *conditis*; so does Bishop (1985) 276, n. 9. The other editors follow Peiper's transposition of it after 375 *coercuit* (Giardina in his *app. crit.* notes: "post *conditis* nullum signum interrogationis praebent *E C K e*, habent contra *S Q*").

373 coniunx: although the noun can denote both a 'husband' (cf. below 418, 483, 519, 643, 645, 1170) and a 'wife' (in *Tro.* 60, 364, 501, 698), I take it here, like e.g. Fantham and Boyle, rather in the latter sense; for a more ambiguous translation, see Thomann: 'wenn der eine Gatte die Hand auf die Augen des andern gelegt hat'. This male perspective of the line adds a small emotional argument to my view that the line was spoken by a male chorus.

oculis imposuit manum: for the wording, cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.424 *inpositaque manu.* For the closing of the eyes, a rite performed immediately after death, cf. e.g. below 788 *condam*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.44 *labentes oculos condet amica manus*, 4.3.43-4 (quoted on the next line), Verg. *Aen.* 9.486-7 *nec te tua funera mater / produxi pressiue oculos*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.1.172 *dilectosque premis uisus* [see J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, London 1971, 44]. It is found in Homer e.g. at *Od.* 24.296, 11.425-6 (combined with the closing of the mouth), *Il.* 11.453.

374 Zwierlein (1976) 185-187 proposed to delete the line because of the maladjustment of the abstract subject *supremus dies* between the concrete scenes of dying (373) and burying (375); on second thoughts, (1986) 92 f., he has defended it on various grounds, like the absence of a coercive reason for smuggling in this addition, its poetical character, viz. the contrast *soles* - *tristis urna*, and the play with the notions *dies* ('day of death' - 'light of day') and *sol* ('sun' - 'day').

The line was praised by Fantham, "both meaningful and allusive", as well as Caviglia, "Le tensioni e le inquietudini di cui questo verso è intensamente vivo". The latter's words: "È auspicabile che nella futura edizione oxoniense, cui lo Zwierlein sta lavorando, questo - che è uno dei più bei versi di Seneca tragico - non compaia umiliato dal segno della cancellazione", were fullfilled.

supremus ... dies: here rather 'the last day' as the moment of death (*OLD* s.v. *supremus* 4b) than 'the day of one's funeral' (*OLD* 5).

solibus: the plural may be a reference to Catul. 5.4-6 *soles occidere et redire possunt: / nobis cum semel occidit breuis lux, / nox est perpetua una dormienda*. On the use of *soles* for *dies* (so already Servius on *Aen.* 1.745-6 *quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles / hiberni*, comparing 3.203 *tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles*), cf. Lucr. 6.1219-20 *nec tamen omnino temere illis solibus ulla / comparebat auis*, Verg. *Ecl.* 9.51-2 *saepe ego longos / cantando puerum memini me condere soles*, *Geo.* 2.332 *nouos soles* (Mynors: 'the sun day after day').

obstitit: either from *obsisto* 'to place oneself or stand in the way of' (*OLD* 1) or from *obsto* '(spec., of barriers to sight) to block the view (of), stand or get in front (of)' (*OLD* 2b); here I take it from *obsisto* (cf. my note on 428 *stetit*). For this meaning of these verbs, cf. *Phae.* 788-9 *en nuper rubuit, nullaque lucidis / nubes sordidior uultibus obstitit*, Enn. *Ann.* 153 Sk (163 V^2) *nonis Iunis soli luna obstitit et nox*, Sen. *Ep.* 92.17 *quaedam ... soli quoque opstant*, Luc. 9.528-9 *hic quoque nil obstat Phoebo, cum cardine summo / stat librata dies.*

Zwierlein (1986) 93 refers to the comparable passage Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.41-6:

spiritus hic per te patrias exisset in auras,
    sparsissent lacrimae pectora nostra piae,
supremoque die notum spectantia caelum
    texissent digiti lumina nostra tui,
et cinis in tumulo positus iacuisset auito,
    tactaque nascenti corpus haberet humus.

375 tristis: the E reading was immediately preferred by Gronovius to A's *tristes*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.6 *maesta ... ab urna.*

urna: 'cinerary urn', (*OLD* 2c); cf. e.g. *H.F.* 191 *recipit populos urna citatos*, Ov. *Am.* 3.9.67 *ossa quieta, precor, tuta requiescite in urna*, Luc. 2.333-4 *sed postquam condidit urna / supremos cineres*, Tac. *Ann.* 3.1 *feralem urnam.*

coercuit: 'to restrain within bounds, confine, shut up' (*OLD* s.v. 1); cf. *H.F.* 766-7 *deformem sinum / nodus coercet*, *Dial.* 3.2.1 *intra moenia coercitos ignes*, 9.1.11 *intra parietes suos uitam coercere* [*ThLL* III 1434.8-10].

376 animam: 'the non-material part (as opposed to the body), the soul, life' (*OLD* s.v. 5); cf., for instance, below 402, Verg. *Aen.* 4.385 *cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus.*

tradere funeri: Caviglia compares Luc. 3.642-3 *pars ultima trunci / tradidit in letum uacuos uitalibus artus*, 8.31-2 *quisquamne secundis / tradere se fatis audet nisi morte parata?*, 9.102 *longo tradita leto*.

377 miseris: for the generic subst. use of the adjective, cf. below 497, 510, 697, 710, 954, 986, 1047; in the other plays, e.g. *H.F.* 513 *miserum ueta perire, felicem iube*, *Ag.* 590-1 *cum pateat malis / effugium et miseros libera mors uocet*. Lucretius applied the adjective to the first human beings, 5.944 *miseris mortalibus* (cf. 6.1 *mortalibus aegris*), and Vergil followed him, *Aen.* 11.182-3 *Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam / extulerat lucem, referens opera atque labores*, *Geo.* 3.66 *miseris mortalibus*, *Aen.* 2.268 *mortalibus aegris*; cf. also Homeric 'miserable' of the mortals (e.g. *Il.* 21.463-4), as the opposite of the 'blessed immortal gods'. See P. Salat, 'L'Adjectif *miser* dans les tragédies de Sénèque', in: *Neronia* 1977, Clermont-Ferrand 1982, 233-241.

Notice the similar placing of *miseris* and the kindred *timidos* (371).

uiuere longius: cf. e.g. *Ep.* 66.42 *si mors aliorum longius uitam passa est procedere*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.3-4 *neque in terris morabor / longius*, Boëth. *Consol.* 2.7.23-4 *longius uitam trahi / mortalis aura nominis*, Ov. *Met.* 11.702-3 *si uitam ducere nitar / longius*; cf. also - with an abl. comp. - Ov. *Met.* 3.120-1 *hunc quoque qui leto dederat non longius illo / uiuit*, *Eleg. Maec.* 4 *longius annoso uiuere ... auo*, where Schoonhoven's note for the more frequent *diutius uiuere* refers to Petr. 34.7, Sen. *Ep.* 92.24, 93.1, 101.15.

378 toti morimur: an echo of Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.6 *non omnis moriar*.

nullaque pars manet / nostri: an echo of Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.6-7 *multaque pars mei / uitabit Libitinam*; similarly *Dial.* 11.2.6 *id egit ipse ut meliore sui parte duraret*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.59-60 *atque utinam pereant animae cum corpore nostrae, / effugiatque auidos pars mihi nulla rogos!*, *Am.* 1.15.42 *parsque mei multa superstes erit*, *Met.* 15.875-6 *parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis / astra ferar*.

toti: the use of the masculine form is no proof that these lines are spoken by a male chorus; women could likewise use this form, since it is not their own fate but that of mankind that the members of the chorus are musing upon.

379 profugo: 'making one's escape, fleeing, fugitive' (*OLD* 1). As Hillen notes (p. 72), Sen. trag. often combines a noun in the abl. (*halitu*) with an adj., that relates predicatively to the subject (*spiritus*) and adds a qualification to the predicate (*cessit*): cf. *H.F.* 365-6 *uastis ager / squalebit aruis*, *Phae.* 456 (*seges*) *quaecumque laetis tenera luxuriat satis*, 830 *alto uertice attollens caput*, *Ag.* 238 *uultu languido optutus stupet*. For the fleeing of the spirit, cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 12.952 (Turnus' death) *uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*.

halitu: 'breath' (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2.22 (Soph. *Trach.* 1092-3) *Nemeaeus leo / frendens efflauit grauiter extremum halitum*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.684-5 *extremus si quis super halitus errat, / ore legam*.

In Christian literature, the subst. can also denote the 'spirit, soul', e.g. Prud. *Cath.* 10.11 *petit halitus aëra feruens* (contrasting with 12 *humus excipit arida corpus*; see below on 401).

380 immixtus nebulis: cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.100-1 'the spirit (sc. of Patroclus) went underground like smoke', Plato *Phaedo* 70a (transl. Hackforth) 'immediately upon its departure, its exit, it is dispersed like breath or smoke', Lucr. 3.436-7 *et nebula et fumus quoniam discedit in auras / crede animam quoque diffundi*, 3.455-6 *ergo dissolui quoque conuenit omnem animai / naturam, ceu fumus in altas aeris auras*, 3.583 *ut fumus*.

cessit: probably both 'has gone' (cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.43 *in uentos anima exhalata recessit*) and 'has turned into' (*OLD* s.v. 17b); for the latter meaning cf. *Nat.* 2.12.4 *aquarum halitus ... in imbres et niues cedit.*

Just as *profugo* (379) may recall the very last line of book 12 of the *Aeneid*, so *cessit in aera* may do the same with the final words of book 4 (4.705, Dido's death) *in uentos uita recessit* (I owe this keen observation to Prof. Ruurd Nauta).

381 nudum ... latus: Zwierlein (1986) 93 understands it as *spiritūs nudum corpus*; he makes a reference to several passages cited by Axelson, like *Oed.* 379 *inane ... corpus*, the disembowelled body of a victim, and by himself, for instance Ov. *Met.* 13.488 *corpus conplexa animae tam fortis inane*. In my opinion, the meanings of *nudus* (outside) and *inanis* (inside) are too different to use those parallels here (similarly Fitch *CP* 84 [1989] 243).

subdita fax: for the use of *subdere*, 'to apply (fire) underneath' (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. *H.F.* 366 *subdita tectis face*, *Thy.* 59 *ignibus iam subditis*, *Dial.* 4.14.1 (*iracundia*) *aliquando simulanda, si segnes audientium animi concitandi sunt, sicut tarde consurgentis ad cursum equos stimulis facibusque subditis excitamus*, 5.11.4, *Ep.* 115.12. Shackleton Bailey (1956) 275 lists the instances Lucr. 3.303, 6.1285, Prop. 4.11.9-10, Liv. 45.33.2, Stat. *Theb.* 10.197, *Silu.* 2.6.14-5.

382 quidquid ... quidquid: for the anaphora, again 384 *quidquid*, see on 117; cf. *H.F.* 333-5 *et omne quidquid uberis cingit soli / obliqua Phocis, quidquid Ismenos rigat, / quidquid Cithaeron uertice excelso uidet*, *Med.* 211-4 *quodcumque placidis flexibus Phasis rigat / Pontusque quidquid Scythicus a tergo uidet, / palustribus qua maria dulcescunt aquis, / armata peltis quidquid exterret cohors*. Here the tricolon will be followed by another one 386-8 *quo ... quo ... quo*.

sol oriens ... occidens: for similar polar expressions, see e.g. *H.F.* 443 *quodcumque Titan ortus et labens uidet*, 870-1 *tibi crescit omne, / et quod occasus uidet et quod ortus*, *Ag.* 824-5 *sensit ortus, sensit occasus / Herculem nasci*, *Phae.* 285-6 *quaeque nascentem uidet ora solem, / quaeque ad Hesperias iacet ora metas*, Ov. *Met.* 1.354 *terrarum, quascumque uident occasus et ortus*. Bishop (1985) 277 interprets *Sol oriens* as 'Nero's accession with its bright promise of the new day dawning under Seneca's guidance', and *Sol occidens* as 'the degeneration'.

383 caeruleis: '(of the sea) blue or greenish-blue' (*OLD* s.v. 2), from Ennius on (*Ann.* 378 Sk = 385 V^2 *caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum*) often used epithet of the sea, e.g. Pl. *Rud.* 268 *nempe equo ligneo per uias caerul(e)as / estis uectae*, Catul. 36.11 *caeruleo creata ponto*; in Sen. trag. *H.F.* 132, *Ag.* 69 *caeruleis ... aquis*, *Phae.* 1160 *caerulei maris*, *Oed.* 507 *caeruleum ... Nerea*. Sen. trag. uses the adjective also of things connected with the sea, *Phae.* 1036 *caerulea taurus colla sublimis gerens* (cf. 336 *caerulus ... grex Nereidum*), of the 'glossy greenish-blue' (*OLD* s.v. 4) of a serpent, *Oed.* 729 *erexit caeruleum caput*, and in a description of a rainbow (*OLD* s.v. 8: "applied to things of various shades of blue"), *Oed.* 319-20 *caerulea fuluis mixta oberrauit notis, / sanguinea rursus* (Töchterle, however, makes it refer to 314 *non una facies mobilis flammae fuit*).

The older form [*ThLL* III 103.84 ff.] *caerulus* is found five times in Sen. trag.: *Phae.* 336 *caerulus ... grex Nereidum*, 1041 *caerula ... nota*, *Oed.* 255 *aequor per altum caerulos currus agis*, 451 *caerula ... freta*, *Ag.* 441 *caerulum ... mare*. André, pp. 162-170 distinguishes four notions of the word: 'bleu-ciel (foncé)', 'bleu-noir', 'noir' and 'bleu-vert, vert' (see also Austin on *Aen.* 2.381, Griffin on Ov. *Met.* 11.398).

caeruleis ... fretis: as Hillen notes (p. 53), probably rather abl. instr. than abl. qual.

Oceanus: the river/sea flowing round the land mass of the known world, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18.607 (on Achilles' shield), Aesch. *Prom.* 138-40, Catul. 64.30 *Oceanusque, mari totum qui amplectitur orbem*, Hor. *Epod.* 16.41 *Oceanus circumuagus*, Sen. *Nat.* 3.29.7 *hic qui terras cingit oceanus*; cf. Töchterle on *Oed.* 504 *Oceanus clausum dum fluctibus ambiet orbem*. It occurs in a comparable anaphora in *Phae.* 1161-3 *quidquid intimo Tethys sinu / extrema gestat, quidquid Oceanus uagis / complexus undis ultimo fluctu tegit*. Paschalis, p. 54 f. refers to an ancient etymology from ὠκύς.

384 bis ueniens et fugiens: other descriptions of the tides are e.g. *H.F.* 377-8 *uicibus alternis fugax / Euripus*, Luc. 1.410-1 *alternis uicibus, cum funditur ingens / Oceanus uel cum refugis se fluctibus aufert*, Caes. *Gal.* 3.12 *cum ex alto se aestus incitauisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum duodenarum spatio, ... rursus minuente aestu*, Liv. 26.42.8 (*stagnum*) *incertae altitudinis utcumque exaestuat aut deficit mare*.

Pytheas of Massalia (ca. 325 B.C.) already ascribes their causes to the 'becoming full' of the moon and her 'diminution' (see Aëtius, *Placita* III, cited by H.J. Mette, *Pytheas von Massalia*, Berlin 1952, 17). Other occurrences of this view are found in *Dial.* 1.1.4 *illae* (sc. *undae*) *portionibus crescunt et ad horam ac diem subeunt ampliores minoresque, prout illas lunare sidus elicuit, ad cuius arbitrium oceanus exundat*, Caes. *Gal.* 4.29 *luna plena, qui dies maritimos aestus maximos in Oceano efficere consueuit*, Plin. *Nat.* 2.212 *causa in sole lunaque*, Luc. 1.413-4, Sil. 3.58-60, 14.348 *atque una pelagi lunaeque labores*.

lauat: '(of rivers, seas, etc.) to wash' (*OLD* s.v. 5b); cf. *Med.* 80-1 *et quas Aonius latex / Alpheosque sacer lauat, Oed.* 714 *lauitque Dirce Tyrios colonos*, Hor. *Epod.* 16.27-8 *quando / Padus Matina lauerit cacumina, Carm.* 2.3.18 *uillaque flauus quam Tiberis lauit*, Ov. *Met.* 7.267 *et quas Oceani refluum mare lauit harenas.*

385 aetas: 'the passage or lapse of time' (*OLD* s.v. 7); cf. *H.O.* 390 *aetas citato senior eripuit gradu*, Catul. 68.43-4 *ne fugiens saeclis obliuiscentibus aetas / illius hoc caeca nocte tegat studium*, Verg. *Ecl.* 9.51 *omnia fert aetas.*

Pegaseo: Pegasus was the winged horse of Bellerophon, born from the head of dying Medusa (Hes. *Th.* 280-1; Hyg. *Fab.* 151), occurring e.g. in Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.26-8 *ales / Pegasus terrenum equitem grauatus / Bellerophontem*, Ov. *Met.* 4.785-6 *pennisque fugacem / Pegason*, 5.262-3 *Pegasus huius origo / fontis.* For his proverbial swiftness, cf. Catul. 58b.2 *si Pegaseo ferar uolatu*, Cic. *Quinct.* 80 *o hominem fortunatum qui eiusmodi nuntios seu potius Pegasos habeat*, Ov. *Pont.* 4.7.51-2, Prop. 2.30.3, Apul. *Met.* 6.30 [Otto (1890) s.v.]. Since Pegasus became a constellation (Germ. *Arat.* 223 *sed Pegasus aethere summo uelocis agitat pennas et sidere gaudet*), the adjective also creates a smooth transition to *uolant sidera* in the next line. On the shortness and velocity of life, cf. *H.F.* 175-80 *nouit paucos secura quies, / qui uelocis memores aeui / tempora numquam reditura tenent. / dum fata sinunt, uiuite laeti: / properat cursu uita citato / uolucrique die rota praecipitis uertitur anni, Phae.* 1141-2 *uolat ambiguis mobilis alis / hora*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.14 (1-2 *eheu fugaces ... / labuntur anni*), Verg. *Geo.* 3.284 *sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus, Aen.* 10.467-8 *stat sua cuique dies, breue et inreparabile tempus / omnibus est uitae.*

corripiet: '(of torrents, whirlwinds, etc.) to seize and carry away, sweep off' (*OLD* s.v. 4), hence (4b) 'destroy, carry off', e.g. Curt. 6.6.18 *subita morte correptus.*

gradu: of swift steps again below 674 *entheo ... gradu*, 999 *incitato ... gradu*, 1178 *celeri ... gradu.* Without an adjective, the noun may denote 'a walking pace' (*OLD* s.v. 1c), cf. *Dial.* 4.35.2 *ea demum uelocitas placet quae ubi iussa est uestigium sistit nec ultra destinata procurrit flectique et cursu ad gradum reduci potest.* Although the sense is quite different, is there an echo from Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.32-3 *semotique prius tarda Necessitas / leti corripuit gradum*?

386 quo bis: Housman, *CQ* 17 (1923) 165, from E's *bis quos sena*, gathered *bis quo sena* as "probably right": the relative in anaphora does not have to stand first in every clause (cf. 354 *arte qui, Oed.* 251 *bis sena cursu signa qui uario legis, Ag.* 515-6 *cadere qui meruit gradu, / quem fama seruat, uicta quem tellus tegit*), and separation of the numeral adverb from its numeral occurs not only where metre needs it (e.g. Lucr. 5.1300 *et biiugos prius est quam bis coniungere binos*, Ov. *Met.* 5.50 *bis adhuc octonis integer annis*), but also when metre allows free choice (Ov. *Met.* 3.351 *namque ter ad quinos*, 8.500 *et quos sustinui bis mensum quinque*

labores?, *Ib.* 1 *tempus ad hoc lustris bis iam mihi quinque peractis*). In those passages, however, the relative clause in question is not the first one, as here; moreover, separation is found only at *Med.* 955 *bisque septenos* (= *H.O.* 1850), elsewhere *bis* and the numeral are kept together: *Tro.* 1057 *bis quinis*, *Oed.* 251 *bis sena*, *Ag.* 812 *bis seno*, 625 *quinis bis*. I therefore prefer the A reading.

bis sena: for this periphrasis, cf. *Oed.* 251 *bis sena ... signa*, *H.F.* 1282 *ingens opus, labore bis seno amplius*, *Ag.* 812 *bis seno ... labore*, Enn. *Ann.* 311 Sk (323 V^2) *lychnorum lumina bis sex*, Verg. *Ecl.* 1.43 *bis senos ... dies*, *Aen.* 1.393 *bis senos ... cycnos* [Franz Seibel, *Quibus artificiis poetae Latini numerorum vocabula difficilia evitaverint*, Freising 1909, 10, 19-21]. Sometimes the words are combined, e.g. V. Fl. 4.93 *bisseno sidere*. The periphrasis is also used by Grotius, *Soph.* 618 *Arabum regentes arua bisseni duces* (cf. 740 *bis sex*, *Ad. Ex.* 474 *bissex*).

uolant: elsewhere, for instance in Lucr. 2.206 *nocturnasque faces sublime uolantis*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.528 *uolantia sidera*, the verb is applied to shooting stars (see on 356).

sidera: the twelve constellations of the zodiac are fully described by Seneca in *Thy.* 844-66, in sequence from Aries in early spring to Pisces in late winter.

turbine: here the 'spinning or whirling motion' (*OLD* s.v. 4) of the world; cf. *Nat.* 7.1.7 (*flammam*) *conglobatam ... iam mundus turbine suo dissipasset*. At *Nat.* 5.13.3, Seneca uses the noun of a 'whirlwind': *uentus circumactus et eundem ambiens locum ac se ipsa uertigine concitans turbo est* (*OLD* 2). Fantham has an extensive note on the Stoic doctrine of *ekpyrosis*, the periodic 'conversion into fire' of the world; she thinks that Seneca "may intend here also to evoke the incendiary whirlwind that causes *ekpyrosis*". Interesting though her suggestion may be, in my opinion the noun here need no more imply than a comparison of speed.

387 cursu properat: cf. *H.F.* 179 *properat cursu uita citato.*

properat uoluere: see above on 207 *properes dare.*

uoluere: 'to bring round (events, seasons, etc.) in due course' (*OLD* 2). For *uoluere saecula*, cf. *Oed.* 252 *qui tarda celeri saecula euoluis rota*, *Med.* 402 *nitidusque certas mundus euoluet uices*, Claud. *Cons. Olyb. et Prob.* 1-2 *Sol, qui flammigeris mundum complexus habenis / uoluis inexhausto redeuntia saecula motu* (Taegert *ad loc.* mentions in addition *Lydia* 47, Aus. *Ecl.* 5.1), Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 816-7 *Sol ... / uariis uicibus saecula uoluet*. At *Thy.* 836, Seneca uses *saecula ducens* of the sun.

388 astrorum dominus: the sun, cf. *Thy.* 836 *dux astrorum*; Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 1619 *rector astrorum*. Cf. Hor. *Saec.* 35 *siderum regina* of *Luna.*

quo ... modo: in Vergil, usually with a form of *quisque* in between, cf. *Geo.* 2.226 *nunc quo quamque modo possis cognoscere dicam*, 2.270 *quo quaeque modo steterit*, *Aen.* 3.459 *quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem*, 6.892; without it, at *Aen.* 5.599 *quo puer ipse modo.* Ovid uses the words even in an enjambement, for instance at *Met.* 13.214-5 *doceo, quo simus alendi / armandique modo.*

modo: anticlimax (Caviglia) after *turbine* and *cursu*, but made up by *properat ... currere* (cf. 387 *cursu properat*).

389 obliquis: 'oblique, slanting' (*OLD* 1c: astron., of the ecliptic or the signs of the zodiac); cf. e.g. Verg. *Geo.* 1.239 *obliquus qua se signorum uerteret ordo*, Prop. 4.1.82 *curuae signa iterata rotae*. In Sen. trag. cf. *Thy.* 841 *curuo ... limite* (of *Luna*), 844-6 *hic qui sacris peruius astris / secat obliquo tramite zonas, / ... signifer.*

Hecate: actually a chthonian goddess, commonly worshipped at crossroads and represented with three faces or bodies; she was the counterpart of Diana and the Moon, with whom she is identical here. Cf. Catul. 34.15-6 (a hymn to Diana) *tu potens Triuia et notho es / dicta lumine Luna*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.511 *tergeminam Hecaten, tria uirginis ora Dianae*. She is invoked as Luna, *Med.* 6-7 *tacitisque praebens conscium sacris iubar / Hecate triformis*; cf. *Phae.* 410-2 *clarumque caeli sidus et noctis decus, / cuius relucet mundus alterna uice, / Hecate triformis.*

currere: of heavenly bodies (*OLD* s.v. 4b), of the moon again at *Thy.* 841, of the sun at *Oed.* 219, *Ag.* 909, of the stars at *Phae.* 333, *Oed.* 503, *Thy.* 699.

390 hoc: sc. *modo*. Bishop's defence, (1985) 276, n. 8, of *haec*: "The ode does not discuss how but what kind of end we meet. *Haec* prepares for the statement in the correlative terms *ut fumus* 392 ... *ut nubes* ... *sic spiritus* 396", rightly has not found any following: the similes do illustrate 385 *aetas Pegaseo corripiet gradu*; moreover, the statement *ut fumus* etc. is too far away. For a study of Seneca's similes, see Adolf Primmer, 'Die Vergleiche in Senecas Dramen', *Grazer Beiträge* 5 (1976), 212-232. He lists this and the following one *ut ... sic*, with *Phae.* 761-72, *Ag.* 64-72, 90-101, *Thy.* 576-95, in a category 'die lyrische Vergleiche der Chorlieder' (p. 213, n. 9: "Zumeist im Gefolge der horazischen Gedankenlyrik").

omnes petimus: for the thought, cf. *H.F.* 183-4 *at gens hominum fertur rapidis / obuia fatis incerta sui: / Stygias ultro quaerimus undas*, 872-3 *tibi, mors, paramur; / sis licet segnis, properamus ipsi*, *Phae.* 477-8 *atram Styga / iam petimus ultro*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.3.25 *omnes eodem cogimur.*

fata: 'death, doom' (*OLD* 6; *ThLL* VI 1.359.22 ff.); cf. e.g. below 654, *H.F.* 611-2 *et nocte quiddam grauius et tristes deos / et fata uici*, *Oed.* 72 *matura poscens fata*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.678 *eadem me ad fata uocasses.*

amplius: '(after neg.) any longer' (*OLD* s.v. 5b); cf. *Phae.* 219-21 *non umquam amplius / conuexa tetigit supera qui mersus semel / adiit silentem nocte perpetua domum*, *Ben.* 4.11.3 *numquam amplius ... in conspectum nostrum reuersurus.*

391 iuratos superis: for the swearing of the gods by the Styx, see Hom. *Il.* 2.755, 14.271, 15.37-8 'which is the biggest and most formidable oath to the blessed gods', Hes. *Th.* 400, 793-806, Verg. *Aen.* 6.323-4 *Stygiamque paludem, / di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen*, Ov. *Fast.* 5.250 *et Stygiae numen testificabor aquae*; in Sen. trag. *H.F.* 712-3 *alter quieto similis (hunc iurant dei) / tacente sacram deuehens fluuio Styga*, *Ag.* 755

iurata superis unda, *Thy*. 666-7 *dirae Stygis / deformis unda quae facit caelo fidem*, *Phae*. 944 *inuocata ... Styge*. The phrase returns at *H.O.* 1066-7 *nec timuit Stygis / iuratos superis lacus*.

lacus: for the use of the word denoting the waters of the underworld (*OLD* s.v. 1c), cf. Verg. *Aen*. 6.392-3 *nec uero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem / accepisse lacu*, Tib. 2.6.40 *ad infernos ... lacus*.

qui tetigit: Axelson is right, of course, in signaling the discrepancy between the non-existence of the soul and its reaching the non-existent underworld. But his remedy of considering *tetigit* an accidental repetition of 381 *tetigit*, possibly influenced by the almost similar line-endings *latus* and *lacus*, and therefore proposing *timuit* (cf. *H.O.* 1066-7 quoted above), does not do justice to Seneca's deliberate blending of mythological tradition and philosophic reasoning.

For the *traiectio* of the relative pronoun, see on 61. For the use of the verb, cf. *Phae*. 219-21 (quoted on 390), *Med*. 632 *contigit notam Styga Tartarumque*.

392 usquam est: with a negation 'exists no more' (see *OLD* s.v. 2); cf. *H.F.* 1025-6 *corpori trunco caput / abest nec usquam est*, Pl. *Cist*. 686 *nulla est* (sc. *cistella*), *neque ego sum usquam. perdita perdidit me*, Hor. *Sat*. 2.5.101-2 *ergo nunc Dama sodalis / nusquam est?*, Ov. *Met*. 1.587, 3.433, Prop. 3.13.58.

The wording of this and the following lines may recall Cebes' reaction (Pl. *Phaedo* 69e-70a, tr. Hackforth): 'Most of what you have been saying, Socrates, seems to me excellent, but your view about the soul is one that people find it very hard to accept; they suspect that, when it has left the body, it no longer exists anywhere; on the day when a man dies his soul is destroyed and annihilated; immediately upon its departure, its exit, it is dispersed like breath or smoke, vanishing into thin air, and thereafter not existing anywhere at all.'

D. & E. Henry (1985) 127 f. add this praise to their quote of 392-408:

> There is no Senecan chorus whose diction and metre are handled with a more impressive sense of restraint and authority than this; the negative message acquires the compelling quality of strong positive conviction. This is partly because the verbs (including those in the fifteen lines immediately before our quotation) are indicatives of physical action and movement [...]. Partly the effect is derived from the extremely simple observations of familiar but mysterious things.

calidis ... ignibus: cf. Lucr. 1.647 *calidum ... ignem*. For the order of words *calidis ... ab ignibus*, see above on 45-6 *ipsas ... ad aras*.

fumus: cf. Lucr. 3.436 and 456 quoted on 380.

393 uanescit: 'melts into nothingness' (*OLD*); cf. Ov. *Ep*. 12.85-6 *spiritus ante meus tenues uanescat in auras, / quam thalamo, nisi tu, nupta sit ulla meo*, *Tr*. 1.2.107-8 *an incipiunt grauidae uanescere nubes / ... ?* In Senecan poetry and prose, the verb occurs only here.

spatium per breue: for the wordorder, cf. 146 *manes ... ad imos*. In my view, the noun is here rather used in its temporal (*OLD* 8) than its spatial sense. For the combination of subst. and adj., cf. Pl. *Capt.* 743 (*etsi peruiuo usque ad summam aetatem, tamen*) *breue spatium est perferundi quae minitas mihi*, Ter. *Hau.* 954-5 *ut pater / tam in breui spatio omnem de me eiecerit animum patris?*, Prud. *Cath.* 10.33-6 *nam quod requiescere corpus / uacuum sine mente uidemus, / spatium breue restat, ut alti / repetat collegia sensus.*

sordidus: likewise of smoke, Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.11-2 *sordidum flammae trepidant rotantes / uertice fumum*; of clouds, e.g. *Phae.* 788-9 *nullaque lucidis / nubes sordidior uultibus obstitit*, *Ag.* 462 *exigua nubes sordido crescens globo*, *Ep.* 53.1 *caelum graue sordidis nubibus.*

394 grauidas: 'laden, swollen'; of clouds, again at Man. 2.75, Plin. *Nat.* 18.356 (*OLD* s.v. 2), of *frondes* at *Thy.* 155. In its literal sense, the adj. is found above 36.

395 arctoi: 'northern'. The adjective is first attested in Sen. trag. (again *H.F.* 1326, *Med.* 683, *Oed.* 606); it also occurs in *H.O.* (3x), *Oct.* (once), Lucan (13x), Val. Flaccus (4x), Statius (9x) and Silius (2x), according to Billerbeck (1988) 49. The subst. *Arctos*, as a designation for the Great and/or Little Bear, was already used by Cicero; in Sen. trag. it occurs at *H.F.* 6, *Med.* 405, *Oed.* 507, *Thy.* 477.

Boreae: Boreas is the north wind, so *arctoi* is just as abundant as *inclitas* with *laudes* (236). Boreas, like Zephyrus, is traditionally associated with Thrace (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 9.5), and was feared for his force: cf. below 841 *quaeque formidat Borean Enispe*, *Phae.* 1130 *insani Boreae minas.*

dissipat: initially, *dissicit* of some younger MSS was generally accepted; for *dissicit* = *disicit*, cf. *Ag.* 895-6 *sinus dissicere*, *Phoen.* 343 *dissicite* (E) *passim moenia*, Lucr. 3.639 *dissicietur*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.339 *dissice/disice compositam pacem*, Prud. *Cath.* 1.97 *Tu, Christe, somnum dissice.* The A reading *dissipat* was upheld by Carlsson (1948) 43, with a reference to *Nat.* 1.13.2 *nam si infra solem nubes fuerit et propior, ab eo dissipatur*, and 2.15.1 *ipse* (i.e. *aer*) ... *densos compactosque nubium sinus dissipat*. Zwierlein, who at first, (1969 *Gn*) 760, had preferred *dissicit*, later accepted *dissipat*, (1986) 94, "Die E-Lesart beruht auf einer der häufigen Vertauschungen von *c/p*"; so have Fantham and Boyle (I suppose that *dissicit* in Fantham's text is erroneous, because she clearly decides in favour of the A reading in her commentary). Caviglia turned down Carlsson's parallels, since in those passages it is not the wind that scatters the clouds; citing Ov. *Met.* 1.328 *nubila disiecit nimbis aquilone remotis* (where *Iuppiter* is the subject), he prefers - like the other Italian editors - *dissicit*. But at *Dial.* 6.11.3 (*quid est homo? quolibet quassu uas et quolibet fragile iactatu.*) *non tempestate magna ut dissiperis opus est*, the verb is used of the scattering force of the wind. E's *dissicat* (= *dissecat*, cf. Apul. *Met.* 8.27 *ferro ... sua quisque brachia dissicant*) seems clearly inferior.

For the understanding of the passage, the choice between the two verbs makes hardly any difference, as Lucretius' use of them shows: on the one hand, 2.210-1 *sol ... de uertice dissipat omnis / ardorem in partes*, and 6.180-1 *nubem ... dissipat*; on the other, 1.651 *disiectis disque sipatis*, and 3.638-9 *uis animai / ... disicietur*. Cf. also Paul. *Fest.* p. 225 M (Lindsay 252.10) *supare significat iacere et disicere*.

Starting from a possible *c/p* error in E, that was followed by a correction of unintelligible *dissicat* into *dissicit*, and joining with Fantham that the context (the verb is parallel with *effluet* and the ease of death is emphasized) favours the milder verb, I also prefer *dissipat*. In his prose, Seneca uses the verb some thirty times (19x in *Nat.*) and in various contexts, e.g. *Dial.* 11.1.2 *hoc uniuersum ... dies aliquis dissipabit*, 10.1.4 *amplae et regiae opes, ubi ad malum dominum peruenerunt, momento dissipantur*, *Ep.* 91.6. *quidquid longa series ... struxit, id unus dies spargit ac dissipat*. In his tragedies, he uses the verb only once more, below 468, in a quite different context.

impetus: the seventh *-us* line-ending in a row.

396 hic, quo regimur, spiritus: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.336 *dum spiritus hos regit artus*.

effluet: this meaning of the compound 'to slip out of one's grasp' (*OLD* s.v. 3), is also present in its two other occurrences in Sen. trag., *Phae.* 450-1 *optimos uitae dies / effluere prohibe*, *Thy.* 536-7 (Atreus) *quis influentis dona fortunae abnuit? /* (Thyestes) *expertus est quicumque quam facile effluant*.

397 post ... nihil: an echo of Lucr. 3.830 *nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum*, a translation of Epicurus' 'death does not concern us at all', also found in Cic. *Fin.* 2.31.100 *scripsit* (sc. Epicurus) *enim et multis saepe uerbis et breuiter aperteque in eo libro quem modo* (sc. 2.7.20) *nominaui, 'mortem nihil ad nos pertinere; quod enim dissolutum sit id esse sine sensu, quod autem sine sensu sit id nihil ad nos pertinere omnino'*. Cf. also Eur. *Tro.* 632-3 (transl. Way) 'not one, my child, with sight of day is death; / for that is naught, in this is space for hope'. Seneca repeats the thought in *Dial.* 6.19.5 *mors dolorum omnium exsolutio est et finis ultra quem mala nostra non exeunt, quae nos in illam tranquillitatem in qua antequam nasceremur iacuimus reponit. si mortuorum aliquis miseretur, et non natorum misereatur. mors nec bonum nec malum est; id enim potest aut bonum aut malum esse quod aliquid est; quod uero ipsum nihil est et omnia in nihilum redigit, nulli nos fortunae tradit*, *Ep.* 54.4 *mors est non esse*. The phrase is also applied by Lucan 3.39-40 *aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum / aut mors ipsa nihil*, and by Hieronymus *adu. Iouin.* 2.6 *manducet et bibat ... qui cum Epicuro dicit: post mortem nihil est et mors ipsa nihil est*.

For the polyptoton *mortem ... mors*, cf. below 869 *optanda mors est sine metu mortis mori*, *Oed.* 1031-2 *mors placet: mortis uia / quaeratur*.

398 uelocis: 'rapidly completed' (*OLD* 3b, citing also Stat. *Silu.* 3.1.45 *annua ueloci peragunt certamina lustro*). Cf. 385 *Pegaseo ... gradu.*

spatii: of the 'course' of life, cf. Pl. *St.* 81 *decurso aetatis spatio*, Lucr. 2.78-9 *inque breui spatio mutantur saecla animantum / et quasi cursores uitai lampada trahunt*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.4.33 *pede inoffenso spatium decurrere uitae*, *Met.* 15.874 (*illa dies*) *incerti spatium mihi finiat aeui.* See N. Bruyère-Demoulin, 'La vie est une course. Comparaisons et métaphores dans la littérature grecque ancienne', *Ant. Cl.* 45 (1976) 446-463; Taegert on Claud. 1.67-8.

meta: originally a 'cone'. The noun often denotes the 'cone-shaped turning post at either end of a race-track' (*OLD* 2), e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.4-5 *metaque feruidis / euitata rotis.* It is also used of 'the extreme point or limit (of a person's life)' (*OLD* 5), e.g. in Verg. *Aen.* 10.471-2 *etiam sua Turnum / fata uocant metasque dati peruenit ad aeui*, 12.546 *hic tibi mortis erant metae*, Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.1 *detur inoffenso uitae tibi tangere metam*, 4.8.35-6 *nec procul a metis, quas paene tenere uidebar, / curriculo grauis est facta ruina meo*, Mart. 10.50.8 *cur fuit et uitae tam prope meta tuae*, Apul. *Met.* 4.20 *quamquam enim uitae metas ultimas obiret* (Hijmans c.s. *ad loc.* refers to the first occurrence of the image in Simonides 85.13); similarly Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.79 *mors ultima linea rerum est.*

nouissima: 'last in a series' (*OLD* s.v. 5); cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.597 *decursa nouissima meta est.* Note the effective chiasm in this and the following line.

Billerbeck (1988) 118, with a reference to H-Sz 429, styles line 398 a 'loose' apposition: "Unter lockerer Satzapposition verstehen wir einen Beisatz, der sich nicht direkt auf ein Bestimmungswort oder einen Bestimmungsausdruck bezieht, sondern, einem affektischen Ausruf ähnlich, eine vorausgehende Schilderung oder Aussage gleichsam kommentierend abrundet, cf. *H.F.* 1002-4 *en blandas manus / ad genua tendens uoce miseranda rogat: / scelus nefandum, triste et aspectu horridum!*"; see also her note on *H.F.* 703 *rerumque maestus finis et mundi ultima*, citing *Oed.* 638-41 as another example. But is not this line an apposition to the single word *mors*?

399 spem ... metum: the opposite emotions often occur combined, e.g. below 425, *H.F.* 162-3 *spes immanes urbibus errant / trepidique metus*, *Phoen.* 516-7 *nate suspensae metus / et spes parentis*, *Phae.* 492 *spei metusque liber*, *Ep.* 13.13 *spem ac metum*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.218 *spemque metumque inter dubii*, Ov. *Fast.* 3.362 *sollicitae mentes speque metuque pauent*, Luc. 6.419 *spemque metumque ferunt*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.2.125 *spemque metumque domas*, Liv. 42.59.8, Tac. *Hist.* 2.2. Leigh, p. 15, n. 12 on Luc. 7.211 *spesque metusque*, offers an extensive list of similar instances in other authors; here, as at *Phae.* 492, *Thy.* 348-9, *Ep.* 13.13, 47.17, 82.18, 110.4, he feels it an alternative translation for ἐπιθυμία (normally *libido*), cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.80. The two notions are also combined in Kazantzakis' epitaph: 'I fear nothing, I hope nothing, I am free'.

ponant: = *deponant*; cf. e.g. below 745, *Thy*. 348 *rex est qui posuit metus*, 519 *ponatur omnis ira*, 609 *ponite inflatos tumidosque uultus*.

For a similar "arresting lead-in to the final *sententia*" (Tarrant), cf. *Thy*. 882-4 *abeant questus, discede timor: / uitae est auidus quisquis non uult / mundo secum pereunte mori*.

auidi: often of the eagerness for life, e.g. *Thy*. 883 quoted on *ponant*, *Ep*. 32.4 *homines auidos futuri*, 61.4 *satis instructa uita est, sed nos in instrumenta eius auidi sumus*, Cic. *Sen*. 72 *illud breue uitae reliquum nec auide appetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum*.

solliciti: Scherer aptly refers to Lucr. 3.1049 *sollicitamque geris cassa formidine mentem*.

400 auidum: for the greed of time as an agent of death, cf. *H.F.* 291-2 *auida ... aetas*; for the greed of death and everything connected with it (*OLD* s.v. 3: "of inanimate things") - the adj. should be taken jointly with *chaos* - cf. *H.F.* 555 *Mors auidis pallida dentibus*, 677 *auidum chaos*, 782 *auari Ditis ... domus*, *Oed*. 164-5 *Mors atra auidos oris hiatus / pandit*, 410-1 *tristes Erebi minas / auidumque fatum*, *Ag*. 752 *auidique regna Ditis*, Stat. *Silu*. 2.1.186 *auidae trux nauita cumbae*, *Theb*. 11.410 *auidus regnator* (Dis), Callim. *Epigr*. 2.6-7. Fantham feels its repetition "incidental"; isn't it rather deliberate, emphasizing where the strongest *auiditas* lies?

deuorat: 'to engulf, absorb, swallow up' (*OLD* 2); for the use of the verb in the context of death, cf. Catul. 3.13-4 *malae tenebrae / Orci, quae omnia bella deuoratis*.

chaos: orig. 'the formless state of primordial matter or the period of this state' (*OLD* s.v.); cf. Hes. *Th*. 116 (transl. Frazer) 'the first power to come into being was Chaos' (with West's note), Ov. *Met*. 1.5-9:

> ante mare et terras et, quod tegit omnia, caelum
> unus erat toto naturae uultus in orbe,
> quem dixere chaos, rudis indigestaque moles
> nec quicquam nisi pondus iners congestaque eodem
> non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum.

Cf. also *Met*. 2.298-9 (Tellus' words after Phaethon has set the world in fire) *si freta, si terrae pereunt, si regia caeli, / in chaos antiquum confundimur*. In Sen. trag. this sense is found at *Ag*. 485-7 *mundum reuelli sedibus totum suis / ipsosque rupto crederes caelo deos / decidere et atrum rebus induci chaos*. At *Thy*. 832, the word occurs in an apocalyptic description of the fear after Atreus' crime and the consequent darkness (828-34): *trepidant, trepidant pectora magno / percussa metu, / ne fatali cuncta ruina / quassata labent iterumque deos / hominesque premat deforme chaos, / iterum terras et mare cingens / et uaga picti sidera mundi natura tegat*; cf. *H.O.* 1112-7 *caeli regia concidens / ortus atque obitus trahet / atque omnis pariter deos / perdet mors aliqua et chaos, / et mors fata nouissima / in se constituet sibi*.

In these tragedies, the word more often denotes the underworld: *H.F.* 610, *Med.* 9 *noctis aeternae chaos*, *H.F.* 677 *auidum chaos*, 861 *chaos densum*, *Med.* 741 *Chaos caecum*, *Phae.* 1238 *dirum chaos*, *Oed.* 572 *caecum chaos*, *Thy.* 1009 *ad chaos inane*. This meaning is first found in Ov. *Met.* 10.30 *per chaos hoc ingens uastique silentia regni*. Personified Chaos occurs already in Vergil's invocation, *Aen.* 6.264-5 *Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes / et Chaos et Phlegeton, loca nocte tacentia late*, and combined with *Erebus* and *Hecate* in the invocation of the priestess at *Aen.* 4.510. In his prose, Seneca uses the word only once, viz. at *Ep.* 72.9, of the Epicurean void (*OLD* s.v. 1c), styling it *Epicureum illud chaos ..., inane sine termino*. In my view, it here is a deliberate combination of these uses.

401 indiuidua: 'indivisible'. The word occurs in philosophical prose, as a translation of ἄτομος, for instance at Cic. *Fin.* 1.17 *atomos ... id est corpora indiuidua propter soliditatem*, *Tusc.* 1.42 *indiuiduorum corporum leuium et rutundorum concursionem fortuitam* (cf. Plut. *Cic.* 40.2). Seneca uses it in the same way in his prose: *Dial.* 8.5.6 *indiuidua sint per quae struitur omne quod natum futurumque est, an continua eorum materia sit et per totum mutabilis*; in a more general sense, *Dial.* 1.5.9 *quaedam separari a quibusdam non possunt, cohaerent, indiuidua sunt*, *Ep.* 67.10 *indiuiduus ille comitatus uirtutum*, 73.8 *haec indiuidua bona, pax et libertas*. The adj. is explained by *noxia corpori / nec parcens animae*; cf. *Med.* 382-3, where *entheos* is followed by *recepto ... deo*.

For the totally different belief of the Christians, see e.g. the opening couplets of Prud. *Cath.* 10:

Deus, ignee fons animarum,
duo qui socians elementa,
uiuum simul ac moribundum,
hominem, Pater, effigiasti,

tua sunt, tua, rector, utraque,
tibi copula iungitur horum,
tibi, dum uegetata cohaerent,
et spiritus et caro seruit.

Resoluta sed ista seorsum
proprios reuocantur in ortus:
petit halitus aëra feruens,
humus excipit arida corpus.

Sic cuncta creata necesse est
obitum tolerare supremum,
ut semina dissociata
sibi sumat origo resorbens.

402 Taenara: a promontory in Laconia, the southernmost point of the Peloponnese, now Tainaron or Cape Matapan, notable for a cave supposed to lead to the underworld, a temple of Poseidon, and quarries of black marble. The neut. pl. is also found at Stat. *Theb.* 2.32 *est locus (Inachiae dixerunt Taenara gentes)*, the sing. *Taenarus* e.g. in the description *H.F.* 662-7 *Spartana tellus nobile attollit iugum, / densis ubi aequor Taenarus siluis premit; / hic ora soluit Ditis inuisi domus / hiatque rupes alta et immenso specu / ingens uorago faucibus uastis patet / latumque pandit omnibus populis iter.* Apul. *Met.* 1.1 uses the form *Taenaros.*

In Greek literature, it occurs e.g. in Pind. *P.* 4.43-4, Eur. *Herc.* 23-4 (transl. Way) 'down to the gorge of Taenarus / he hath passed to Hades'. In Latin poetry, it is found e.g. in Verg. *Geo.* 4.467 *Taenarias ... fauces, alta ostia Ditis*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.10-1 *Styx et inuisi horrida Taenari / sedes*, Ov. *Met.* 10.13 *ad Styga Taenaria est ausus descendere porta*, Sen. *Phae.* 1201 *pallidi fauces Auerni uosque, Taenarii specus*, Prud. *Apoth.* 749 *Taenara tristia*, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.307.

aspero: 'cruel, savage, pitiless' (*OLD* 9); cf. Hom. *Il.* 8.368 'loathed Hades', 9.158 'Hades is relentless and unsubdued', Verg. *Geo.* 4.492 *inmitis ... tyranni*, 4.469 *regem ... tremendum*, *Aen.* 7.568 *saeui ... Ditis*, 12.199 *duri ... Ditis*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.6-7 *inlacrimabilem / Plutona.* At Stat. *Silu.* 3.3.187, the god of the underworld is also styled *asper.*

403 regnum: likewise of the underworld, e.g. *Med.* 11 *regni tristis*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.269 *inania regna.*

domino: in Seneca's tragedies, the ruler of the underworld, *regni tenacis dominus et tacitae Stygis* (*Phae.* 625), is usually called *Dis* (cf. above 198), once (*Phae.* 628) *Pluton.*

limen et obsidens: = *et limen obsidens.*

limen: of the doorway to the underworld, again below 723, *H.F.* 47 *effregit ecce limen inferni Iouis*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.106 *inferni ianua regis*, 6.127 *ianua Ditis*, Sen. *Apoc.* 13.3 *peruenit* (sc. Claudius) *ad ianuam Ditis, ubi iacebat Cerberus.*

limen ... obsidens: for this combination of verb and noun, cf. *Dial.* 5.37.3 *custodit litigatorum turba limen obsessum*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.441 *obsessumque acta testudine limen*, 802-3 *obsessa tenebant / limina portarum*, 7.343 *tacitumque obsedit limen Amatae.*

404 custos: likewise of Cerberus, *H.F.* 809 *custos opaci peruigil regni canis*, *Ag.* 13-4 *custodem Stygis / trigemina nigris colla iactantem iubis*, *Thy.* 16 *custos carceris diri*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.424 *occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto*, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.15-6 *immanis ... / ianitor aulae.*

non facili: of a door, again at *Dial.* 5.37.3 *beati hominis iudicat ac potentis indicium difficilem ianuam*, Ov. *Am.* 1.6.2 *difficilem moto cardine pande forem.* For the use of *non* with an adj. (litotes), cf. 67 *non rude.*

Cerberus: Homer only describes him as 'dog of loathed Hades' (*Il.* 8.368). Hesiod is the first to mention him by name at *Th.* 311-2 (transl. Frazer) 'Kerberos, a feeder on raw flesh, Hades' brazen-voiced dog, / who is possessed of fifty heads.'

In Latin literature, he has three heads, e.g. *Oed.* 581 *triceps ... Cerberus*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.417 *latratu ... trifauci*, Ov. *Met.* 4.450-1 *tria Cerberus extulit ora / et tres latratus semel* (v.l. *simul*) *edidit*. Sen. trag. mentions him by name again at *H.F.* 60, 1107, 1224, 1333, *Oed.* 581, but uses the simple *canis* or a paraphrase at *H.F.* 783 (*Stygius canis*), 792, *Phae.* 844, *Oed.* 172, *Ag.* 13-4 (see above on *custos*).

In descriptions of the (horrors of the) underworld, he is seldom missing; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.10 *dic, quaeso: num te illa terrent, triceps apud inferos Cerberus, Cocyti fremitus, trauectio Acherontis, Tantalus ... Sisyphus ... Minos et Rhadamanthus?*, Sen. *Ep.* 24.18 *non sum tam ineptus ut Epicuream cantilenam hoc loco persequar et dicam uanos esse inferorum metus, nec Ixionem rota uolui nec saxum umeris Sisyphi trudi in aduersum nec ullius uiscera et renasci posse cotidie et carpi: nemo tam puer est ut Cerberum timeat et tenebras et larualem habitum nudis ossibus cohaerentium. mors nos aut consumit aut exuit*, 82.16, Lucr. 3.1011. Antolín's note on [Tib.] 3.4.87 refers to M. Bloomfield, *Cerberus, the Dog of Hades*, Chicago 1905; B. Lincoln, 'The Hellhound', *JIES* 7 (1979) 273-285.

ostio: 'door'; of the entrance of the underworld (*OLD* 1b), cf. e.g. Pl. *Trin.* 525 *Accheruntis ostium in nostrost agro*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.667 *Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis*, *Geo.* 4.467. Kingery takes the words *non facili ... ostio* as a descriptive ablative with *limen*, but the wordorder seems to protest against his interpretation. Fantham (p. 95) thinks it "probably possessive dative" rather than a local ablative, and so does Boyle; to me, the latter view seems no less likely.

For the order of words in the line, cf. *Phae.* 274 *diua non miti generata ponto.*

405 uacui: 'having semblance without reality, illusory, empty', *OLD* s.v. 2, quoting the line with e.g. *Ben.* 7.10.3 *uideo ... syngraphas et cautiones uacua habendi simulacra*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.30 *si res publica et senatus et populus uacua nomina sunt.* The adj. is also applied to things in the underworld, 'containing nothing substantial' (*OLD* 1e), e.g. *H.F.* 673 *uacuis ... locis*, 862-3 *silentis / otium mundi uacuaeque nubes*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.269 *perque domos Ditis uacuas.*

inania: 'having appearance without reality or substance, false, illusory, empty, hollow' (*OLD* s.v. 11); cf. e.g. *Ben.* 4.27.1 *ad inanes sonos pauidus*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.14 *inania legionum nomina ne pauescerent*; of things seen in dreams, e.g. Ov. *Ep.* 9.39 *simulacra ... inania somni.* The adj. is also applied to the underworld, its inhabitants etc., 'unsubstantial, thin' (*OLD* 10), e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6.269 *inania regna*, Ov. *Met.* 4.510-1 *ad inania magni / regna redit Ditis*, 11.670 *inania Tartara*. The combination *uerba inania* is also found in Prop. 3.20.5 *at tu, stulta, deos, tu fingis inania uerba*, Ov. *Met.* 8.134-5 *an inania uenti / uerba ferunt ...?*

For other adjectives used in this respect, cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.153-5 *o genus attonitum gelidae formidine mortis, / quid Styga, quid tenebras et nomina uana timetis, / materiem uatum falsique pericula mundi?*

406 par ... somnio: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.794 (of the shade of Creusa) *par leuibus uentis uolucrique simillima somno* (Vergil repeats the line at 6.702 of Anchises' shade).

sollicito: 'accompanied by, associated with, anxiety or uneasiness' (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. *H.F.* 461 *sollicita ... pretia*, *Phae.* 518-9 *sollicito bibunt / auro superbi* (Coffey-Mayer: "poets commonly ascribe to things the qualities which they produce"), *Oed.* 981 *sollicitae ... curae*, *Thy.* 921 *sollicitas ... curas*, Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.79 *sollicitas ... opes*.

fabula: see on 371 (another ring-composition).

407 quaeris: for this type of question, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 84-5 *quaeris Alcidae parem? / nemo est nisi ipse*. It is often found at the beginning of a poem, for instance Catul. 7 *quaeris, quot mihi basiationes*, Prop. 2.1 *quaeritis, unde mihi totiens scribantur amores*, Ov. *Fast.* 5.1 *quaeritis, unde putem Maio data nomina mensi?*. See Heinze on Ov. *Ep.* 12.199 *dos ubi sit, quaeris?*

obitum: a rare word for 'death' in poetry, in Sen. trag. only here. In his prose, Busa-Zampolli record an occurrence at *Nat.* 7.17.2, but Hine's text reads *post excessum diui Iulii*. The noun is not found at all in Catullus, Horace, Tibullus or Lucan. There are occurrences in Lucretius (3.953), Vergil (*Aen.* 4.694; see Austin's note on the use of the plural there) and Ovid (*Met.* 3.137, 15.151). See also on 597 *obit*.

408 non nata: for the use of *non* modifying an adj., adv., or equivalent phr. (*OLD* s.v. 6) see on 67 *non rude*.

The comparison of the state of death to the situation before one's birth, goes back to Eur. *Tro.* 636 (Andromache) 'to have been unborn I count as one with death' (transl. Way). It was used subsequently by Hyperides and Teles (see C.E. Manning, *On Seneca's "Ad Marciam"*, Leiden 1981, 112), but it was particularly favoured by the Epicureans combatting the fear of death, e.g. Lucr. 3.972 ff. It is also found in Ciceronian prose, for example *Tusc.* 1.6.13 *nos, si post mortem miseri futuri sumus, miseri fuimus ante quam nati*, *Fin.* 1.15.49 *qua* (sc. *morte*) *qui affecti sunt in eadem causa sunt qua ante quam nati*.

In Senecan prose, it is found again in *Dial.* 6.19.5 *mors ..., quae nos in illam tranquillitatem in qua antequam nasceremur iacuimus reponit* (see the full quotation on 397), 11.9.2 *euasit omnia frater meus uitae incommoda et in eum restitutus est locum in quo fuerat antequam nasceretur*, *Ep.* 54.4 '*ego illam* (sc. *mortem*) *diu expertus sum.*' '*quando?*' *inquis.* '*antequam nascerer. mors est non esse. id quale sit iam scio: hoc erit post me quod ante me fuit. si quid in hac re tormenti est, necesse est et fuisse, antequam prodiremus in lucem; atqui nullam sensimus tunc uexationem*'; cf. also 86.1 *animum quidem eius* (sc. *Scipionis Africani*) *in caelum ex quo erat redisse persuadeo mihi*, 120.15 *scit enim quo exiturus sit qui unde uenerit meminit*.

Another occurrence is at Plut. (?) *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 15.109e 'the people who have died come into the same position as before their birth'.

Several choral odes in Seneca end with a *sententia*: cf. *H.F.* 590-1 *quae uinci potuit regia carmine, / haec uinci poterit regia uiribus*, *Phae.* 356-7 *quid plura canam? uincit saeuas / cura nouercas*, *Oed.* 992-4 *multis ipsum metuisse nocet, / multi ad fatum uenere suum / dum fata timent*, *Ag.* 865-6 *te duce concidit totidem diebus / Troia quot annis*, *Thy.* 401-3 *illi mors grauis incubat / qui, notus nimis omnibus, / ignotus moritur sibi.* Therefore, the words *quaeris ... iacent* seem more at place here at the end (E) than after 399 (A); see Zwierlein (1984) 164.

ACT III (409-860)

Calchas' second claim, Astyanax's death, is worked out in this act. In the first scene, Andromache tells the Trojan women and an unnamed *senex* that Hector has warned her in her sleep to hide their son; she chooses her husband's grave for that purpose. In the second scene, Ulysses, on behalf of the Greeks, demands the boy. When Andromache swears that he 'lies among the dead', he comes with a secondary threat: the demolition of Hector's tomb. Andromache has to yield and gives up the boy.

Wilson (1983) 41 f. calls attention to the structural design of this third act, thinking it 'consonant with the remodelling of tragic form apparent in Seneca's plays': "He imposes a strict, formal pattern of symmetry quite alien to both Aristotelian tragic theory and modern dramatic experience, yet by no means unknown in Roman poetry (probably the most famous instance being poem 68 of Catullus)". He applies this 'recessed panel' pattern both to the play as a whole and to the third act in particular:

Act I	-	witnessing and mourning the physical end of Troy
Act II	-	Polyxena
Act III	-	Astyanax
Act IV	-	Polyxena
Act V	-	witnessing and mourning the human end of Troy

409-437	Andromache numb to mourning	29
438-460	Hector's message to Andromache	23
461-518	First attempt to save Astyanax: concealment	57
519-604	Andromache bluffs Ulysses	86
605-618	Ulysses changes	14
619-704	Ulysses bluffs Andromache	86
705-761	Second attempt to save Astyanax: supplication	57
762-790	Andromache mourns	29
791-813	Andromache's message to Hector	23

Although this grouping is too rough (e.g. 426-37 does not regard Andromache's numbness, and her attempt of supplication ends already at 750), and the parallelism not exact (461-518 = 58 lines!), the structure of this act is well described by it [on the 'recessed panel' or concentric pattern, see e.g. Duckworth (1962) 21; Newmyer (1979) 53].

He also notes the changing character of the protagonists in this act. At the start, there is Andromache who cannot weep, at the end she cannot stop weeping. Ulysses at first is frank in demanding Astyanax, apologetic, far from the unscrupulous and cunning schemer the audience might expect; he changes in the exact middle of the act and then goes on to assume his more familiar mythological role.

In Act II of *H.F.*, Fitch notes a similar modified Passion - Restraint scene (Megara - Amphitryon) followed by a confrontation with a tyrant (Megara - Lycus). "And both Megara and Andromache undergo a drastic, but natural and understandable, change of attitude: they give way to weakness and despair when among friends, but show strength of character in facing the tyrant."

Transition

If one thinks that the second ode was sung by the Trojan women, the transition is a harsh one and hard to explain; no wonder it has been criticised by several scholars (see Zwierlein [1966] 89 for a survey). Steidle, taking *sumus* and *patimur* (410-1) as merely referring to Andromacha, concludes that this renewed bursting into tears should be considered an act of *sumpatheia* towards Andromache, since the women have heard Calchas' fatal utterance on Astyanax. Anliker accepts it as the most plausible explanation, but I think it unsatisfying. In my view, Seneca brings back the chorus of Trojan women in the same mood in which they had left the stage at line 163.

Originality

Though various plays have been suggested as a possible source for the act (see Herrmann; Calder thinks of 'a post-Euripidean *Intrigenstück*'), it is generally assumed that the essential choices of the hiding place and of the Greek envoy are Seneca's own. In Euripides' *Troades*, it is Talthybius who has to perform the unpleasant task of telling the decision of Astyanax' death (709 ff.) to Andromache. Seneca's choice of Ulysses for this role has a double advantage: he is the most logical representative of the Greeks in the contest of cleverness with Andromache, and as the father of Telemachus he has an immediate personal concern for the next generation (593).

Appraisal

The act - and particularly the Andromache-Ulysses scene - has been praised as well as blamed. For the criticism, see e.g. Bonner: "In *Tro.* 642 ff., Andromache has a *prosopopoeia* in which she debates with herself whether to surrender Astyanax and save Hector's tomb from being razed to the ground or permit both the child and the tomb to be destroyed. It is an agonising moment; but Andromache's carefully-balanced arguments, indicating her conflicting allegiances, are not redeemed from a certain intellectual coldness even by the many vigorous rhetorical

questions which she projects at herself." Costa repeats the negative verdict: "There is a cold intellectuality in Andromache's soliloquy which reflects the debating schools rather than the anguished decision she has to make, whether to give up her son to death or to allow her husband's tomb to be desecrated (642-62)".

But they are outnumbered greatly by a host of judges eulogizing it, like John Dryden, *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (1668) 41: "The Masterpiece of Seneca I hold to be that Scene in the Troades, where Ulysses is seeking for Astyanax to kill him; There you see the tenderness of a Mother, so represented in Andromache, that it raises compassion to a high degree in the Reader, and bears the nearest resemblance of anything in their (sc. the ancients') Tragedies to the excellent Scenes of Passion in Shakespeare or in Fletcher"; Klein: "Man muß sich staunend fragen, woher dem Römer mit Eins eine solche psychologische Kunst, eine so farbenreiche Seelenmalerei des Mutterschmerzes gekommen, eine so tief durchdachte Dialektik der Leidenschaft? Woher in aller Welt diese Wunder eines tragischen Genies, wovon uns bisher nur vereinzelte, mehr blendende als erleuchtende Funken entgegengesprangen? Nach Scenen von haarsträubender dramatischer Impotenz ein solcher Glanz! Ein ähnliches Mutter-pathos hat, bis zu Shakespeare's Constanze in König Johann, unseres wissens, keine Tragödie aufzuweisen"; Regenbogen: "eine Szene, die ein eindrucksvolles Bild von der psychologischen Vertiefung des Schmerzes gibt und die zugleich die dramatischen Spannungen im besten Lichte zeigt, die Seneca seinem Gegenstande abzugewinnen vermag", and: "Ganz eigen aber ist sie darum, weil die mannigfachen Schattierungen des Pathos, der durch alle Register geführte, psychologisch vertiefte Mutterschmerz, der auf- und absteigende Wandel der Affektmomente, der Gegensatz von Mutterangst und List zu der kühl überlegen rechnenden Verstandeslist des trotzdem nicht unwürdig und mit einer gewissen stolzen Größe gezeichneten Odysseus (757) von einem Raffinement psychologischen Wissens zeugen, das meinem Empfinden nach der großen attischen Tragödie noch fremd ist". Praising words are also uttered by Hadas, Mazzoli, Beare, and Wilson. Bonelli has both appreciative and critical remarks.

Although the above cited critical remarks are not without ground, the positive aspects prevail for me: the act shows Seneca as a playwright at his best.

[J.L. Klein (1865) 387; L. Herrmann (1924) 271; O. Regenbogen (1930) 189; M. Hadas (1939) 222; W. Steidle (1941) 281 f.; S.F. Bonner (1949) 164; K. Anliker (1960) 95; L. Mazzoli (1961) 56; W. Beare (1965) 114; O. Zwierlein (1966) 89; W.M. Calder (1970) 75; C.D.N. Costa (1974) 103; G. Bonelli (1980) 617, n. 8; M. Wilson (1983) 27-60]

Scene 1 (**409-523**). *Andromache comes on and tells the chorus that the death of her husband has made her numb to woe: it is only for the sake of their little son Astyanax that she goes on living. In her sleep, Hector has warned her to hide the boy anywhere, and in consultation with an old man she therefore chooses her husband's tomb.*

409-425 *Andromache's lament.*

409 maesta Phrygiae turba: see on 15 *alta muri decora*, and cf. 63 *turba captiuae mea*. For a later instance of this device, see e.g. Grotius, *Soph.* 900 *fida famuli turba*.

laceratis: for the use of this verb as a sign of grief (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. *Oct.* 327-9 *scindit uestes Augusta suas / laceratque comas / rigat et maestis fletibus ora*, Ov. *Met.* 11.726 *ora, comas, uestem lacerat*, 13.534 *albentes lacerata comas*, Prop. 2.13.27 *nudum pectus lacerata*. According to *ThLL* VII 2.825.50 ff., Seneca was the first to use the verb in this sense in prose.

Note the melancholy effect evoked by the accumulation of *a* sounds (cf. Rozelaar's eulogy, cited on 415); likewise Prop. 2.20.1-2 *quid fles abducta grauius Briseide? quid fles / anxia captiua tristius Andromacha?* (see Herescu, p. 111).

410 tunsae: cf. above 114 *pulsu pectus tundite uasto*. For the 'middle' use of the verb, cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.481 *tunsae pectora palmis*.

effuso: of tears (*OLD* 3a), in prose since Cic. *Planc.* 10, in poetry since Lucr. 1.91. Vergil uses the phrase *largos ... effundere fletus* (Aen. 2.271) of Hector in Aeneas' dream. For the combination of words, cf. V. Fl. 4.51 *effusisque genas lacrimis rigat*.

411 rigatis: for the use of *(ir)rigare* in such a context, cf. below 965, *Phae.* 381-2 *assiduo genae / rore irrigantur*, 989-90 *sed quid citato nuntius portat gradu / rigatque maestis lugubrem uultum genis?*, *Oed.* 952-3 *subitus en uultus grauat / profusus imber ac rigat fletu genas*, *Phoen.* 441 *irrigat fletu genas*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.699 *sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat*, Ov. *Met.* 11.419 *ter fletibus ora rigauit* (Bömer's note *ad loc.* that this use of *rigare* is not found later should be corrected, as Korn notes on V. Fl. 4.51), Luc. 4.180 *arma rigant lacrimis*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.234-5 *tunc ora rigantur honestis / imbribus*, Drac. *Orest.* 62 *mox imber rigat ora pius*, 219 *lacrimis simul ora rigabat*, Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 909 *hanc fletus rigant*.

leuia: for the "persuasive use of *leuis* in intensification (*deinosis*)", Fantham *ad loc.* quotes *Phoen.* 270-1 *leue est paternum facinus: in thalamos meos / deducta mater*, 367-8 *hoc leue est, quod sum nocens: / feci nocentes. hoc quoque etiamnunc leue est: / peperi nocentes*, *Med.* 48-9 *leuia memoraui nimis: / haec uirgo feci*, 155 *leuis est dolor qui capere consilium potest*, 901 *uindicta leuis est quam ferunt purae manus*, 907-9 *faxo sciant / quam leuia fuerint quamque uulgaris notae / quae commodaui scelera*. The adjective is used in a comparable *sententia* in *Phae.* 607 *curae leues locuntur, ingentes stupent*.

412 flenda: Hdt. 3.14 tells the story of the Egyptian king Psammenitos, who did not weep when Cambyses humiliated his daughter and threatened to kill his son, but who cried when he saw an old friend passing by in a wretched state: 'O son of Cyrus, my own sufffferings were too great for weeping aloud, but the sorrow of my friend was worthy of my tears'. Cf. also *Oed.* 57-9 *quin ipsa tanti peruicax clades mali / siccauit oculos, quodque in extremis solet, / periere lacrimae.*

413 mihi: like Hecuba in the prologue, Andromache does not introduce herself by mentioning her name, but by clues making an identification unmistakable.

mihi ... olim: cf. Eur. *Andr.* 454-6 (transl. Kovacs) 'that day brought my life to an end when the unhappy city of Troy was destroyed and my glorious husband killed' (Caviglia notes that the comparison to that passage was already made by C.E. Sandström, *De Lucii Annaei Senecae tragoediis commentatio*, Uppsala 1872, 17).

Gronovius' objection "Vitium versus non tolerandum. Sed contrahenda pronuntiatione prima vox, quasi esset, mî cecidit. Neque enim mavis: *mihi cadit olim*" is not valid; for the combination of a pyrrhic and a tribrachic word at the beginning of the iambic trimeter, cf. e.g. 36 *prior Hecuba* and 457 *mihi gelidus.*

ferus: Fantham, Caviglia and Boyle take the adj. as modifying *axis* (415). With some translators (Miller: 'the cruel foeman', Thomann: 'der Wilde', Watling: 'the murderer'), I rather think it used substantively, like e.g. 190 *irati*, 329 *misericors*. Cf. d'Alfonso: "Ridestandosi nella mente il ricordo del fiero spettacolo, Andromaca non osa nominare colui, che delle membra del suo Ettore fece scempio."

curru incito: comparable line-ending *Phoen.* 28 *cursu incito.*

414 mea membra: just as Hecuba had indicated the fire of Troy as her fire (40), Andromache identifies herself with her husband. Likewise Alcyone in Ov. *Met.* 11.700-1 *nunc absens perii, iactor quoque fluctibus absens / et sine me me pontus habet.* For the loving use of the possessive (Watling aptly: 'when the murderer dragged the body - my own dear body - '), Fantham properly compares Ov. *Met.* 13.495 (Hecuba laments over Polyxena's body) *uideoque tuum, mea uulnera, pectus.* Her second reference, *Tro.* 992 *tumulos meos* 'tombs of my dear ones', seems questionable to me; I would rather compare 810 *tumulus ... meus.*

raperet: if one takes *axis* as subject, one might compare Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.29-30 *quam cum Thebana cruentum / Hectora Thessalico uidit ab axe rapi.*

gemeret: '(of things) to give out a deep, hollow, or mournful sound' (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. *Phae.* 77 *plaustro ... gementi*, 350 *silua gemit*, *Ag.* 468 *litus ac petrae gemunt*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.138 *plaustris ... gementibus*, *Geo.* 3.183-4 *tractuque gementem / ... rotam*, Ov. *Pont.* 3.3.10 *et gemuit paruo mota fenestra sono* [A. Gaheis, *De troporum in L. Annaei Senecae tragoediis generibus potioribus*, Vindobonae 1895, 21].

415 Peliacus: 'of Mt. Pelion'. The adj. was introduced by Catul. 64.1 *Peliaco quondam prognatae uertice pinus*. Cf. also Prop. 3.22.12 *Peliacaeque trabis totum iter*, Ov. *Fast.* 1.308 *Peliacus ... apex*. Ov. *Met.* 12.74 *Peliacae ... cuspidis ictu* applies it to Achilles' spear, originating from a tree grown on Mt. Pelion (cf. *Pelias hasta*, Ov. *Ars* 1.696, *Ep.* 3.126, *Rem.* 48). The Ovidian passage shows that there is no need for the conjecture *Peleius*, proposed by Cornelissen, with a reference to Sil. 13.803 *Peleia facta*, Stat. *Ach.* 2.211 *Peleia uirgo*. Calder (1970) 80 considered it another error: "Here *Peliacus* is the adjective of *Peleus* and *Peliacus axis* means Achilles' chariot contrasting properly with *pondere Hectoreo*. The Greek Πηλιακός however derives from Πήλιον; and if Seneca had been accurate, *Peliacus axis* would have to mean what it does not, «a chariot built on Mount Pelion»". Cf. Bömer in his note on *Met.* 12.74: "Nicht von Pelion, sondern von Peleus-Pelides (XII 605) abgeleitet ist später bei Sen. Tro. 415 der *Peliacus axis*, i.q. 'currus Achillis'. Dabei liegt offenbar die heute zwar umstritten, aber im Altertum anerkannte etymologische Verbindung zwischen Peleus und Pelion (Lesky RE XIX 271, 35ff. 305, 65ff.) zugrunde."

axis: in my view, rather lit. 'axle-tree, axle' (*OLD* 1), as at *Phae.* 316 *tremunt axes grauiore curru*, *Thy.* 661 *uictaeque falsis axibus pendent rotae*, than 'chariot, wagon' (*OLD* 1b), as at *H.O.* 1387 *Phoebeus axis*. Fantham in her commentary prefers the latter (synecdoche) view, but in her translation shifts to a different part: 'the brutal wheels'. The divine chariots had an axle that was made of iron (*Il.* 5.723), or of bronze (*Il.* 13.30); in the war-chariot of the Greek heroes it was made of wood. Comparable passages are found in Verg. *Geo.* 3.172-3 *post ualido nitens sub pondere faginus axis / instrepat*, Hom. *Il.* 5.837-9 (Athena assisting Diomedes; transl. Lattimore)

> and she herself, a goddess in her anger, stepped into the chariot,
> beside brilliant Diomedes, and the oaken axle groaned aloud
> under the weight, carrying a dread goddess and a great man.

pondere Hectoreo: Jakobi (1988) 29 notes the phrase as a model for Stat. *Ach.* 1.88 (*Aeacides*) *Hectoreo tardabit pondere currus*, and as a support for the conjecture there (*funere* codd.). For *Hectoreo*, see on 369.

tremens: for the 'trembling' of the axle, cf. *Phae.* 316 cited on *axis*.

An extensive eulogy on lines 409-15 has been voiced by Rozelaar (1976) 546 f., beginning with the phrase: "Wer den lateinischen Text dieses Fragmentes aufmerksam - und laut - liest, dem wird es klar, dass es hier Poesie von ausnehmender Schönheit, sowohl dem Inhalt wie der Form nach, vor sich hat — von einer Schönheit, die in diesem Drama ihr hohes Niveau fast ununterbrochen behauptet." The mood of these lines is first of all created by the vowels: in the beginning many plaintive *a* and *ae* sounds (I have tried to maintain the effect in my translation

'Waarom, Trojaanse schare, dat geklaag, waarom / dat havenen van haren en die tranenstroom / en al dat slaan?'), including the homoeoteleuton *comas* - *genas*, later on it is variated by the *u* (esp. 410-1 *miserumque tunsae pectus effuso* ... / *fletu* ... *sumus*, but also 412 *patimur, Ilium*, 413 *cum ferus curru*) and the *o* (*uobis* - *olim* - *Hectoreo*, and the line-endings *modo* - *incito* - *sono*). However, Rozelaar in my opinion exaggerates when he brings these line-endings on a level with Ennius' *haec omnia uidi inflammari, / Priamo ui uitam euitari, / Iouis aram sanguine turpari*. A considerable contribution is also made by the consonants: in the first lines the contrasting effect of melancholy *m* (*maesta* - *comas* - *miserumque*) and *n* (*tunsae* - *genas* - *flenda*) versus the beating sound of *t* and *p* in *tunsae pectus*, in the second part alliterations (*mea membra, graui gemeret*) and the repetition of *r* picturing the cruel dragging of Hector's body.

416 obruta: 'overwhelmed, crushed', see on 263; cf. *Med.* 207 (of Medea) *clade miseranda obruta*, followed by *expulsa supplex sola deserta, undique / afflicta*.

obruta atque euersa: for a similar combination of verbs, cf. *Med.* 414 *sternam et euertam omnia*; see also on 6 *euersum*. Gronovius' remark: "Eleganter autem, *obruta atque eversa* quod & de homine & urbe recte dicitur" has found its way into modern commentaries (Fantham, Caviglia, Boyle). Amoroso compares Dido's metaphor *capta ac deserta* (*Aen.* 4.330).

quodcumque accidit: despite his self-assured "... *quod nunc accidit* legendum esse haud diffidenter affirmare audeo", Cornelissen's conjecture has found no acceptance.

417 torpens: 'paralyzed'; cf. Catul. 51.9 *lingua sed torpet*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.6.14 *defixis oculis animoque et corpore torpet*.

rigens: 'to be stiff or numb with cold' (*OLD* s.v. *rigeo* 2b); cf. *Thy.* 304 *rigentem tot malis* ... *uirum*, *H.F.* 390 *riget* ... *luctu* (Niobe; cf. the Ovidian passages, *Met.* 6.303 *deriguit* ... *malis*, *Pont.* 1.2.30 *quae posuit sensum saxea facta malis*).

sine sensu: Seneca is rather fond of such explaining prepositional additions to an adjective (participle), especially with *sine*: cf. *Dial.* 3.2.2 *solitudines* ... *sine habitatore desertas*, 8.6.1 *adsiduam contemplationem sine exitu*, 9.12.1 *labor inritus* ... *sine effectu*, *Ep.* 79.3 *sine ullo nascentium damno ignis innoxius*, 95.23 *sine ulla frequentia desertis angulis*. The device occurs occasionally in other authors, for instance Pl. *Cist.* 81 *sola sine multis uiris*, Lucr. 5.841 *muta sine ore* ..., *sine uoltu caeca*, Verg. *Ecl.* 10.48 *me sine sola*, *Aen.* 4.588 *uacuos* ... *sine remige portus*, Stat. *Theb.* 12.470 *uacuas sine manibus urnas*, Luc. 2.266-7 *tranquilla sine armis / otia* [H-Sz 795]. To Andromache's description of her state of mind may be compared Racine, *Andromaque* V.2.1437 ff. (Cléone picturing Andromache being led to the temple by Pyrrhus for their wedding):

> Andromaque, au travers de mille cris de joie,
> porte jusqu' aux autels le souvenir de Troie;
> incapable toujours d'aimer et de haïr,
> sans joie et sans murmure elle semble obéir.

However, her words are more rigid than her real behaviour; see, for instance, below 454, 615, 785.

418 iam erepta: for the elision of the initial *iam*, cf. *Phoen.* 37 *iam et matris*, *Med.* 281 *iam exisse.*

erepta: 'mich entreißend' (Thomann); for the middle sense, cf. e.g. Stat *Theb.* 2.125-6 *illi rupta quies, attollit membra toroque / eripitur.* Kingery, translating 'rescued from the Greeks by death', takes *erepta* in a proleptic sense.

coniugem sequerer meum: for this willingness to join her husband in death, cf. *H.F.* 306 (Megara) *sequimur*, *Phae.* 254 (Phaedra) *uirum sequamur*, and Tac. *Ann.* 15.63 of Seneca's own wife Paulina. For an instance of a similar male determination, cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.361-2 (Deucalion) *namque ego, crede mihi, si te quoque pontus haberet, / te sequerer, coniunx, et me quoque pontus haberet.*

419 hic: Astyanax. He is to Andromache what Polydorus was to Hecuba in Ov. *Met.* 13.527-8 *omnia perdidimus; superest, cur uiuere tempus / in breue sustineam, proles gratissima matri.* Since the boy has not been mentioned yet, the use of the pronoun (cf. 924 *hanc* for Polyxena) is often taken as an argument in favour of the view that the plays were meant to be staged; see e.g. Herrmann, p. 180, citing Lindskog, and Rozelaar (1976) 532, who lists this passage among the 'Zusätzliche Argumente für Aufführung'. A reader of the play probably was aware of his presence from the *titulus.*

For the repetition of *hic*, see on 117 *tibi*; for a comparable emphatical use, cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 3.408-9 *hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto; / hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.* For the sentiment of these lines, cf. Racine, *Andromaque* I.4.377 (Andromache): 'Je prolongeais pour lui ma vie et ma misère'.

420 mori ... prohibet: for the inf. with *prohibere*, see on 527-8 below.

420 aliquid ... / ... rogare: Gronovius, explaining *Phoen.* 195 *cui deo nullo est opus*, quotes this passage with *Ag.* 696-7 (Cassandra) *equidem nec ulla caelites placo prece / nec, si uelint saeuire, quo noceant habent*, and Ov. *Met.* 14.487-90 (Acmon) *quid habet Cytherea, quod ultra / (uelle puta) faciat? nam dum peiora timentur, / est locus in uoto: sors autem ubi pessima rerum est, / sub pedibus timor est, securaque summa malorum.*

421 aerumnae: 'distress'. This somewhat archaic (Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.26), solemn word occurs in Sen. trag. no less than 13x (in *Tro.* again at 765 and 1066, *H.F.* 206, *Phoen.* 78, 369, *Phae.* 994, *Ag.* 305, 491, 661, 790, *Thy.* 305, 426, always in this penultimate position), in *H.O.* 9x. In Senecan prose, it is found 7x (*Dial.* 6.1.6, 6.3.4, 9.8.1, 9.10.2, 12.2.2; *Ep.* 80.6, 117.21).

For the originally concrete meaning of the word, L.R. Palmer, *The Latin language*, London 1954, 71 f. refers to Paul. *Fest.* p. 24 M. (Lindsay 22.13-7): "*aerumnulas* Plautus refert furcillas, quibus religatas sarcinas viatores gerebant ..., itaque aerumnae labores onerosos significant", omitting the continuation "sive a Graeco sermone deducuntur. nam αἴρειν Graece, Latine tollere dicitur"; he thinks the suffix *-umn-* suggests an Etruscan origin, cf. Ernout-Meillet ([4]1959) 12. The notion of 'burden' is still apparent in the early instances Enn. *Ann.* 44-5 Sk *tibi sunt ante gerendae / aerumnae* (45-6 V^2 *ferendae*), 60 Sk (= 55 V^2) *quas aerumnas tetulisti*. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.8.18 defines it as *aegritudo laboriosa*; commenting on the phrase *Herculis aerumnas perpeti* (e.g. Pl. *Epid.* 1.179, Juv. 10.361), he styles it *tristissimum uerbum* (*Fin.* 2.35.118).

As Tarrant notes on *Ag.* 305, in Republican drama it appears in both tragedy (6x) and comedy (18x in Plautus, four times each in Terence and Caecilius). There are single occurrences in Horace (*Ep.* 2.2.27), Ovid (*Tr.* 4.6.25) and Persius (1.78 *Antiopa aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta*; a parody of Pacuvius?). In Cicero's prose, it occurs some 20x, in Sallust 6x, in Livy only once (29.16.7 of the Locrian envoys: *orare, uti sibi patres adeundi deplorandique aerumnas suas potestatem facerent*) [Lebek, p. 195].

It is not surprising that the noun is also found in Lucretius (1.108, 3.50, 4.1069) and Apuleius (e.g. *Met.* 7.2), since they are the only authors having the adj. *aerumnabilis* (6.1231 and e.g. *Met.* 1.1 respectively). In Neo-Latin Tragedy, that adjective is used e.g. by Grotius, *Soph.* 23 (Josef of his burdens). Senecan prose has three instances of *aerumnosus*: *Cl.* 1.13.2, *Dial.* 4.7.1, *Ep.* 115.7.

422 malorum ... fructum: somewhat similar are *Med.* 563 *fructus est scelerum tibi / nullum scelus putare*, *Phae.* 1119-20 *equidem malorum maximum hunc cumulum reor, / si abominanda casus optanda efficit.* For the use of *fructus*, 'an advantage or benefit resulting from something, profit, reward, fruit' (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. *H.F.* 655-6 *neue te fructu optimo / frauda laborum,* 1252-3 *nullus ex te contigit / fructus laborum*, *Thy.* 906 *fructus hic operis mei est.*

423 nihil timere: a comparable situtation is found *Thy.* 485-6 (Thyestes) *pro me nihil iam metuo: uos* (i.e. his sons) *facitis mihi / Atrea timendum*; cf. *Ag.* 146 *cui ultima est fortuna, quid dubiam timet?*, 695 *uicere nostra iam metus omnis mala*, *Oed.* 386 *solent suprema facere securos mala*, *Nat.* 3.27.12 (the tale of the deluge) ... *hoc unum solacio fuit quod transierat in stuporem metus. non uacabat timere mirantibus, nec dolor quidem habebat locum, quippe uim suam perdit in eo, qui ultra sensum mali miser est.*

locus: 'opportunity' (*OLD* s.v. 14); cf. *H.F.* 354 *fors dedit nobis locum*, *Med.* 161 *numquam potest non esse uirtuti locus.*

424 ereptus: Seneca sometimes omits auxiliary *est* with a deponent or passive participle; cf. *H.F.* 224 *deprensa*, *Med.* 369 *motus*, *Oed.* 348 *effusus*. See Leo (1878) 184-190 for an extensive discussion of the usage by other poets, and 190-193 of the usage by Sen. trag. For Vergil's practice in this respect, see Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 2.2.

omnis: for the placing of the adj., cf. *Phae.* 551-2 *hinc terras cruor / infecit omnis fusus*, *Oed.* 974-5 *et uictor deos / conclamat omnis*, *Med.* 520 *fortuna semper omnis infra me stetit.*

dira: see on 66. The adj. originally belongs to the language of augurs and is used of things regarded as omens (*OLD* s.v. 1), e.g. Cic. *Leg.* 2.21 *quae augur iniusta nefasta uitiosa dira defixerit, irrita infectaque sunto*, Ov. *Met.* 5.549-50 *foedaque fit uolucris, uenturi nuntia luctus, / ignauus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen*, Verg. *Geo.* 1.488 *diri ... cometae.* Zwierlein (1986) 94 prefers Bentley's *dura*, giving a better contrast to *prosperis rebus*, in view of *Oed.* 208 *ubi laeta duris mixta in ambiguo iacent*, and *Thy.* 447 *frustra timentur dura* (after 445 *miser esse mauult esse qui felix potest?*). Like the other editors, I have kept the transmitted reading; the word seems very appropriate here, announcing her dream. For the use of the neut. pl. as subst., 'fearful things, ill-boding events' (LS), cf. Cic. *Diu.* 1.16.29 *in dira et in uitiosa incurrimus*, Tib. 2.6.17-8 *tu me mihi dira precari / cogis.*

425 timere, cum speres nihil: in other passages, Seneca emphasizes the fact that fear and hope are inseparable, e.g. *Ep.* 5.7-8 *apud Hecatonem nostrum inueni cupiditatum finem etiam ad timoris remedia proficere. 'desines', inquit, 'timere, si sperare desieris.' dices: 'quomodo ista tam diuersa pariter sunt?' ita est, mi Lucili: cum uideantur dissidere, coniuncta sunt. quemadmodum eadem catena et custodiam et militem copulat, sic ista quae tam dissimilia sunt pariter incedunt: spem metus sequitur. nec miror ista sic ire: utrumque pendentis animi est, utrumque futuri expectatione solliciti*, *Med.* 163 *qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil*; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.6.9-12 *qui timet his aduersa, fere miratur eodem / quo cupiens pacto: pauor est utrobique molestus, / inprouisa simul species exterret utrumque. / gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.733 *hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque*, Rochefoucauld 'l'espérance et la crainte sont inséparables'.

speres: for the use of the 2nd pers. sing. in a *sententia*, see the note on 254 *possis ... feras.* The subjunctive is neither causal nor concessive, rather iterative/generalizing [see H-Sz 624; K-S 2.207 f., quoting Sen. *Ep.* 11.3 *quidam numquam magis quam cum erubuerint timendi sunt*]. Cf. Summers (1956) lxiii: "In subordinate sentences, the *indefinite* subjunctive, generally of the 2nd person, is very common", for an instance with *cum* referring to *Ep.* 75.4 *ille promissum suum impleuit qui et cum uideas illum et cum audias idem est.*

For a similar concluding *sententia*, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.354 *una salus uictis nullam sperare salutem* (but the preceding words *moriamur et in media arma ruamus* show Aeneas' mood as quite different from Andromache's). For Seneca's liking to round off with a *sententia* see on 162.

426-37 *An old man asks after the reason of her distress.*

Contrary to expectation, not the women, addressed by her (409), but an unspecified *senex* now speaks to Andromache. As a confidant, he plays a part similar to the *satelles* in Act II of *Thyestes* (204 ff.) and the *nutrix* in *Medea*, *Phaedra*, and *Agamemnon*. His unannounced start is paralleled by his secret leaving at the entrance of Ulysses (517-8 are his last lines).

426 quis ... metus: see on 167 *quis deus*.

te: at *Phae.* 129 *Thesea coniunx, clara progenies Iouis*, and *Ag.* 125 *regina Danaum et inclitum Ledae genus*, the *nutrix* specifies the first address.

repens: 'sudden', in Sen. trag. only here and at *Med.* 971 *sonus ... repens*.

afflictam: 'in a state of ruin, shattered', of Andromache again below 440, 703. The pple/adj. is also applied to Hecuba (961), Troy (24), and the Trojans (872); note the identical placing in all instances (similarly twelve occurrences in the other plays, the only exception being *Med.* 209). In the *Aeneid*, Sinon uses it in his self-description *adflictus uitam in tenebris luctuque trahebam* (2.92); generally, however, the verb is avoided by poets [*ThLL* I 1232.65-69]. On the other hand, in the Vulgate and in Christian prose it has a high frequency; see Arweiler, p. 138.

427 exoritur ... malum: for the idea, cf. *H.F.* 208-9 *finis alterius mali / gradus est futuri*, Ter. *Eun.* 987 *aliud ex alio malum*, Publil. Syr. 183 *Fortuna obesse nulli contenta est semel*, Macar. 5.11 'evil follows evil', Hom. *Il.* 16.111 'everywhere evil was piled on evil', 19.290, Hdt. 1.67 'woe lies on woe', Eur. *Tro.* 596 'sufferings lie on sufferings' [Otto (1890) 207 s.v. *malum* 2, Kunz, p. 18, Häussler, p. 182]. The same combination of noun and verb is also found in *Oct.* 427 *maximum exortum est malum*; to this line may be compared *Oed.* 62 *luctu in ipso luctus exoritur*.

For *maius ... malum* (see also above on 45 *maius*), cf. *Phoen.* 285-6 *tela flammae uulnera / instant et istis si quod est maius malum*, *Med.* 362 *maiusque mari Medea malum*, *Phae.* 688 *o maius ausa matre monstrifera malum*, 697 *Colchide nouerca maius hoc, maius malum est*, *Thy.* 259 *maius hoc ira est malum*. As an early instance of "this alliterative piece of *deinosis*", Fantham *ad loc.* cites Acc. 200 R (31 D) *maior mihi moles, maius miscendumst malum*. Variations on this theme: *Med.* 674-5 *maius his, maius parat / Medea monstrum*, *Phae.* 142-3 *quid domum infamem aggrauas / superasque matrem? maius est monstro nefas*, *Phoen.* 531-2 *quam paene mater maius aspexi nefas, / quam quod miser uidere non potuit pater*, *Thy.* 745-6 *an ultra maius aut atrocius / natura recipit?*

maius ... magno: a polyptoton involving various degrees of *magnus* was a popular poetic device; cf. Catul. 34.5-6 *o Latonia, maximi / magna progenies Iouis*, Ov. *Am.* 3.15.18 *pulsanda est magnis area maior equis*, *Met.* 8.328 *maius opus magni certaminis urguet* [see Wills, p. 237 f.].

428 nondum ... stetit: quite different are Ovidius' lines, *Met.* 13.505-7 *iacet Ilion ingens, / euentuque graui finita est publica clades, / sed finita tamen.*

ruentis: '(fig., of persons or states, their fortunes, etc.) to be brought to ruin, come to grief, perish, collapse' (*OLD* 7); cf. above 278, below 1131 *ruentis ... Troiae*, *Oed.* 73, *Ag.* 611 *patriam ruentem*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.290 *ruit alto a culmine Troia.*

stetit: in my view perf. of *sistere* 'has halted' (*OLD* s.v. 6c); for the contrast with *ruere*, cf. *Thy.* 67 *siste, quo praeceps ruis?* It is taken as perf. of *stare* in the indexes of Oldfather-Pease-Canter and Denooz; likewise below 1091, 1150, 1162. For a comparable discussion, see Bömer on *Met.* 3.20 *stetit* (listed under *stare* in the Concordance of Ovid by Deferrari-Barry-McGuire), Korn on V. Fl. 4.61 *stetit*, van Campen on Luc. 2.214 *ad molem stetit unda sequens.* Ancient grammarians had different opinions on the perf. form of *sisto* (N-W II 342): Gell. 2.14 cites with approval Cato's words *quid si vadimonium capite obvoluto stitisses?* ("... *stitisses* dictum a Catone, quoniam sisteretur vadimonium, non staretur"), Charisius and Diomedes have *steti.* Priscianus, noticing that some verbs use the perf. of a synonym, adduces *ferio - percussi* with *sisto - statui* (*statuo*) and *steti* (*sto*). Fitch on *H.F.* 15 *stetit* ('stopped and remained fixed') cites this line and Ov. *Met.* 5.132 *in obliquo missum stetit inguine ferrum.*

429 et: see on 330.

ut: concessive, 'even if, even though' (*OLD* s.v. 35); cf. *Phoen.* 542-3 *ut recedas, magna pars sceleris tamen / uestri peracta est*, *Med.* 1010-1 *ut duos perimam, tamen / nimium est dolori numerus angustus meo*, *Oed.* 832 *ut nil lacessas, ipsa se fata explicant*, *Ag.* 245-7 *ut nihil / subesset animo quod graues faceret metus, / tamen ... .*

430-4 Zwierlein (1966) 176 ff. convincingly has refuted Bothe's proposal to have 430-4a (*Stygis profundae - mors est*) spoken by the *senex.*

Stygis profundae claustra: cf. below 520-1 *Stygis / sinu profundo*, *Oed.* 160 *Erebi claustra profundi*, 401 *dum nos profundae claustra laxamus Stygis*, *H.O.* 1311 *Erebi claustra*, Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 564 *inferorum claustra.* As the principal river of the underworld, the Styx metonymically can also denote the underworld itself (*OLD* s.v. 2b). For *claustra*, both 'bolts' (*OLD* 1) and 'a confining space' (*OLD* 2), cf. below 512. Gronovius at once accepted the E-reading ("quanto suavius") over A's *Stygii profundi*; likewise at 432 *Dite* ("prima manus") over *tumulo* ("interpretum").

profundae: 'abysmal' (*OLD* 2), cf. e.g. *Phae.* 951 *profunda Tartara*, *Oed.* 578 *Acheron profundum.* The Styx has various other epithets in Sen. trag.: *atra* (*Phae.* 477), *dira* (*Ag.* 493, *Thy.* 666), *fera* (*H.F.* 558), *inferna* (*Oed.* 396, *Thy.* 1007), *perpetua* (*Phae.* 148), *tristis* (*Ag.* 608).

obscuri specus: probably rather gen. sing. (cf. *Ag.* 2 *profundo ... Tartari specu*) than nom. plur. (like above 178). Oldfather-Pease-Canter record *specus* as a nominative, but *obscuri* as a genitive.

431 laxantur: both 'to lay open (a cavity, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 2, e.g. *H.F.* 80 *Siculi uerticis laxa specum*) and 'to undo, loose (bolts, doors, etc.)' (*OLD* 3, e.g. *H.F.* 962 *laxat fores*); cf. 178 *aperit*, 724 *patefecit*. In the same context, the verb is also used in *Oed.* 401 (cited on *Stygis profundae claustra*), 582-3 *subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu / laxata patuit*, *H.O.* 1141-2 *laxabit atri carceris iam iam fores / Pluton superbus*, Sil. 9.250-1 *pallenti laetus in unda / laxabat sedem uenturis portitor umbris*, Claud. 22.244. Caviglia supposes "altro exploit del manierismo senecano: l'Averno come il cavallo di Troia - cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.259 *laxat claustra Sinon*" (in his quote of *Aen.* 6.411-2, *fores* is incorrect: all MSS have *foros*: 'clears the gangways'). For the intensification of the pathos by the enjambment of the predicate, Seidler, p. 41 compares *Oed.* 164-5 *Mors atra auidos oris hiatus / pandit*.

ne desit ... metus: for the use of *ne* (*OLD* s.v. 11b: "introducing a purpose suggested, usu. in irony, by the speaker or writer"), cf. in Sen. trag. *H.F.* 17-8 *ne qua pars probro uacet, / mundus puellae serta Cnosiacae gerit*, *Phoen.* 121-2 *dira ne sedes uacet, / monstrum repone maius*, 270-2, 513-5, *Phae.* 1250-2, *Ag.* 184-5 *neue desertus foret / a paelice umquam barbara caelebs torus* (with Tarrant's note). In other authors, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 8.205-6 *ne quid inausum / aut intractatum scelerisue doliue fuisset*, Ov. *Ars* 2.359, *Met.* 1.151, 13.496.

432 hostes: "indignanter pro *hostis*, id est, Achillis umbra" (Farnabius).

imo: for the use of the adj. with reference to the underworld (*OLD* 2a), cf. above 146 *manes ... imos*, *H.F.* 95 *imo Ditis e regno*, *Oed.* 869 *Tartara ima*. Hillen, p. 7 notes: "*Imus* läßt sich aber fast immer auch als Hinweis auf die unterste Stufe oder Region der Unterwelt verstehen"; unambiguous is *infernus*, e.g. *H.F.* 1338-9 *infernis ... umbris*, *Oed.* 396 *infernae Stygis*, *Ag.* 1 *opaca ... Ditis inferni loca*.

Dite: = *Tartaro*, cf. below 723, *Phoen.* 234 *umbras Ditis aeternas*.

exeunt: likewise of Achilles at Ov. *Met.* 13.442 *exit humo late rupta*.

433 solisne ... / ... mors est: Gronovius properly objected to the attribution of these words to the *senex* by Scaliger and Scriverius (who were to be followed by Viansino): "Sed non est haec simplex interrogatio percontantis, quod ignorat, verum est impetus animi παθόντός τι, et saucii, variisque permotionibus affecti & flagellati: quali nusquam in tota hac scena loquitur senex. Malim itaque cum omnibus libris & Flor. Andromachae ista relinquere, sed inclusa parenthesi, tanquam suspirium indignationis: post quod continuat institutum sermonem."

Most editors follow Gronovius' interpretation and punctuation, which makes good sense: —'Is the way back open only to the Greeks? (No, for) death surely is impartial'. Leo's colon after *mors*, making *turbat ... sopor* an elucidation of *certa aequa mors est*, was turned down by Zwierlein (1966) 177 f.: she does not put Hector's vision on a level with Achilles' appearance, and after her indignant question *solisne ... iter?* the statement *certe a. m. est* would only be fitting if she could have gone on with a cheerful event ("for Hector has also returned and has supported me").

In my view, it is a bitter, ironical phrase (cf. the notes on *ne desit ... metus*, and *hostes*; for this use of *certe*, cf. below 631 *iam certe perit*): despite the "equal" element (*terror* - *exterret*), Achilles after his death shocks and alarms all Trojans, Hector scares only her (instead of all Greeks).

retro: likewise of the return from the underworld below 724, *H.F.* 55 *patefacta ab imis manibus retro uia est*, 678-9 *gradumque retro flectere haut umquam sinunt / umbrae tenaces*, *Phae.* 93-4 *inuii retro lacus.*

434 aequa: 'impartial' (*OLD* 6b); cf. Pl. *Trin.* 493-4 *aequo mendicus atque ille opulentissimus / censetur censu ad Accheruntem mortuos*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.13-4 *pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas / regumque turris*, 3.1.14-5 *aequa lege Necessitas / sortitur insignes et imos*, 2.18.32-4 *aequa tellus / pauperi recluditur / regumque pueris*, 1.28.15-6 *sed omnis una manet nox / et calcanda semel uia leti*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.467 *stat sua cuique dies*, Prop. 2.28.58 *longius aut propius mors sua quemque manet*, Anth. Pal. 7.389.6 'one common night holds them all' [Otto (1890) s.v. *mors* 1, Häussler, p. 188]. Seneca repeats the theme e.g. *Ep.* 30.11 *mors necessitatem habet aequam*, 91.16 *aequat omnis cinis*, *Nat.* 2.59.4 *mors omnes aeque uocat.* In *H.F.* 1074, Sleep, the brother of Death, is addressed as *qui par regi famuloque uenis.*

est: Damsté (1919) 61 suggests to read *certe aequa mors sit!*

turbat: '(esp. w. abst. subj.) to throw into confusion of mind or feeling, confound, alarm, discompose, etc.' (*OLD* 8); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.199-200 *hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum / obicitur magis atque improuida pectora turbat* [Austin *ad loc.*: "a t.t. for the effect produced by prodigies (cf. Kleinknecht, *Hermes* 79 (1944) 70)", cf. *Aen.* 12.246, Ov. *Met.* 9.572 *omine turbata est*, 11.411 *anxia prodigiis turbatus pectora Ceyx*, 15.517 *monstrique metu turbantur*, Liv. 27.37.5, Tac. *Hist.* 1.18], *Oct.* 712-3 (Poppaea) *confusa tristi proximae noctis metu / uisuque, nutrix, mente turbata feror.* For an instance in Neo-Latin tragedy, see Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 645-7 (Pilatus) *nunc et ancipitem metu / non uana carae uisa turbant coniugis, / quam nocte tota tenuit irrequies sopor.*

turbat atque: see on 11 *rubenti Tigrin inmiscet*, 167 *effare, reduces*; cf. also below 1096 *temptat atque*, *H.F.* 102 *ducat atque*, *Thy.* 704 *constat, atque.*

435 communis iste: note, after *turbat atque*, the repeated *complosio syllabarum* (*-is is-*) in her description of Achilles' dreadful appearance; as Töchterle comments on *Oed.* 42 *tenuis Ismenos*, "Bisweilen läßt sich Funktion erkennen". For the *-is is-* repetition, see above on 40, 298; similarly *H.F.* 449 *communis ista.*

communis iste terror: Kingery's "That terror (Achilles' appearance), common to Greeks and Trojans alike" was rightly refuted by Damsté (1918) 61: "Non hercle vero! Scribere oportuit: "common to all Trojans alike", neque enim Graecos Andromacha cogitavit."

hic: sc. *terror*, preluded by *maius ... malum* (427), and specified by the apposition *noctis horrendae sopor* (436).

436 exterret: 'to drive distracted, scare, terrify', in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 797, *Med.* 214 (9x in his prose, e.g. *Ep.* 40.5 *lenienda sunt quae me exterrent, conpesscenda quae inritant*); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.450 *infelix fatis exterrita Dido.*

horrendae: 'terrible, fearful'; cf. V. Fl. 5.332 *horrendas ... noctes.* In Ov. *Fast.* 6.139-40 *est illis strigibus nomen, sed nominis huius / causa, quod horrenda stridere nocte solent, ThLL* VI 2982.61 combines *horrenda* with *nocte*, but Bömer takes *horrenda* as an acc. adv. with *stridere* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.288 *horrendum stridens*). Sen. trag. applies the adj. also to *agmen* (*H.F.* 101 of the Furies), *facinus* (*Phoen.* 363), *nefas* (*Thy.* 89), *acta* (*H.F.* 651), *uox* (*H.F.* 795 of Cerberus).

sopor: '(deep or overpowering) sleep'. Sen. trag. uses the noun another four times (*H.F.* 1050, 1079, *Phae.* 100, *Oed.* 788), personified at *H.F.* 690; in his prose it is found at *Ben.* 5.13.4 ('a sleeping-draught'), *Dial.* 3.3.8, *Ep.* 53.7 (*grauis sopor etiam somnia extinguit*), *Nat.* 3.20.5. Plin. *Nat.* 21.119 contrasts it with *somnus*: *huius semine somnum allici, set modum seruandum, ne sopor fiat.* In the context of a dream, the subst. occurs Verg. *Aen.* 3.173-4 *nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere uultus / uelatasque comas praesentiaque ora uidebar*; Williams *ad loc.*, taking the lines as a reference to Hom. *Od.* 19.547 'it was not an allusive dream, but a happy vision of reality', comments: "The vision was a true apparition such as is seen by a person awake or in a light sleep, not an imaginary figment of heavy, deep sleep (*sopor*)". Boyle styles the words *noctis horrendae sopor* "a powerful, almost oxymoronic phrase because of the tension between *sopor* [...] and *horrendae*", and translates 'a night's sleeping horror'; Watling 'night-haunting vision'.

The comma after *animum* was introduced by Müller (1898) 18.

437 uisa: 'that which is seen, an appearance, sight; esp. one of supernatural or imaginary character, a vision (usu. as presented in a dream)', in Sen. trag. only here; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.456 *hoc uisum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori*, Ov. *Ep.* 15.48 *metuenda ... noctis opacae uisa.*

portas: 'to convey (news, etc.)' (*OLD* 1b); cf. *Phae.* 989 *sed quid citato nuntius portat gradu*, *Oed.* 914 *ede quid portes noui*, *Thy.* 626 *quid portas noui?* The other occurrences of the verb in Sen. trag. are *Phae.* 45 *ceruice graui portare plagas*, 1019-20 *nescioquid onerato sinu / grauis unda portat*, *Oed.* 59-60 *portat hunc aeger parens / supremum ad ignem.* Axelson (1945) 31 notes that it is found in the *Aeneid* just as often (18x) as in Caesar, Tacitus and Suetonius together; Silius uses it no less than 60x [on its colloquial character, see Wölfflin, *Philol.* 34 (1875), 151, Löfstedt, *Peregr. Aeth.* 270-1, (1933) 338 f.].

effer: 'reveal' (*OLD* s.v. 8), cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 11.183-4 (Midas' slave) *uisum / dedecus ... cupiens efferre sub auras*, Pl. *Mer.* 422 *flagitium muliebre efferri domo*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.433 *cuncta ocius effer*; Cic. *de Orat.* 1.111 *petam ... ne has meas ineptias efferatis*, Caes. *Gal.* 7.1.6 *priusquam eorum clandestina consilia efferantur.*

438-60 *Andromache's dream.*

The structure of the passage resembles Talthybius' report of Achilles' apparition: indication of time (438-9 - 170-170[bis]), sudden appearance (443 - 181), message (452-6 - 191-6), and immediate vanishing thereafter (460 - 197). But the differences, such as the ordinary *stetit* vs. the spectacular *emicuit*, and the lack of reaction from nature, are no less striking (D. & E. Henry, pp. 127-132).

The appearance of the dead in a dream, warning and/or activating a main character, is a common device throughout classical literature: for instance Hom. *Il.* 23.65 ff. (Patroclus begging Achilles for burial), Verg. *Aen.* 2.268 ff. (Hector urging Aeneas to flee Troy), Ov. *Met.* 11.654 ff. (Ceyx to Alcyone), Luc. 3.9 ff. (Julia to Pompey), Stat. *Theb.* 2.89 ff. (Laius to Eteocles), 11.142 ff. (Argia to Polyneices), Sil. 8.166 ff. (Dido to Anna), 15.180 ff. (Scipio to his sons), Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3.80 ff. (Proserpina to Ceres); as Gruzelier (1993) 245 *ad loc.* notes, it is also "to create a foreboding atmosphere".

438 partes ... duas: as usual, the report starts with an indication of time; cf. e.g. above 170, Verg. *Aen.* 2.268-9 *tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit.* The words seem to indicate, that ⅔ of the night have passed: for this use of *partes* with cardinal numerals, expressing fractions in which the numerator is one less than the denominator (*OLD* s.v. *pars* 4d), cf. Caes. *Gal.* 1.12.2 *tris iam partes copiarum Heluetios id flumen traduxisse*, Ov. *Met.* 8.565 *iamque duas lucis partes Hyperione menso.* This would coincide with the Homeric division of the night in three parts of about four hours each: see e.g. *Il.* 10.252-3, quoted by Fantham, and *Od.* 12.312 'when it was in the third watch of the night and the stars had passed over the meridian' (for the threefold division of the day, cf. *Il.* 21.111 'and there will be a dawn or an afternoon or a noontime'). But if one takes the words to mean 'two (parts) of the four *uigiliae*', in which the Romans divided the night, the time would be just after midnight.

alma: originally 'fostering', e.g. of a nurse, Lucr. 5.230 *almae nutricis blanda atque infracta loquela*; 'life-giving', of daylight, *H.F.* 592 *o lucis almae rector et caeli decus*, *Ag.* 726-7 *fugit lux alma et obscurat genas / nox alta*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.306, Ov. *Met.* 15.664, Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.7-8, of the earth, *Phoen.* 222, Verg. *Aen.* 7.644. With *nox*, 'die met haar rust ons voedt' (Vondel), the adj. is found again *Med.* 876-8 *nox condat alma lucem, / mergat diem timendum / dux noctis Hesperus*, *Ag.* 74-6 *non nox illis* (sc. *regibus*) *alma recessus praebet tutos, / non curarum somnus domitor / pectora soluit*; the combination does not seem to occur before Seneca. It is often used as an epithet of deities (*OLD* b), e.g. Venus (Pl. *Rud.* 694, Lucr. 1.2, Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.31) and Sol (Hor. *Saec.* 9). Therefore, it is very appropriate, since *Nox* is a goddess too: cf. Hes. *Th.* 123-5, cited on

179 *Erebi*, Cic. *N.D.* 3.44 *quos omnis Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.138. The adj. is absent from Senecan prose; in Christian literature, it is applied to God, martyrs, etc. [*ThLL* I 1703.24 ff.].

This is in *Troades* one of the rare instances of a trimeter framed by a substantive at the beginning and the corresponding attribute at the end (again 611 *fidem ... suam,* 699 *annos ... suos*); it contrasts with the two following lines, both framed by adjective and substantive.

transierat: '(of a period of time, occasion) to go by, pass away' (*OLD* s.v. 13b); cf. e.g. *Dial.* 12.2.3 *quorum omnes anni per calamitates transierunt*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.165 *nox ubi transierit.*

439 clarum: 'bright', of stars e.g. Cic. *Luc.* 66 *clarissimos septentriones*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.8.31 *clarum Tyndaridae sidus*, Ov. *Pont.* 2.2.10 *clara ... sidera*; cf. Sen. *Ag.* 70 *lucida uersat plaustra Bootes.* Note the conspicuous placing of the adjective at the beginning of this and the two following lines.

septem ... stellae: the seven stars of the Great Bear (*Ursa Maior*), also called *septentriones*; cf. Acc. 242-3 D (566-7 R^2) *sub axe posita ad stellas septem, unde horrifer / Aquilonis stridor gelidas molitur niues, H.F.* 130, Man. 1.294-5 *maioremque Helice maior decircinat arcum / (septem illam stellae certantes lumine signant)*, 620-1 *quam* (sc. *Ursam*) *septem stellae primam iam sole remoto / producunt nigrae praebentem lumina nocti.*

uerterant: cf. *H.F.* 129-31 (a description of dawn) *signum celsi glaciale poli / septem stellis Arcados ursae / lucem uerso temone uocat, Med.* 404-5 *dum siccas polus / uersabit Arctos*, 314-5 *nec quae sequitur flectitque senex / Attica tardus plaustra Bootes, Ag.* 70 *uersat* (see above on *clarum*).

iugum: 'a chariot (with or without the team drawing it)' (*OLD* 3b) = 'Charles's Wain'; cf. Mart. 6.25.2 *horrida Parrhasio quem tegit ursa iugo*; similarly *plaustrum* (*Med.* 315, *Oed.* 477, *Thy.* 873, *Ag.* 70), and *temo* (*H.F.* 131). On the phrase *iugum uerterant*, with a synonym subject and object, replacing reflexive *se uerterant*, cf. Luc. 2.237 *uerteret axes* cited below; Hillen, p. 133 deals with it under 2.1.2.6 'Periphrasen, uneigentliche und figurative Bezeichnungen und Erscheinungsformen des Subjekts als Akkusativobjekte'.

Hom. *Il.* 18.486-9 informs us about the astronomy of those times: the Pleiades, the Hyades, Orion, 'and the Bear, whom they also give the name of the Wagon' (the enumeration is also found at *Od.* 5.272, but there Bootes is named instead of the Hyades). Throughout poetry, the turning of the constellation of the Great Bear played an important part to indicate the middle of the night, cf. e.g. *Anacreont.* 33.1-5, Enn. *scen.* 188-91 J (215-8 V^2) *quid noctis uidetur? in altisono / caeli clipeo temo superat / <plaustri> stellas sublimum agens / etiam atque etiam noctis iter*, quoted by Var. *L.L.* 7.73 with the comment *hic multam noctem ostendere uolt a temonis motu*, Ov. *Met.* 10.446-7 *tempus erat, quo cuncta silent*

interque Triones / flexerat obliquo plaustrum temone Bootes, Luc. 2.236-7 *nocte sopora, / Parrhasis obliquos Helice cum uerteret axes*. For occurrences of the constellation in poetry after Seneca, see e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 1.692-3, 3.683-5, Luc. 2.722-3, 4.523 (see on this topic G. Gundel, *De stellarum appellatione et religione Romana*, Gießen 1907, 151-175, referred to by Hillen, p. 133, n. 400).

440 ignota ... quies: cf. *Med.* 472 *somno ... ignoto*, Ov. *Met.* 7.155 *somnus in ignotos oculos ubi uenit* [*ThLL* VII 1.322.83 f.].

afflictae quies: same line-ending below 961.

quies: 'the repose of sleep' (*OLD* s.v. 1; 1b: as the state in which dreams occur). For the use of the word as a variation of *somnus* and *sopor*, cf. *H.F.* 1051 *quieti ... somno*, *Phae.* 100 *quies nocturna ... altus sopor*, 369 *quieti ... somni*, *H.O.* 533-4 *quies ... sopor*, 645-6 *somnos ... quietem*, *Oct.* 116-7 *quies ... sopor*, 717-8 *somno ... quiete*.

441 fessis ... genis: cf. *Phae.* 364 *lassae genae*, *Oct.* 117 *fessa fletu lumina*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.845 *fessos ... oculos*, Tib. 1.8.68 *tua iam fletu lumina fessa tument*.

obrepsit: 'to approach unobserved, steal (upon a person) unawares' (*OLD* s.v. 2), of sleep e.g. *Ep.* 36.9 *solet obrepere interim somnus*, Ov. *Fast.* 3.19 *blanda quies furtim uictis obrepsit ocellis*, *Ep.* 18.46 *mouet obrepens somnus anile caput*, Plin. *Ep.* 7.4.4., Hor. *Ars* 360 *operi longo fas est obrepere somnum*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 2.268-9 *tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit et dono diuum gratissima serpit.* In Sen. trag. the verb occurs only here; in his prose, he applies the verb also to *mors* (*Dial.* 6.21.7), *obliuio* (*Ben.* 3.2.1), *uitia* (*Ep.* 45.7).

genis: in view of the passages cited on *fessis ... genis*, and Ov. *Fast.* 3.19 quoted on *obrepsit*, the noun here probably rather denotes 'eyes' (*OLD* s.v. 2, Fantham) or 'eyelids' (*OLD* 3, Caviglia 'palpebre') than 'cheeks' (*OLD* 1, Miller, Thomann, Boyle); cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 546 (= 532 V^2) *pandite sulti genas*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.686 *effusaeque genis lacrimae* (Servius: *palpebris*), Prop. 3.12.26 *exustaeque tuae mox Polypheme genae.* The subst. is used rather often in this sense by Statius (Williams on *Theb.* 10.689: "a score or so of times"; see also Mulder on 2.232 *deiectaeque genas*). In Sen. trag. the meaning 'eye' is undisputed, e.g. at *H.F.* 531 *peruigiles genas*, 767 *concauae lucent genae*, the sense 'cheek' is found, for instance, above 410, *Phae.* 381-2 *lacrimae cadunt per ora et assiduo genae / rore irrigantur*, *Med.* 858 *flagrant genae rubentes*. In other instances, it is more difficult to decide [A. Klotz, *ALL* 15 (1908) 411].

442 si: for the use of the simple *si* in the sense of *si quidem* or *si modo*, limiting or correcting a previous statement, cf. *Ben.* 7.9.5 *uideo sericas uestes, si uestes uocandae sunt, in quibus nihil est, quo defendi aut corpus aut denique pudor possit*, Pl. *Capt.* 850 *scis bene esse, si sit unde*, *Poen.* 550, Enn. *Ann.* 421 Sk (= 429 V^2) *spero si speres quicquam prodesse potis sunt*, Cic. *Ver.* 4.40 *homo hanc excogitat rationem, si haec ratio potius quam amentia nominanda est*, *Fam.* 5.2.9, V. Max. 3.2.7 extr. [K-S 2.429].

attonitae: 'stupefied, dazed, etc. (by various emotions; freq. transf., of parts of the body, the mind, etc.)' (*OLD* 2), lit. 'struck by lightning', cf. Servius *ad Aen.* 4.282 *attonitus ... est proprie, iuxta quem fulmen cadit, ibid.* 3.172 *attonitus ... est stupefactus; nam proprie attonitus dicitur, cui casus uicini fulminis et sonitus tonitruum dant stuporem.* In *Tro.* the adj. occurs again 736 *matris ... maeror attonitae* (also of Andromache), and 1136-7 *terror attonitos tenet / utrosque populos*; in the other Senecan tragedies it is found 12x (in *H.O.* 5x, in *Oct.* 6x). *OLD* s.v. 2 specifies the emotions by which a person (or parts of the body, the mind etc.) can be stunned: (a) fear, (b) grief, (c) astonishment, (d) admiration, (e) awe.

The adj. can also denote 'smitten with divine frenzy' (*OLD* 3), e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3.19.14 *attonitus ... uates*, 'frenzied' (*OLD* 4), e.g. *Phoen.* 302 *regno pectus attonitum furit*, 433 *attonita cursu fugit* (sc. Iocasta, who has been described 427 *uadit furenti similis aut etiam furit*), *Med.* 675 *attonito gradu* (of Medea, cf. 673 *furentem*), *Oed.* 1005 *attonita et furens*, *Thy.* 260 *tumultus ... attonitus*, 'fascinated (by), absorbed (in)' (*OLD* 5), e.g. *Ep.* 72.8 *ad rapinam alterius erecti et attoniti*, Apul. *Met.* 4.22 *huic me operi attonitum clara lux oppressit.*

P. Pasiani, '*Attonitus* nelle tragedie di Seneca', in *Studi sulla lingua poetica latina*, Roma 1967, 113-136, has devoted a chronological study to the word. It occurs for the first time in Sal. *Hist.* 1.136 *quasi formidine attonitus*; it lacks completely in the poems of Lucretius and Catullus. In Vergil, where the word is found 10x (not in the *Eclogae*), the sacral-religious origin may be felt especially at two fundamental moments in the epic: *Aen.* 3.172 *talibus attonitus uisis et uoce deorum* (the vision of the Penates, telling Aeneas that he is to found his destined city in Hesperia), 4.282 *attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum* (the warning of the gods to Aeneas that he has to leave Dido). Livy uses it 16x, Ovid no less than 42x; the latter also has six occurrences of - not before attested - *attono*. Although he applies the adj. still mainly to the effect of miraculous or prodigous events, he gradually extends its use to various causes, e.g. *Met.* 9.409 *attonitus ... malis.* In his trail, starting from passages like *Met.* 9.574-5 *attonitus subita iuuenis Maeandrius ira / proicit acceptas lecta sibi parte tabellas*, Seneca gives the adj. a more active sense, e.g. at *Phoen.* 433 (quoted above). Lucan uses *attonitus* 19x, twelve of which at the beginning of the line, for example 2.21, 2.32.

Hillen, pp. 13-18 also fully analyzes the meanings of *attonitus.* Having noted the 'Abundanz' at *Oed.* 329, *Thy.* 260, *H.F.* 1219, *Oct.* 759, 785, *Tro.* 736, he goes on (p. 16): "Als Kontrast zu den pleonastischen Belegen ist *Tro.* 442 anzuführen. Hier steht der Gedanke der Ruhe und Unbeweglichkeit in *stupor* dem der Unruhe und Aufwallung in *attonitus* gegenüber". I cannot share his view; with Fantham *ad loc.*, referring to Ov. *Met.* 5.509-10 *mater ad auditas stupuit ceu saxea uoces / attonitaeque diu similis fuit*, I rather think the words pleonastic, repeating the mood of above 417 *torpens malis rigensque sine sensu fero.*

stupor: 'numbness, torpor' (*OLD* 1). For the connection between *attonitus* and *stupor*, cf. e.g. *Nat.* 2.27.3 *quidam uero uiui stupent et in totum sibi excidunt, quos uocamus attonitos*, *Apocol.* 14.3 *stupebant omnes nouitate rei attoniti*, *Oct.* 35 *quisquis attonitus stupet*, Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.172 (quoted above), Verg. *Geo.* 2.508 *hic stupet attonitus*, Apul. *Met.* 1.8 *in stuporem attonitus*, 2.13 *attonitus repentinae uisionis stupore* ('bewilderment, stupefaction', *OLD* 2); see Pasiani, p. 124.

443 cum subito: like Achilles' appearance (171). Under the heading 'Vergil und Seneca' (see also above on 47), Schweizer p. 114 f. compares this passage to *Aen.* 2.270-1 *in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector / uisus adesse mihi.* At the moment of the highest emotion, when Hector appears, Seneca is very direct, whereas Vergil keeps down the emotion with *ecce* and *maestissimus*. Seneca's *subito* corresponds with *ecce*, of course, but it makes the description more emotional. The sharpest contrast, however, is found in their respective uses of the verb: Seneca very directly *ante oculos stetit*, Vergil *uisus adesse mihi.*

> Während bei Seneca Bewegung und Leidenschaft sich ungehemmt und in ungebrochenen Wellen entfalten, schimmern bei Vergil selbst durch die wildeste Bewegung Ruhe und Besonnenheit hindurch. Wechselweise und in Auseinandersetzung miteinander bestimmen diese beiden Elemente Vergils Charaktere und Handlungen. Einschübe und geeignete Attribute sorgen ständig dafür, daß der Leser über bestimmte Dinge nachdenkt und urteilend Distanz gewinnt. Demgegenüber zieht ihn Seneca immer mitten ins Geschehen hinein und erlaubt ihm nicht, von außerhalb auf die Situation zu blicken. Solcherart in das Geschehen und die Empfindungen der Charaktere verstrickt soll er jene Welt voller Unordnung, Zufall und Ängste, die in ihrer Unüberblickbarkeit unser täglicher Lebensraum ist, auf sich wirken lassen.

444 non qualis: in contrast with 182 *qualis*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.274-6 *ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo / Hectore qui redit exuuias indutus Achilli, / uel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis.*

ultro: here of taking the offensive (*OLD* s.v. 6a), cf. *Med.* 856 *regi minatur ultro*, Pl. *Bac.* 567 *etiamne ultro tuis me prolectas probris?*, Caes. *Gal.* 6.24.1 *cum ... Galli ... ultro bella inferrent*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.193 *ultro Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello / uenturam*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.569 *uocat ultro in proelia Graios*. The reference is to Hom *Il.* 15.592 ff. and 16.112-23.

Argiuos: orig. 'the Argives', here used as "the collective designation of the Greeks in the Trojan War" (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.66-7 *ter pereat* (sc. *murus*) *meis / excisus Argiuis*. See also on 277 *Argiua tellus*.

445 petebat facibus: Verg. *Aen.* 2.276, quoted on 444 *non qualis*, mentions the same situtation in his comparison; so does Racine, *Andromaque* I.2.161-4 (Orestes to Pyrrhus):

Et qui sait ce qu' un jour ce fils peut entreprendre?
Peut-être dans nos ports nous le verrons descendre,
Tel qu' on a vu son père, embraser nos vaisseaux
Et, la flamme à la main, les suivre sur les eaux.

446 nec ... qualis: for the two-fold contrasting negative comparison, cf. e.g. Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3.84-9 (Proserpina appearing in Ceres' dream)

non qualem Siculis olim mandauerat aruis
nec qualem roseis nuper conuallibus Aetnae
suspexere deae: squalebat pulchrior auro
caesaries et nox oculorum infecerat ignes
exhaustusque gelu pallet rubor ille, superbi
flammeus oris honos.

caede multa: cf. *Thy.* 733 *in caede multa*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.471 *multa ... caede.*

447 uera: added for the antithesis with *simulato*. For the opposite wording of the same event, Caviglia cites Ov. *Ep.* 1.17 *siue Menoetiaden falsis cecidisse sub armis.*

ex Achille spolia ... tulit: cf. above 305 *spolia de nobis feres?*, *Phoen.* 571 *uictor hinc spolia auferes.* At Ov. *Met.* 13.153 *spoliis ... istis*, Ulysses uses the noun of Achilles' arms.

Achille ... simulato: cf. *Ag.* 618 *falsus Achilles* of Patroclus. After an urgent appeal to his friend, Patroclus received Achilles' weapons (Hom. *Il.* 16.129 ff.; cf. *Ag.* 617 *acceptis ... armis*). When he had driven back the Trojans from the ships, he was killed by Hector (*Il.* 16.827-8), who took over his opponent's weapons (*Il.* 17.194-5).

448 uultus: Fantham in her commentary takes it as a genitive (but she translates: 'it was not that glorious face'); likewise Watt (1989) 333: "the whole run of the sentence strongly suggests that *non ille* (448) repeats *non qualis* (444) and *nec ... qualis* (446); then *ille* is Hector, and *uultus* is a genitive (with *iubar*); so *TLL* 7.2.573.50 and *OLD*, s.v. *intendo*, sense 6c. Both *fessus* and *deiectus* more naturally apply to Hector himself, and (despite Zwierlein p. 95) *fletu grauis* is surely acceptable of a person".

In my opinion, *uultus* as a nominative is more likely and in accordance with Seneca's cinematic approach. The picture of Hector as a whole is followed by a close-up of his face, the most characteristic part of a human being; cf. *Phae.* 1269-70 (after a description of the mutilated parts of the body) *haecne illa facies igne sidereo nitens, / inimica flectens pectora?* Watt's reference to *OLD intendo* 6c is not validated by the quotation there: the line is quoted as it is, and if Hector were considered the subject, one would have expected the addition "(*sc.* Hector)" after *non ille* (cf. the next note). It is also taken as a nominative by e.g. Kingery, Miller, Thomann ('nicht jenes Antlitz, das den sternengleiche Flammenschein auf mich richtete'), Billerbeck (1988) 128, Boyle, and the concordances of Oldfather-Pease-Canter and Denooz.

flammeum: 'bright or radiant like fire; (of the eyes) burning' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. Acc. 504 D (443 R[2]) *rubore ex oculis fulgens flammeo*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.448-9 *flammea torquens / lumina*, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3.89 quoted above on 446; similarly Sen. *Oed.* 409 *uultu sidereo.* Homer describes Hector as 'flame-like' (*Il.* 13.688), and 'shining with fire on all sides' (*Il.* 15.623). From *OLD*'s quotation of the line s.v. *flammeus*, without a specification of the subject of *intendens*, I also gather that *uultus* is taken as a nominative.

intendens: 'to direct (the eyes, sight, hearing, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 6c); cf. e.g. *Ep.* 110.6 *oculos intendere*, 117.13 *corpus est quod uideo, cui et oculos intendi et animum*, Cic. *Tusc.* 4.38 *ita acrem in omnes partes aciem intendit.*

iubar: 'radiance'; of the countenance, also in Mart. 8.65.4 *purpureum fundens Caesar ab ore iubar.* The word originally denoted the morning star: cf. Var. *L.L.* 6.6 *ut ante solem ortum, quod eadem stella uocatur iubar, quod iubata, Pacuuianus* (347 R[3]) *dicit pastor «Exorto iubare, noctis decurso itinere»; Ennianus Aiax* (Sc. 19) *«lumen iubarne in caelo cerno?»*, 7.76 *iubar dicitur stella lucifer, quasi in summo quod habet lumen diffusum ut leo in capite iubam. huius ortus significat circiter esse extremam noctem.* It is used of the first light of day e.g. *Med.* 100-1 *sic nitidum iubar / pastor luce noua roscidus aspicit*, Lucr. 4.404, Verg. *Aen.* 4.130 *iubare exorto*, Ov. *Met.* 7.663 *iubar aureus extulerat sol.*

Sen. trag. uses the word of the sun, *H.F.* 26 *retinere mersum iussus* (sc. *Phoebus*) *Oceano iubar*, *Phae.* 889 *coruscum lucis aetheriae iubar*, *Oed.* 2 *et nube maestum squalida exoritur iubar*, but also of the moon, *Med.* 6-7 *tacitisque praebens conscium sacris iubar / Hecate triformis*, and of the setting sun *Ag.* 463 *nitidum cadentis ... Phoebi iubar* (in all, seven occurrences); it is absent from his prose. Statius uses it no less than 14 times, e.g. *Theb.* 10.136 of the rainbow. Cf. the use of σέλας (LSJ 'light, brightness, flame') in Homer's description of Achilles (*Il.* 18.214) and of his angry eyes (*Il.* 19.366), and of αὐγή (LSJ 'light of the sun'; 5. of the eyes) in the description of his armour (*Il.* 22.134-5).

449 deiectus: 'downcast, dismayed' (*OLD* s.v. 2); e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 10.857-8 *quamquam uis alto uulnere tardat, / haud deiectus equum duci iubet*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.315 *haud sic deiecta*, 4.352 *deiecti trepidas sine mente, sine ira / promisere manus*, Apul. *Met.* 8.5 *in modum pauoris feminei deiecti.* This transferred sense reached a high frequency in later prose [*ThLL* V 1.399.46 ff.]. Here *OLD* quotes the line with the addition: (*sc.* Hector).

fletu grauis: 'heavy with weeping', cf. *Oed.* 952-3 *subitus en uultus grauat / profusus imber*, *Ag.* 49 *quid pudor uultus grauat?*, *Thy.* 505-7 *aspice, ut multo grauis / squalore uultus obruat maestos coma, / quam foeda iaceat barba*, cited by Zwierlein (1986) 95 in favor of *uultus* as a nominative. For this characteristic, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.270-1 *ante oculos maestissimus Hector / uisus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus.*

450 nostro: sc. *uultui* (Farnabius). Watt, taking *ille* (sc. *Hector*) as subject, has to resort to Peiper's *maesto*, that had also been accepted by Herrmann; *maesto* was rightly turned down by Fantham ("*similis maesto* only weakens the previous statement") and by Zwierlein ("Peipers *similisque maesto* wäre weniger als *maesto* und schon gar nicht mit Vergils *maestissimo* zu vergleichen"). The words *similisque nostro* are illustrated by *fessis* (441) - *fessus* (449), and *fletu grauis* (449) - *omitte fletus* (454); they are fitting, since Andromache likes to identify herself with her husband (see on 414) and to stress the likeness of Hector and Astyanax (464, 1117).

squalida: a characteristic epithet of the underworld, e.g. *H.F.* 765 *squalidus ... senex* (Verg. *Aen.* 6.299 *terribili squalore Charon*; Apul. *Met.* 6.18 *squalido seni*), *Phae.* 833 *recta squalor incultus coma*, *Med.* 742 *squalidae Mortis*, *Oed.* 625 *paedore foedo squalidam obtentus comam*, *Culex* 353 *squalida Tartara*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.277 *squalentem.*

451 uidisse: aoristic perf., cf. 276 *dixisse*, 1025 *habuisse.*

quassans: a sign of sorrow, anger etc. (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. Caecil. 271 R^3 *si* (Ribb. *sic*) *quassante capite tristes incedunt*, Pl. *Merc.* 600 *tristis incedit ... quassat caput*, *Trin.* 1169 (Ly.) *quid quassas caput?* (Ch.) *cruciatur cor mi et metuo*, Lucr. 2.1164-5 *iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator / crebrius* (Ernout-Robin: 'c'est un geste qui exprime la tristesse et l'abattement'), Verg. *Aen.* 7.291-2 (Iuno) *stetit acri fixa dolore. / tum quassans caput haec effundit pectore dicta*, 12.894-5 *ille* (sc. *Turnus*) *caput quassans: 'non me tua feruida terrent / dicta, ferox: di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis'* (Page: 'marking melancholy'). In Homer the shaking of the head is a sign of anger: see e.g. *Il.* 17.200 (of Zeus), *Od.* 5.285 (of Poseidon), 17.465.

452 dispelle ... eripe: for the use of imperatives in chiasmus, a favorite arrangement in the tragedies, giving increase of emphasis to what in itself is a naturally vigorous form of expression, cf. e.g. below 517 *cohibe ... opprime*, 1065-6 *expone ... persequere*, *Med.* 42-3 *pelle femineos metus / et inhospitalem Caucasum mente indue*, *Phae.* 255-6 *moderare, alumna, mentis effrenae impetus, / animos coerce.*

dispelle: 'drive away', cf. e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.64 *eademque* (sc. *philosophia*) *ab animo tamquam ab oculis caliginem dispulit.* The A MSS here have *depelle*; the same variance is found at *H.F.* 279 *dispulsas* E, *depulsas* A, below 1102 *desiluit* E, *dissiluit* A.

somnos: for the plural use of the noun, "not usually distinguishable in sense from sg." (*OLD*), cf. *H.F.* 843 *crescere et somnos cupiens quietos*, *Phae.* 511-2 *leues / duxisse somnos*, *Thy.* 458 *somnosque non defendit excubitor meos*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.555 *carpebat somnos*; the sing. acc. is found e.g. below 457.

inquit: in Sen. trag. the verb is used only here and at *Med.* 690; in *Hercules Oetaeus* it occurs no less than thirteen times.

eripe: 'snatch from danger or destruction, rescue' (*OLD* s.v. 5); cf. Cic. *Diu.* 2.25 *quod ... filium a morte ... eripere non posset*, Verg. *Aen.*

2.289 (Hector's incitement of Aeneas) *'heu, fuge, nate dea, teque his' ait 'eripe flammis'*, 1.647 *munera ... Iliacis erepta ruinis*, 6.110-1 *illum* (sc. *Anchisen*) *ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela / eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi.*

453 una ... salus: cf. *Phoen.* 89-90 *unica Oedipodae est salus, / non esse saluum*, *Oed.* 108-9 *una iam superest salus, / si quam salutis Phoebus ostendat uiam*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.354 *una salus uictis nullam sperare salutem*, Luc. 2.113-4 *spes una salutis / oscula pollutae fixisse trementia dextrae*, 5.636-7 *spes una salutis / quod tanta mundi nondum periere ruina*. For the use of *una* = 'one and only', see also below 462.

454 omitte: this rather unpoetic word (nowhere in Lucr., Catul., Verg., Tib., Prop., Luc., Val., Mart., Juv., seven times in Hor. *Sat./Epist.*, once [3.29.11] in his *Carm.*) occurs another three times in Sen. trag.: below 925, *Phoen.* 46, *Ag.* 141 [Axelson (1945) 22].

455 utinam iaceret tota: tragic irony. To Andromache, Hector's words sound like a resigned longing for the end of the misery; the audience has already heard Calchas' words *turre de summa cadat / Priami nepos Hectoreus* (368-9), which will be passed on to her by Ulysses, 620-2.

tota: here in contrast to the tower, *lapsis sola quae muris manet* (622).

festina: in Sen. trag. the verb occurs only here and below 630 (no occurrences in *H.O.* and *Oct.*).

amoue: again at the end of the line 514, 570, *H.F.* 397, *Phae.* 704, likewise *amoues*, *Med.* 262, 495; only at *Tro.* 492 it has a different position.

456 quocumque: 'anywhere' (*OLD* s.v. c). For this indefinite use of the word without a verb, cf. e.g. *Oed.* 647-8 *proinde pulsum finibus regem ocius / agite exulem quocumque*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.682 *praecipitis metus acer agit quocumque rudentis / excutere et uentis intendere uela secundis*; in a relative clause ('whithersoever') with a verb it is found below 734-5.

paruulam: for the emotional impact of the diminutive, cf. below 1089-90 *incedit Ithacus paruulum dextra trahens / Priami nepotem*, *Oed.* 806 *hae te parenti paruulum tradunt manus*, *Thy.* 144-5 *exceptus gladio paruulus impio / dum currit patrium natus ad osculum* (Tarrant: "the pathetic diminutive heightens the brutality of the crime"); other instances of the adj. in Sen. trag. are at *H.F.* 1020 *sed ante matrem paruulum hoc monstrum occidit*, *Oed.* 463 *paruula dependet lateri manus*). The other diminitives in his plays are *asellus* (*Oed.* 429), *quantulus* (*Phoen.* 8).

On the use of diminutives by other poets, see Axelson (1945) 38-45: from Catullus, who had a predilection for them, to Lucan and Val. Flaccus, who did not use them at all. They are fairly common in Vergil's *Bucolics*, but very rare in his other poems: in fact, there is only one occurrence of a diminutive adjective in the whole *Aeneid*, in Dido's wish (4.328-9) *si quis mihi paruulus aula / luderet Aeneas* (see Austin's note *ad loc.*). For a study of the use of diminutives (both adjectives and substantives) by the Augustan poets, see A.S. F. Gow, *CQ* 26 (1932), 150-157.

Cf. also Fordyce on Catul. 3.18 *turgiduli ... ocelli*: "the «affective» use of diminutives was a native resource of Latin speech. The diminutive conveys an emotional overtone - of affection and kindliness, it may be, or familiarity or distress or amusement or contempt; it is the counterpart in speech of a smile or a sigh or a shrug."

stirpem: of Astyanax, again below 535, 605; for *stirps* used of an individual child (*OLD* s.v. 5b), cf. e.g. Ov. *Fast.* 5.171 *stirps Oceani ... Aethra*, *Tr.* 3.2.3 *stirps Letoia* (i.e. *Apollo*).

457 gelidus: see on 168 *horridus*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 2.120-1 *obstipuere animi gelidusque per ima cucurrit / ossa tremor* (partly repeated at 6.54-5 and 12.447-8), Ov. *Met.* 2.200 *gelida formidine*, *Tr.* 1.4.11 *nauita confessus gelidum pallore timorem*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.158 *gelidus ... pallor*, Sil. 5.390-1 *gelidusque sub ossa / peruasit / miseris conspecti consulis horror*, 9.122.

excutit: Gronovius already preferred the A reading to *expulit* (E), with a reference to Ov. *Met.* 11.677-8 (Alcyone) *uoce sua specieque uiri turbata soporem / excutit*. The A reading was defended again by Siegmund (1910-11) 29, calling attention to *Oct.* 123 *tunc tremor et ingens excutit somnos pauor*, and 734 *tandem quietem magnus excussit timor*. A third passage was added by Carlsson (1948) 44: *Ep.* 53.8 *sola autem nos philosophia excitabit, sola somnum excutiet grauem*.

This view was taken over by Zwierlein, (1969 *Gn*) 767, Tarrant (1976) 58, and the most recent editors. The reading is also supported by Verg. *Aen.* 2.302 *excutior somno* (of Aeneas, awakening from the dream), Ov. *Ep.* 13.111 *excutior somno*, *Fast.* 1.547 *excussus somno*, 4.555 *excutitur somno*, *Met.* 9.695 *excussam somno*, 11.621 *excussit tandem sibi se* (of the God of Sleep waking himself). *Expulit* may have found its origin in 452 *dispelle* (so Caviglia) and/or in the expectation of a perf. form in view of 459 *quaesiui*.

458 oculos ... ferens: cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 8.228-9 *omnemque / accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc*, 11.800-1 *conuertere animos acres oculosque tulere / cuncti ad reginam Volsci*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.545-6 *huc ferus atque illuc animum pallentiaque ira / ora ferens*.

nunc huc ... nunc illuc: "Seneca has imitated the rhythm of *Aen.* 4.285 *animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc*, or 5.701 *nunc huc ingentes nunc illuc pectore curas*" (Fantham); cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.678 (following ... *excutit*, quoted above) *et primo, si sit, circumspicit illic, / qui modo uisus erat*. For the structure of the line, cf. *Med.* 938 *uariamque nunc huc ira, nunc illuc amor*; for variations of *huc ... illuc*, see below on 616 *huc et illuc*, 970 *huc et huc*.

459 oblita: here placed emphatically at the beginning of the line, as at *Thy.* 739 *oblitus in quem fureret*, and *H.F.* 1203 *oblite nostri*, but usually found at the end: *H.F.* 292 *oblitos sui*, 728-9 *oblitos sui / sceleris*, 808 *oblitus sui*, *Med.* 560 *oblitus mei*.

misera: after her description of the external symptoms (457-8), this adj. now summarizes her miserable state of mind; likewise - and in the same central position in the trimeter - below 488.

460 fallax: both 'delusive' (Boyle; cf. Catul. 64.56 *fallaci ... somno*) and 'elusive' (Fantham; cf. *fallo, OLD* 7: 'to escape the clutches of, avoid, elude'); as D. & E. Henry (1985) note (p. 132), the adj. utters no reproach, but rather disappointment.

per ipsos ... complexus abit: a bitter variation of the traditional farewell, Ov. *Am.* 1.9.35 *Hector ab Andromaches complexibus ibat ad arma*.

The vain efforts in trying to embrace a ghost are a familiar theme: cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.99-101 (Achilles and the shade of Patroclus), *Od.* 11.206-8 (Odysseus and the ghost of his mother), Enn. *Ann.* 46-7 Sk = 47-8 V^2 (Ilia and the vision of her father Aeneas) *repente recessit / nec sese dedit in conspectum*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.792-4 (Creusa eluding Aeneas) = 6.700-2 (Anchises eluding Aeneas) *ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum; / ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago, / par leuibus uentis uolucrique simillima somno*, *Geo.* 4.499-502 (Eurydice) *dixit et ex oculis subito, ceu fumus in auras / commixtus tenues, fugit diuersa, neque illum / prensantem nequiquam umbras et multa uolentem / dicere praeterea uidit*, Ov. *Met.* 10.57-9 (likewise Orpheus and Eurydice) *flexit amans oculos et protinus illa relapsa est; / bracchiaque intendens prendique et prendere certans, / nil nisi cedentis infelix arripit auras*, 11.675 (Alcyone trying to embrace the shade of Ceyx in order to go with him) *corpusque petens amplectitur auras*, *Fast.* 5.475-6 (Faustulus, Anna and the phantom of Remus) *mandantem amplecti cupiunt et bracchia tendunt: / lubrica prensantes effugit umbra manus*, Prop. 4.7.95-6 (Propertius and the vision of Cynthia) *haec postquam querula mecum sub lite peregit, / inter complexus excidit umbra meos*, Luc. 3.34-5 (Julia appearing to Pompey in his sleep) *sic fata refugit / umbra per amplexus trepidi dilapsa mariti*, V. Fl. 4.39-41, Sil. 13.648-53, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3.112.

abit: perf., also *H.F.* 1151, *Oed.* 320; cf. 50 *redit*.

In the third act of Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel* (1637) there is a similar scene, in which Badeloch describes the apparition of her niece Machtelt, warning her to leave the castle and resort to the sea. At the end she also pictures her reaction to the vision, and her vain effort to grasp the phantasm, 815-22:

> Gedenck eens, welck een schrick mijn slaeprigh hart beving.
> Myn hayr dat rees te berg, en aen een yder hing
> Een druppel nats: het sweet begon my uyt te breecken.
> Mijn lijf werd kil als ys. Ick wou, en kon niet spreecken,
> En schoot uyt mijnen droom, al bevende en bevreest,
> Greep toe, en socht vergeefs t' omhelsen haeren gest,
> Die door mijn armen droop, en wegh vloogh uyt mijn oogen,
> En liet my heel verbaest, en van het spoock bedrogen.

461-88. *Andromache turns to Astyanax: she compares him to his father and decides to hide him in his father's grave.*

461 o nate: for the use of *o* in an emotional address see on 301. Astyanax is the most important child character in Sen. trag.; there are (unnamed) children in other plays (*H.F.*, *Phoen.*, *Med.*, *Thy.*, *Ag.*), but he is the only one uttering some words (792 *miserere, mater*).

magni certa progenies patris: for the appliance of this wordorder and rhythm in an address, cf. e.g. *Med.* 4 *profundi saeue dominator maris*, *Phae.* 1159 *profundi saeue dominator freti.*

certa: of children or parents in respect of paternity (*OLD* s.v. 4c), cf. *Phae.* 1112 *certus heres*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.322 *Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles*, Cic. *Inu.* 1.2 *non certos quisquam aspexerat liberos*, *S. Rosc.* 46 *si tibi fortuna non dedit ut patre certo nascerere*, Liv. 39.53.3 *illum ... nullam certi patris notam habere*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.73 *certis liberis*. For a much later instance, see Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 1261-2 (Iohannes to Maria) *ueneranda uirgo, certa progenies ducis / sub iura cuius iuit Euphratis uadum.*

progenies: 'offspring'. Like *stirps* (456), the word is applied both to a group, e.g. *Phoen.* 392 *Cadmea progenies*, Enn. *scen.* 39 J (61 V^2) *optumam progeniem Priamo peperisti extra me*, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.85 *Priamum tanta progenie orbatum*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.789-90 *omnis Iuli / progenies*, and to an individual, often in a pathetical address: cf. *Phae.* 129 *Thesea coniunx, clara progenies Iouis*, Catul. 34.5-6 *o Latonia, maximi / magna progenies Iouis* (Kroll: "*progenies* hat feierlichen Klang wie etwa ἔκγονε und passenden Rhythmus"), Verg. *Aen.* 7.97 *o mea progenies* (Latinus), Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.1 *Tyrrhena regum progenies* (Maecenas), Ov. *Met.* 2.34 (Sol) *progenies, Phaethon, haud infitianda parenti*, *Pont.* 2.9.1 *regia progenies* (Cotys). It is also found in prose, e.g. *Dial.* 1.1.5 *bonus tempore tantum a deo differt, discipulus eius aemulatorque et uera progenies*, 11.11.4 *quid dicam duces ducumque progeniem*, Liv. 21.10.3 *Hamilcaris progeniem* (Hannibal), Apul. *Met.* 11.5 *saeculorum progenies initialis* (Isis).

462 spes: of Astyanax again below 768; cf. *Phoen.* 516-7 (Iocasta) *nate suspensae metus / et spes parentis*, Pl. *Rud.* 680 *o salutis meae spes*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.168 *Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae*, Cic. *Fam.* 14.4.6 *mea carissima filiola et spes reliqua nostra*, Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 1339 (Maria of her son) *spes afflictae sola parentis*. Likewise ἐλπίς of Orestes at Aesch. *Ch.* 776.

una: 'one and only' (*OLD* s.v. 7); cf. *H.F.* 1251 *unum lumen afflicto malis*, *Oct.* 68 (*fratris*) *in quo fuerat spes una mihi*, Pl. *Capt.* 496 *nunc ibo ad portum hinc: est illic mi una spes cenatica* (see also on 453).

unica: cf. Liv. 3.26.8 *spes unica imperii populi Romani, L. Quinctius*, Sen. *Phoen.* 89 *unica est Oedipodae salus*. Sen. trag. likes to use the adj. with a neuter abstract noun, describing a person: below 703-4 *unicum ... solamen*, *Med.* 945-6 *cara proles, unicum afflictae domus / solamen*, *Phae.* 267 *solamen annis unicum fessis, era*, *Phoen.* 1-2 *caeci parentis regimen et*

fessi unicum / patris leuamen, *Ag.* 910-1 *fuge, o paternae mortis auxilium unicum*, *H.F.* 1250-1 *unicum lapsae domus / firmamen.*

For the coupling *una ... unica*, cf. *H.F.* 1250-1, Catul. 73.6 *qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit*, Gel. 18.4.2 *se unum et unicum lectorem esse enarratoremque Sallustii*, Apul. *Met.* 4.31 *idque unum et pro omnibus unicum.*

463 suboles: orig. 'the young growth of a tree', cf. Fest. p. 309 M (Lindsay 402.19-22) *suboles ab olescendo, id est crescendo, ut adolescentes quoque, et adultae, et indoles dicitur*, Col. 4.29.11 *detrahendae (sunt) suboles quae a lateribus radicibusque prorepunt*, Sen. *Dial.* 6.16.7 *agricola euersis arboribus ... sobolem ex illis residuam fouet*; hence 'offspring' (*OLD* s.v. 2). Cicero (*de Orat.* 3.153, see on 167 *effare*) instances it as an archaism [Lebek, pp. 26 ff., esp. 29: "Das Subst. ist also in ciceronischer Zeit der Dichtung nicht fremd, aber entschieden weniger poetisch als *proles*"]. The noun occurs three more times in Sen. trag.: below 528, *Phae.* 468, *Ag.* 157 (read in Tarrant's note Verg. *Ecl.* 4.49 instead of *Aen.*), 3x in *Octauia* (180, 181, 406); in Senecan prose also at *Ben.* 1.1.11 *natura subolem nouam gignit*, 4.31.5 *subolem eius* (sc. *Scauri*). It is found five times in Vergil (*Aen.* 4.327-8 *saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset / ante fugam suboles*, *Ecl.* 4.49 *cara deum suboles, magnum Iouis incrementum*, three times in *Geo.*), only once in Ovid (*Met.* 1.251); in Neo-Latin tragedy, e.g. Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 616.

sanguinis: 'family, race' (*OLD* s.v. 9), cf. *H.F.* 309 *o socia nostri sanguinis*, *Phae.* 907-8 *redit ad auctores genus / stirpemque primam degener sanguis refert*, *Oed.* 203 *clarus sanguine ac factis Creo*, 837 *uel paenitendi sanguinis quaeram fidem*, Ov. *Met.* 12.558 *Nelei sanguinis auctor*, *Fast.* 2.621 *post ... tot amissos quidquid de sanguine restat adspicere.*

inclita: see on 236 *inclitas*. "Für das von P gebotene (und von Heinsius 153 geforderte) *inclita* spricht die ausgewogenere Zuordnung von Attribut und Nomen, das anaphorische *nimium ... nimiumque*, das beide Male den gleichen Kasus erwarten läßt, ferner *Med.* 511 (*prolem inclitam*), *Ag.* 310 (*pubes inclita*)", Zwierlein (1986) 95. The E reading *incliti* may be regarded as an 'Angleichungsfehler' (Carlsson).

464 patri similis: the traditional wish: cf. Catul. 61.214 (221) *sit suo similis patri*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.23 *laudantur simili prole puerperae* (after Hes. *Op.* 235 'and their wives bear children resembling their fathers'); also of moral resemblance, Ov. *Tr.* 4.5.31-2 *sic iuuenis similisque tibi sit natus, et illum / moribus agnoscat quilibet esse tuum*, *Pont.* 2.8.31 *perque tibi similem uirtutis imagine natum, / moribus adgnosci qui tuus esse potest.*

hos uultus: as Farnabius already notes, Andromache's comparison resembles her words to Ascanius, Verg. *Aen.* 3.489-90 *o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago. / sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat.* As a second model, Jakobi properly mentions Ov. *Fast.* 2.771-4 *sic sedit, sic culta fuit, sic stamina neuit, / neglectae collo sic iacuere comae, / hos habuit uultus, haec illi uerba fuerunt, / hic decor, haec facies, hic color oris erat*; cf. also *H.F.* 1016-7 *gnatus hic uultus tuos / habitusque reddit*, *Phae.*

646-7 *Hippolyte, sic est: Thesei uultus amo / illos priores, quos tulit quondam puer*, and 654-5 *tuaeue Phoebes uultus aut Phoebi mei / tuusque potius*. The theme returns in Racine, *Andromaque* II.5.652-4:

> C'est Hector, disait-elle, en l'embrassant toujours;
> voilà ses yeux, sa bouche, et déjà son audace;
> c'est lui-même, c'est toi, cher époux, que j'embrasse.

465 talis ... / ... talis: for the *redditio/inclusio* see on 95 *placet ... placet*, and cf. *H.F.* 638-9 *differ amplexus, parens, / coniunxque differ*, 1230 *date huc sagittas, stipitem huc uastum date*, *Oed.* 980 *fatis agimur: cedite fatis*, *Ag.* 526 *uehit ista Danaos classis? et Troas uehit!*, *Med.* 984 *rediere regna, rapta uirginitas redit*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.192-3 *socer arma Latinus habeto, / imperium sollemne socer.*

incessu: 'manner of walking, gait', cf. *H.F.* 330 *et qualis animo est talis incessu uenit*, *Thy.* 421 *pigro (quid hoc est?) genitor incessu stupet*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.405 *uera incessu patuit dea*, Stat. *Ach.* 331 *incessum motumque docet* (sc. Thetis, instructing Achilles how to behave like a girl) *fandique pudorem*; a similar combination with *habitus* is found at Stat. *Theb.* 10.678 *gressumque habitumque*, 'her movement and appearance', sc. of the goddess *Virtus* (R.D. Williams). For the rare use of the abl. limit. with *talis*, cf. *H.F.* 330 (quoted above) and Ov. *Met.* 8.322 *talis erat cultu* (van Dam, p. 419).

466 habitu: 'air, aspect, personal appearance, σχῆμα, ... the combined result of figure, gesture, clothing and, especially, mode of wearing the hair', Henry, *Aeneidea*, vol. I, 1873, 599 ff. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.315 *uirginis os habitumque gerens*. For the combination with *uultus* (*os*), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 1016-7, quoted on 464 *hos uultus*, *Ep.* 52.12 *inprobum risus, insanum uultus habitusque demonstrat*, *H.O.* 250-1 *nec unus habitus durat aut uno furit / contenta uultu*, *Oct.* 705-6 *incessit habitu atque ore laetitiam gerens / princeps superbo*, Hor. *Sat.* 2.4.92 *uoltum habitumque hominis*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.230 *insignes uultuque habituque uerendo*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.14 *uultuque habituque moris antiqui*, 1.17 *nihil in uultu habituque mutatum*, 2.52, *Ann.* 16.22, 16.32.

sic: for the variation with *talis*, cf. *Phae.* 655-6 *talis, en talis fuit / cum placuit hosti, sic tulit celsum caput*; for the anaphora, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.490 and Ov. *Fast.* 2.771-2, quoted on 464.

tulit ... manus: cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 3.490 cited on 464 *hos uultus*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.339-40 (Thetis teaching Achilles) *sic ergo gradum, sic ora manusque, / nate, feres* (*OLD* s.v. *fero* 13b).

fortes: Nijland (1946) 100 f., comparing these lines to Hecuba's "more delicate" complaint over Astyanax' corpse 'o hands, how sweet the likeness to your sire / ye keep!' (Eur. *Tro.* 1178-9, tr. Way), scorns Seneca for having added the adj. *fortes* to the hands of a child; she seems to have overlooked that Andromache applies the epithet to Hector's hands.

She also comments on Vondel's translation, *Amsteld. Hec.* 669-72:

mijn Hector was voor dezen
dusdanig van gelaat, van opzicht en van wezen:
dusdanig ook van tred: zijn handen sterk en fier
zijne hoge schouderen. 't Hadde alles zulk een zwier.

"Er kan aandoenlijke herinnering zijn in gelijkenis van handen naar vorm en beweging. In Vondels bijgevoegd 'fiere' kan iets bedoeld zijn van *tulit*: zo was de houding dier handen; 't geheel nog eens samengevat in een echt Vondeliaans «'t hadde alles zulk een zwier»" In my view, the adj. 'fier' has not been added to represent *tulit*, but as a translation of *celsus*, modifying 'zijne hoge schouderen' (*umeros*).

manus: cf. Hom. *Od.* 4.149-50 on the resemblance of Odysseus and Telemachus: 'such were his feet, such his hands, / the quick glances of his eyes, his head, and the hair above'.

467 fronte: 'a person's brow as the mirror of his feelings, expression, countenance, etc.' (*OLD* s.v. *frons* 2), cf. *Phae.* 432-3 *nutrix, turbidam frontem gerens / et maesta uultu*, 453 *laetitia iuuenem, frons decet tristis senem*, *Oed.* 7 *quantum malorum fronte quam blanda tegis!*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.238 (*sedet in mediis*) *haud laeta fronte Latinus*. For the combination with *minax*, cf. *Med.* 751 (of Hecate) *fronte non una minax*, *Oed.* 919-21 *Libycus ... leo, / fuluam minaci fronte concutiens iubam; / uultus furore toruus*.

torua: '(of facial expressions, etc.) fierce, stern, grim' (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. below 1000 *uultu toruo*, *H.F.* 722-3 (of Dis) *dira maiestas deo, / frons torua*, *Phae.* 798 *quam grata est facies torua uiriliter*, *Dial.* 3.1.3 (*furentium certa indicia*) *audax et minax uultus, tristis frons, torua facies*, 4.35.3 *toruos uultus*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.635-6 (of Polyphemus) *lumen ... / ingens quod torua solum sub fronte latebat*, 7.415-6 *Allecto toruam faciem ... / exuit*, *Eleg. Maec.* 116 (of deer) *si quorum in torua cornua fronte rigent*, Petr. 126.18 *nunc erat a torua submittere cornua fronte*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.6.73 *attendit toruo tristis Rhamnusia uultu*, *Theb.* 1.186 *torua sub fronte* (followed by 188 *quas gerit ore minas*). A. Burger, 'Deux adjectifs latins en *-uos*', *R.É.L.* 8 (1930) 222 ff. relates the word (esp. in: *oculis toruis tueri* or *toruum tueri*) to *torquere*; next come *torua leaena* (Verg. *Ecl.* 2.63), *taurus toruus* (Ov. *Tr.* 4.9.29-30), where one also has to think of the facial expression. However, M. Leumann, *Glotta* 21 (1933) 198, doubts this in view of *tonitru toruo* (Accius), *torua proelia* (Catullus).

468 fusam: 'to let go, loose, or slack; to let down (the hair)' (*OLD* 10a); cf. e.g. Tib. 2.5.66 (*uates*) *iactauit fusas et caput ante comas*.

iacta: 'tossed' (*OLD* s.v. 2), 'thrown proudly back' (Kingery); the verb is thus used of the Maenads, e.g. Catul. 63.23 *capita Maenades ui iaciunt*, Ov. *Met.* 3.725-6 *ululauit Agaue / collaque iactauit mouitque per aera crinem*, 11.6 *leues iactato crine per auras*, Tac. *Ann.* 11.31 *iacere*

caput, cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 864-5. Other occurrences in Sen. trag.: *Phae.* 394 (Phaedra of herself, right before the comparison to an Amazon) *sic temere iactae colla perfundant comae*, *Ag.* 13-4 (of Cerberus) *custodem Stygis / trigemina nigris colla iactantem iubis*, *H.F.* 948-9 (*leo*) *rutilam iubam / ceruice iactans.*

469 o ... o: for the repetition (preserved by E, some younger MSS read *at*), cf. for example Andromache's emotional address below 766-8, *Med.* 985-6 *o placida tandem numina, o festum diem, / o nuptialem!*, *Phae.* 634 *o spes amantum credula, o fallax Amor!*, 718, 1164, *Oed.* 75, Enn. *scen.* 87 J (92 V^2) *o pater o patria o Priami domus!*, Ter. *Ad.* 790 *o caelum o terra o maria Neptuni*, Soph. *Ant.* 891-2 'o tomb, o bridechamber, o deep-dug / dwelling, everlasting'.

nate: participle, cf. 343 *ex Achille nate.*

sero: cf. *H.F.* 622 *o nate, certa at sera Thebarum salus.*

cito: 'too soon', analogous to *sero* (not specified in *OLD*); Andromache repeats her complaint of 418-25. Note the chiasmus.

470 felix: 'bringing good luck, lucky, auspicious' (*OLD* 2). For its use with *dies*, cf. e.g. Ter. *An.* 956 *o faustum et felicem diem*, Verg. *Geo.* 1.276-7 *dies .../ felices operum*, *Ciris* 27 *felix illa dies*, [Tib.] 3.3.26 *o mihi felicem terque quaterque diem.*

471 Troici ... soli: cf. *Phae.* 400 *Atticum ... solum*, 1004 *patrium solum*, *Oed.* 279 *Phocidos ... solum*, *Phoen.* 341 *natalis soli*, *Thy.* 406 *soli natalis* [*OLD* s.v. *solum* 5 '(esp. in poet. or rhetorical use, w. descriptive adjectives, etc.) the soil belonging to a particular race, state, etc. (i.e. = territory)']. As Töchterle notes on *Oed.* 267, the subst. can have a clear emotional colouring "(wie unser 'Boden')", e.g. Cic. *Catil.* 4.16 *commune patriae solum*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.547 *solo Laurente sepulcrum*, below 601 (in the context of burial).

defensor: the noun is found five times in Senecan prose (*Ben.* 3.33.3, *Dial.* 3.12.5, 5.3.1, 5.30.5, 7.1.5), in Sen. trag. only here; Vergil also uses it only once, *Aen.* 2.521-2 *non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis / tempus eget.* It occurs already at Ter. *An.* 813, *Eu.* 770.

uindex: either 'defender, champion' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. *H.F.* 255 *gnatos paterni cadere regni uindices*, *Ben.* 1.13.3 *Hercules ... malorum hostis, bonorum uindex*, 3.15.3 *hos incorruptos uiros et uindices ueritatis existimas?*, or 'avenger' (*OLD* 3), as at *Med.* 173 *uindex sequetur*, 532 *uindices flammas.*

472 recidiua: Gronovius had already accepted the A reading with a reference to Verg. *Aen.* 4.344 *et recidiua manu posuissem Pergama uictis*, 10.58 *dum Latium Teucri recidiuaque Pergama quaerunt* (R *rediuiuaque*); Carlsson, (1929) 3 f., sided with him, referring also to *Aen.* 7.322 *funestaeque iterum recidiua in Pergama taedae*, and to Sil. 1.106 (of the Romans) *gens recidiua Phrygum* (FGV *rediuina*, F^2O *rediuiua*). Gronovius explained the word properly as "idem quod renatum et a casu resurgens", for the derivation quoting Servius' note on *Aen.* 10.58 *tractus sermo est*

ab arboribus quae taleis sectis repullulant, Mela 3.47 *subinde recidiuis seminibus segetem nouantibus*, and Juv. 6.363-4 *recidiuus pullulet arca / nummus* (but the MSS have *rediuiuus*). Objecting to a derivation from *recīdo* (Tert. *de Pud.* 16 *siluam libidinum caedat et eradicet et excaudicet, ne quicquam de recidiuo fruticare permittat*), he referred to expressions like *matre (tellure) cadere* (cf. *OLD* s.v. *cado* 4c 'to be born'). A large part of his extensive note is devoted to the use of the word by Christian writers, like Tert. *adu. Marc.* 4.25 *exsuscitatus ad spem aeternae uitae per exempla recidiuae* (Gronovius: *recidiua = restituta mortuis*), and Dracontius' *uita grauis hominum subducitur impete mortis, / quae recidiua magis uiuaci corde resurgit.*

For the word *rediuiuus* ('re-used, second-hand', *OLD*), found in E, he refers to Vitr. 7.1 *rudus si nouum erit, ad tres partes una calcis misceatur; si rediuiuum fuerit, quinque ad duum mixtiones habeant responsum*, Cic. *Ver.* 1.147 *utrum existimatis minus operis esse unam columnam efficere ab integro nouam nullo lapide rediuiuo, an quattuor illas reponere?*, and 1.148 *rediuiua sibi habeto. quasi quidquam rediuiui ex opere illo tolleretur, ac non totum opus ex rediuiuis constitueretur.* The word is defined by Fest. p. 273 M (Lindsay 334.25): *rediuiuum est ex uetustu renouatum.* In Christian poetry, denoting 'living again', it is found in Prud. *Cath.* 3.204-5 *dux parili rediuiuus humo / ignea Christus ad astra uocat.*

Fantham properly compares Andromache's wish to Hecuba's words, Eur. *Tro.* 702-5 (transl. Way):

> And this my son's son shalt thou rear to man,
> To Troy a mighty aid, that children born
> Of thee hereafter may in days to come
> Build her, and yet again our city rise.

sparsos: 'to separate and drive in all directions, scatter, disperse' (*OLD* 5). The combination with *fuga* is also found in prose, e.g. Liv. 6.13.4 *postquam ... fuga ... per agros spargi aciem hostium animaduersum est*, 22.7.2 *decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diuersis itineribus urbem petiere*, V. Fl. 4.315 *Bebrycas extemplo spargit fuga.*

474 sed: for the sudden shift in emotion, cf. *H.F.* 295-6 (Megara) *magna sed nimium loquor / ignara nostrae sortis* (Fitch: "typical of Sen.'s characters, women in particular"), *Med.* 137-8 (Medea) *quid tamen Iason potuit, alieni arbitri / iurisque factus?*

memor: the E reading must be right in view of *timeo* (Delrius).

475 magna: Fitch notes the similarity of language to *H.F.* 295 (see on 474).

476 uiuamus: in the same emphatic metrical position, also preceded by a sense-pause and followed by an even stronger one, found at *H.F.* 1316-7 *eat ad labores hic quoque Herculeos labor: / uiuamus.* A similar effect with the same verb (but in a different context) is found at *Med.* 20 *uiuat.*

In this play, comparable effective sense-pause are found at 888-9 *hoc derat unum Phrygibus euersis malum, / gaudere*, 936-7 *unum hoc deme nostris cladibus, / falli*. In other plays, *Med.* 25-6 (Medea) *parta iam, parta ultio est: / peperi*, 881-2 (Cho.) *qua fraude capti?* (Nunt.) *qua solent reges capi: / donis*, *Phoen.* 491-2 *id gerere bellum cupitis, in quo est optimum / uinci*, 645-6 *ne metue. poenas et quidem soluet graues: / regnabit*. Gronovius compares Ter. *Haut.* 981 *modo liceat uiuere, est spes*, Boyle *H.F.* 1317 and *Phae.* 880 *quod uiuo*.

heu me: again below 681, *Phae.* 898, 997, 1173, without *me* at *Med.* 649, *Phae.* 847, *Ag.* 589. The interjection is extremely rare in prose, but abounds in poetry, esp. Val. Flaccus 36x and Statius 67x (van Dam, p. 87).

quis locus: again below 498, 562; see on 167 *quis deus*.

fidus: '(of things) that may be used with confidence, reliable, safe' (*OLD* s.v. 4b). For the transferred use of the adjective, cf. e.g. *Med.* 301-2 *freta ... perfida*, *Phae.* 569 *amica ... uada*, *Ag.* 558 *unda ... mendax*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.399-400 *litora ... fida*.

477 sede: 'dwelling-place' in general, cf. e.g. below 814, 1104, but often 'resting-place' of the dead (*OLD* s.v. 6): cf. below 509, 641, 971, *Phae.* 1228 (Phaedra) *quae poena memet maneat et sedes, scio*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.152 *sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulcro*.

occulam: as already noted on 366, in Accius' *Astyanax* the boy probably was hidden in the forests of Mt. Ida. To the best of our knowledge, the choice of Hector's grave is Seneca's own invention (see also below on 483 *est*).

478 pollens opibus: cf. 7 *pollentis*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.14 (of Carthago) *diues opum*.

deum: see on 7 *caelitum*; for the form, cf. 351 *deum* and 32 *liberum*.

479 clara: '(of things) illustrious, famous' (*OLD* 8); cf. Catul. 46.6 *claras Asiae ... urbes*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.74 *clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen*.

inuidiae grauis: Zwierlein (1986) 95: "(«dem Neid ein Dorn im Auge», Axelson) wurde vielleicht als Gen. qual. mißverstanden, der durch *inu. capax* (A) verdeutlicht werden sollte"; cf. *H.F.* 524 *o Fortuna uiris inuida fortibus* (and the comparable Chorus' opening *Ag.* 57 *o regnorum magnis fallax Fortuna bonis*), Apul. *Met.* 4.14 *nec ille tam clarus tamque splendidus publicae uoluptatis apparatus Inuidiae noxios effugit oculos*.

480 puluis altus: cf. Verg. *Geo.* 4.96 *puluere ab alto*.

strata: 'knocked down' (*OLD* s.v. *sterno* 6); cf. e.g. below 889 *flagrant strata passim Pergama*, *H.O.* 125-7 *iam gelidus Dolops / hac ducet pecudes qua tepet obrutus / stratae qui superest Oechaliae cinis*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.305-6 (*ueluti cum*) *rapidus montano flumine torrens / sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores*.

omnia: cf. Enn. *scen.* 92 J (97 V^2) *haec omnia uidi inflammari*.

481 uasta: Fantham takes it as 'derelict', comparing *H.F.* 365-6 *uastis ager / squalebit aruis*, and *uastitas*, Acc. *Sc.* 175 R (270 D) *uastitates funerum*, Sen. *Cl.* 1.16 (correct: 1.6.1) *quanta solitudo et* [*ac*] *uastitas futura sit*, *H.F.* 701 *sterilis profundi uastitas squalet soli*, *Nat.* 1.9 *harenarum inculta uastitas iaceat*; Boyle sides with her, translating 'wasted'. According to *OLD* s.v. 1c, 'desolate as a result of destruction, laid waste', this meaning is already found, for instance, at Pl. *Bac.* 1053 *fit uasta Troia, scindunt proceres Pergamum*, Acc. *trag.* 668 (104 D) *hanc urbem ferro uastam faciet Peleus.*

More prevailing here, I think, is the often found (see on 114) meaning 'huge' (*OLD* s.v. 3b), contrasting with the following *ne tantum quidem*. This is also the view of e.g. Caviglia ('della grande città'), Thomann ('von der weiten Stadt'), Watling ('of the whole vast city'); cf. also Hillen, p. 70, n. 211.

ne ... quidem: "eine prosaische, erst in Ciceros Zeit richtig ausgebildete Formel der negierenden Hervorhebung einzelner Wörter" [H-Sz 447; cf. Axelson (1945) 92, K-S 2.54]. Sen. trag. uses it again at *Phoen.* 479 *ne matri quidem* (also at the end of the line). It is already found in Old Latin (e.g. Pl. *Most.* 1008 *ne istuc quidem*, Ter. *Ph.* 412 *ne hoc quidem*). Other occurrences in poetry seem to be confined to Verg. *Geo.* 1.126, 1.390, 3.561, Ov. *Ep.* 4.121, 10.143, Luc. 10.67, Sil. 12.23.

Mynors' note on *Geo.* 1.126 is worth quoting: "V. begins a line three times with *ne ... quidem*, unaware that modern latinists would decide that it is prosaic."

482 legam: 'choose' (*OLD* s.v. 6), cf. 57 *legens*, 497 *legat.*

fraudi: 'fraud, deception, stratagem' (*OLD* 5), a synonym of *dolus* (492), cf. e.g. below 613, *Ag.* 631-2. See ter Beek, pp. 138-168, noting the equivalence of the two nouns also in Christian and juridical literature.

483 est: the traditional opening of a descriptive passage (ἔκφρασις), cf. e.g. below 1068 *est una ... turris* (see also the note there), *H.F.* 709 *est in recessu Tartari obscurus locus*, *Thy.* 225 *est Pelopis altis nobile in stabulis pecus*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.159 *est in secessu longo locus*, 2.21, 8.597, Ov. *Met.* 1.168. As Austin notes on *Aen.* 1.12, the manner goes back to Homer (e.g. *Il.* 6.152 'there is a city, Ephyre'), and may be traced through Greek Tragedy (e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 447) and New Comedy (e.g. Menander, *Coneaz.* fr. 10 K) to Hellenistic Epic, and thence to Roman Epic and Roman Comedy (e.g. Ter. *Ad.* 576). For an instance in historical prose, see Sall. *Cat.* 55.3 *est in carcere locus.*

Usually such a *descriptio loci* refers to something far away (cf. Mesk's criticism in the note on 498-502), and as a rule the principal noun is resumed by a demonstrative pronoun (below 1071 *turre in hac*) or adverb (*hic, huc, hinc*); however, Seneca here will go on with *optume credam patri* (486). Therefore, Zwierlein (1966) 173, n. 12 prefers to take *est tumulus* = *superest tumulus*, for the repetition of the compound (481) by the simple verb referring to Ed. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen*

Philologie, Rome 1964, 1.441 f.; he is followed by Fantham. In my view, Seneca uses the device to illustrate that the thought of the tomb as a hiding-place does come from afar.

It is generally assumed, that the choice of Hector's tomb as a hiding place is Seneca's own. In support of this supposition, Werner (p. 25) states: "nam foedissima quaeque ei quam maxime erant in deliciis". Regenbogen (1961) 432 feels that it is the major Senecan innovation in this scene and a clear illustration of his independence from the Greek tragedians.

sacer: cf. below 509 *sanctas parentis conditi sedes*, 641 *sedibus sacris*.

484 mole ... immensa: Hillen, p. 35 compares Verg. *Aen.* 6.232-3 *at pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum / imponit suaque arma uiro*. The noun *moles* has a variety of meanings, like 'a massive structure or building' (*OLD* s.v. 3, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.421 *miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam*, 2.185 *immensam ... molem* of the Horse, Sen. *Phoen.* 566-7 *poteris has Amphionis / quassare moles? nulla quas struxit manus*), 'vast size, bulk, hugeness' (*OLD* 4, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 3.656-7 *ipsum inter pecudes uasta se mole mouentem / pastorem Polyphemum*), 'effort, exertion' (*OLD* 8, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.33 *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*, Sen. *Oed.* 829 *magnum esse magna mole quod petitur scias*). The substantive and adjective are also combined at *H.F.* 71 *nec flexit umeros molis immensae labor*. Hillen calls *mole immensa* a 'resultative Ablativ', used besides the 'effizierten Akkusativ' *quem*; for the construction with a relative clause he compares Sil. 8.131-2 *euasit propere in celsam, quam struxerat ante / magna mole, pyram*.

485 in luctus suos / ... non auarus: Hom. *Il.* 24.229 ff. lists the gifts that Priam took along to ransom Hector's body; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.484 *exanimumque auro corpus uendebat Achilles*.

486 optume: for the orthography, see on 76 *decumas*.

credam: 'to consign to the custody or protection of, commit, entrust' (*OLD* s.v. 1); cf. e.g. Pl. *Aul.* 15 *qui mi id aurum credidit*; in 521 she styles Astyanax *depositum meum*.

patri: there is an obvious reason why she does not use the expected *huic* (sc. *tumulo*): she expects Hector to take some action (cf. 500-2, 805).

487 sudor ... frigidus: cf. Verg. *Geo.* 3.500-1 (the symptoms of the plague in horses) *demissae aures, incertus ibidem / sudor et ille quidem morituris frigidus*, Ov. *Met.* 5.632-3 *occupat obsessos sudor mihi frigidus artus / caeruleaeque cadunt toto de corpore guttae* (Kapnukajas, p. 76; Jakobi, p. 30), Sen. *Oed.* 922-3 *gelidus uolat / sudor per artus*, Apul. *Met.* 10.10 *per ... uniuersa membra frigidus sudor emanabat*. For similar expressions, see on 168.

totos: for this use of intensifying *totus*, cf. *Med.* 353 *totos horruit artus*.

488 omen tremesco: "sic Nero in ultimo metu, hortante Phaonte, ut interea in specum congesta arena concederet, negavit *se vivum sub terram iturum*, Suetonius cap. 48" (Gronovius). For presentiments of evil in general in Sen. trag., cf. *H.F.* 1147-8 *nescioquid mihi, / nescioquid animus grande praesagit malum* (with Fitch's note), *Phoen.* 278-9 *magna praesagit mala / paternus animus*, *Thy.* 957-8 *mittit luctus signa futuri / mens ante sui praesaga mali.* For the trans. use of the verb, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 418 *thalamos tremesco*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.648 *sonitumque pedum uocemque tremesco*, 11.403 *nunc et Myrmidonum proceres Phrygia arma tremescunt* (it is not found before Vergil). As Philp, *CQ* 18 (1968) 166 notes, the line (like *Oed.* 69) is absent from A, but found in Trevet's commentary.

489-523 *The old man assures Andromache that this is the best solution; when Astyanax reluctantly has entered the tomb, she is about to follow the old man's advice to leave the spot when Ulysses arrives.*

Leo (1878) 217 f. was the first to criticize the transition 488 - 489: the words of the old man "non, ut iure expectamus, de loco male ominato dicta sunt, sed in universum de occulendo puero, qui quin removendus sit non dubitat mater, dubitat quo removeat." His remedy (488 - 97 - 96 - 92 - 93 - 89 - 90 - 91 - 94 - 95) was upheld by Zwierlein (1966) 167-174, (1979) 174 f., (1986) 95 f., and is now found in the *OCT*; this view was also shared by Schetter.

G. Richter, *De corruptis quibusdam Senecae tragoediarum locis*, Jena 1894, 6 f. worked up Leo's transposition in two respects: he placed 491 after 495, and gave the whole line 492 to the *senex.*

Müller (1901) 262 f. proposed the order 488 - 92 - 93 - 89 - 90 - 91 - 94 ff.; it was taken over by Fantham.

Hoffa (1914) 473, supposing a lacuna after 488, only transposed 493 before 489: "denn nur so findet *haec causa* eine richtige Beziehung. Alles Übrige schließt sich dann aber in der überlieferten Reihenfolge verständlich an".

Friedrich (1933) 113 ff. also criticised the transition 488 - 489, and suggested that the lacking of line 488 somehow had to do with it (p. 119, n.1); he was also in favour of transposing 493 before 489, but thought that the same effect could be reached by placing 489/90 after 493: 488 - 91 - 92 - 93 - 89 - 90.

The transmitted order of the lines has been defended by several scholars: Steidle (1941) 266-272, J. Mesk, 'Zu Senecas Troerinnen', *WS* 60 (1942) 93-97, Anliker, p. 117 f., n. 195, A. Graglia, 'Sui vv. 489-497 e 886-887 delle «Troadi» di Seneca', *Rendiconti dell' Instituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche*, 100 (1966) 149-156, and Seidensticker, p. 79, n. 43. It was also followed in the editions of Herrmann, Moricca, Viansino, Giardina, Caviglia, Boyle, and Chaumartin.

A survey of these views is given by M. Palma, 'Sen. *Troades* 489-497', *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Mediaevale*, 13 (1971) 62-69. Like Seidensticker, he emphasizes Andromacha's agitation, which does not call for a logic train of thoughts; he therefore keeps the transmitted order, attributing 490b-492a to Andromacha. This view is also shared by Hiltbrunner (1985) 1013.

I prefer Leo's (= Zwierlein's) rearrangement, to which new support has been given by Ciro Monteleone, *La pagina e la sapienza: memoria sulle 'antilabai' nei manoscritti senechiani* (Biblioteca della Ricerca: Mentalità e Scrittura, 1), Schena 1989 [cf. C.D.N. Costa, *CR* 40 (1990) 491 f.]. In this order of lines the *senex*, who thus far has only asked simple questions inviting Andromache to speak out what is on her mind, now as a real 'senior adviser' step by step answers her successive objections and questions concerning the grave as a hiding-place:

1. In her miserable situation she has no real choice.
2. Her fear of betrayal is removed by his advice to send away the onlookers.
3. If the enemy comes to search him, she must answer that he has perished.
4. Her objection that it will not be a lasting solution, is met by his reassurance that the victor's impulses are fierce in the beginning.

497 miser ... legat: the *senex* seizes the opportunity of a comforting *sententia*, based on Andromacha's *legam* (482) and *misera* (488).

occupet: 'to be first with (an action), do or secure (something) before other people or before one is prevented' (*OLD* s.v. 12), cf. e.g. *Phoen.* 416 *scelus in propinquo est: occupa, mater, preces.*

securus: 'free from fears or anxieties' (*OLD* s.v. 1).

For the asyndetic structure of the line, containing symmetrically opposed statements, cf. *Med.* 159 *Fortuna fortes metuit, ignauos premit*, *Phae.* 607 *curae leues locuntur, ingentes stupent*, *Ag.* 934 *fidem secunda poscunt, aduersa exigunt.*

496 quid quod: an old rhetorical transition-formula [K-S 2.277], occurring twice in Sen. trag. (see *Ag.* 265 with Tarrant's note); in his prose e.g. *Dial.* 3.13.5, 5.28.4. Some occurrences in other authors: Pl. *Curc.* 458, Pac. *Trag.* 143, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.46, Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.23 (Nisbet-Hubbard: "too prosaic as a rule for the highest poetry"), Ov. *Met.* 5.528, 13.296, *Am.* 1.14.5.

sine metu magno: Fantham and Boyle think that the words refer to Astyanax; so already Hoffa, p. 473 f.: " ... das Kind wird sich nicht ruhig verstecken lassen, sondern sich vor dem Grabhügel fürchten"). With Zwierlein, I believe they rather regard Andromache herself. Ahl's translation combines both views: 'How can he hide without being afraid, / without my being afraid?'

492 ne ... aliquis: on the increasing use by later authors of *aliquis* after *ne* instead of *quis*, see H-Sz 195.

testes: 'one who is present as observer of an event, etc., a witness' (*OLD* 5). I take it as a hint for Andromache to send away the women of the Chorus.

493 quaeret: both 'inquire' (*OLD* 8; Miller) and 'seek' (*OLD* 1).

perit: perf., cf. 50 *redit.*

489 haec: for this announcing use of the pron. demonstr., cf. *H.F.* 832-3 *derat hoc solum numero laborum, / tertiae regem spoliare sortis*, *Phoen.* 514-5 *hoc quoque ex illis habes, / errasse thalamis*, 527-8 *hoc quoque est magnum nefas, / tam prope fuisse*, *Oed.* 82-3 *regium hoc ipsum reor: / aduersa capere*, *Med.* 222.

multos: likewise in a *sententia* below 887, *Oed.* 992 *multis ipsum metuisse nocet*, *H.O.* 900; cf. the use of *saepe* (329), *solere* (515, 581), *semper* (1013). Just as Agamemnon with his *sententiae* had tried to check Pyrrhus, the old man tries to calm down Andromache.

multos una: for such play on numbers cf. e.g. *H.F.* 557 *uno tot populi remige transeunt*, *Med.* 354 *totiens uno latrante malo*, *Phae.* 665 *domus sorores una corripuit duas*, *Ag.* 623-4 *restitit annis / Troia bis quinis unius noctis peritura furto* (with Tarrant's note), 646, 838. See Fitch on *H.F.* 487 and 500.

arcuit: 'rescue, protect (from)' (*OLD* s.v. 4). For the use of *ab*, cf. Tac. *Ag.* 4.3 *arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium*. Sen. trag. uses the simple abl. with *arcere* at *Phoen.* 322, *Med.* 188, *Thy.* 748.

490 credi perisse: for the thought, cf. *Ep.* 78.6 *multorum mortem distulit morbus et saluti illis fuit uideri perire*. The first occurrence of a passive form of *credere* combined with a Nom. c. Inf. is at Lucr. 4.388 (*qua uehimur naui, fertur, cum stare uidetur;*) *quae manet in statione, ea praeter creditur ire*. It is also found in prose, e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 15.2 (*Catilina*) *pro certo creditur necato filio uacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse*, Liv. 22.51.4 *mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio* [K-S 1.705].

est super: for the inversion, cf. below 960, 1068, *Phae.* 1254, *Oed.* 664, and below 507 *simus super* [see Lausberg § 462.3a, with the terms *anastrophe* (Isid. 1.37.16), and *inuersio* (Quint. 1.5.40) for this *transmutatio*]. Elsewhere the elements of the word occur separated: e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 149 Sk (= 158 V^2) *inde sibi memorat unum super esse laborem* (Gellius 1.22.14 adds to his quotation of the line: "... *diuise pronuntiandum est*"), Pl. *Curc.* 85 *si quid super illi fuerit*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.567 *super unus eram*, *Ecl.* 6.6 *super tibi erunt.*

491 graue pondus: apposition to *magna nobilitas*. For a similar use of the noun, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 1290-1 *si fortibus / leve pondus umeris moenia immissa incident*. Gronovius compares Cic. *Fam.* 2.16 *accedit etiam molesta haec pompa lictorum meorum, nomenque imperii, quo appellor. eo si onere carerem, quamuis paruis Italiae latebris contentus essem*, Sen. *Ben.* 2.27 *paupertatem sub onere nobilitatis laborantem*, Quint. *Decl.* 259 *facilius*

est egestatem ferre in hac natis. me onerat maiorum meorum dignitas, onerat prioris consuetudo uitae, onerat etiam fama. From the other tragedies may be quoted *Ag.* 88-9 *sidunt ipso pondere magna / ceditque oneri fortuna suo.*

illum: the contrast to 489 *multos* is accentuated by the same position in the line. Werner compares Eur. *Tro.* 742-4 (Andromache; transl. Way)

Thy father's heroism ruineth thee
Which unto others was deliverance;
Ill-timed thy father's prowess was for thee.

494 redituro: 'if he is to fall again' (Kingery); "Bestimmtheit durch die vorliegende Situation", Westman, p. 182.

495 feroces impetus: cf. *Ag.* 127 *feroces impetus, Thy.* 136 *feros ... impetus* (on Seneca's use of *impetus*, see above on 250 *regere ... impetum*).

primos: for the idea, cf. in Senecan prose *Dial.* 4.29.1 *maximum remedium irae mora est. hoc ab illa pete initio, non ut ignoscat sed ut iudicet: graues habet impetus primos; desinet, si expectat,* 5.12.4 *maximum remedium irae dilatio est, ut primus eius feruor relanguescat* [...].

498-502 Now that her objections against Hector's tomb as a hiding-place have been cleared, Andromache again turns to her son, and repeats in an altered form her questions: *quis locus fidus meo / erit timori quaue te sede occulam?* (476-7), *quem locum fraudi legam?* (482) But since she has already concluded: *optume credam patri* (486), her tone is different. At 476 ff., it was a desperate question, since she realized: *superestque uasta ex urbe ne tantum quidem / quo lateat infans* (481-2). Now, it is a rhetorical question, with an immediate shift from 'which place?' to 'who?'. Because of this difference in tone, I see no reason to question the transmitted text; for a defence of it, see also Steidle pp. 267-269, Anliker p. 117 f., n. 195, Schetter pp. 248 ff., Amoroso p. 155.

Friedrich's interpretation that lines 498-502 are a doublet of 476 ff. was taken over by Mesk. However, he confines the doublet to 482b-486, noting especially the similarities *locum* (482) - *locus* (498), *fraudi* (482) - *furtum* (501), *optume credam patri* (486) - *serua et ... excipe* (502). He considers this passage (5 lines) a correction of the first one (4½ lines) because of the scenery: "Die Worte *est tumulus ingens* usw. erwecken doch die Vorstellung, als läge Hektors Grabmal irgendwo in der Ferne, jedenfalls nicht vom früheren Standort der Schauspieler höchstens durch die volle Bühnenlänge getrennt" (p. 96), but also thinks it an improvement because of its much greater pathos. In his view, the planned order of lines was 482 (not yet in its definitive form), 498-502, 487-497, 503 ff. With Anliker, I think his supposition that Seneca wrote the lines as a correction of 483-6 at the least questionable with a playwright like Seneca; his argument that 483 *tumulus* ... *uerendus hosti* cannot be missed because of 670 *busta transierat furor* seems less important to me.

498 quis ... locus: see on 167 *quis deus.*

locus ... regio: cf. *H.F.* 1138 *quis hic locus, quae regio, quae mundi plaga?*, *H.O.* 1797 *quis me locus, quae regio.* This association of *locus* and *regio* is already found in early Latin: Pl. *Rud.* 227 *haec loca atque hae regiones* (Marx' note *ad loc.* refers to the similar association of the comparable Greek nouns at Dion. Hal., *Demosth.* 53.244.3), *Pseud.* 595 *hi loci sunt atque hae regiones*, Lucil. 189 *loco ... ac regione*, Lucr. 2.534, 4.786 *regione locoque*. The device is also applied by Vergil, *Aen.* 6.670 *quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus?* On this association, see Heinz Haffter, *Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache*, Berlin 1934, 81 f.: "Die Anregung empfingen die Altlateiner aus dem Gesetzes- und Sakralstil: das Senatskonsult *de pago Montano* (Bruns[7] Nr. 44) enthält die Doppelung *in eis loceis regionibusue*, das bei Macrobius Sat. 3, 9, 10 gegebene Gebet neben anderen Synonymenpaaren auch *in his locis regionibusque*".

regio: for the scansion *regiŏ* (not indicated in *OLD*), see on 264 *uincendo*; it is found again below 558, *H.F.* 1138, *Oed.* 369, 772, *Thy.* 650. Cf. in other plays *caligŏ* (*Thy.* 994), *ratiŏ* (*Oed.* 696), *imagŏ* (*Ag.* 874).

seducta: '(of places) retired' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.902-3 *seductos ... recessus / gurgitis.*

499 reponet: on the hypallage, replacing *quo loco ... / tuto reponeris* or *repositus eris*, see Hillen p. 206.

500 etiamnunc: '(introducing repeated actions, usu. w. imp.) yet more or again' (*OLD* 1c), cf. *Ben.* 7.16.3 *fac etiamnunc*, *Ep.* 76.29 *oppone etiamnunc.*

501 furtum: 'stolen property' (*OLD* 4); cf. 706 *flebile matris furtum miserae* (note the change of *coniugis ... piae* to *matris ... miserae*), *Ag.* 931 *recipe hunc Oresten ac pium furtum occule*, *Oed.* 716 *furta ... Iouis* (of Europa). Sen. trag. uses the noun also for 'secret love' (*OLD* 2b, *Ag.* 674-5 *impia diri / furta mariti*; Fantham therefore styles the use here a paradox), and for 'stratagem, trick' (*OLD* 3b, e.g. *Ag.* 624 *Troia ... unius noctis peritura furto*). Here its use is in line with 482 *fraudi*, 492 *doli.*

piae: for the use of the adjective, softening the negative sound of *furtum*, cf. *Med.* 261 *piae sorores impium auderent nefas*, *Ag.* 931 quoted above, Ov. *Met.* 9.711 *pia ... fraude.*

502 fideli: resumes 500 *qui semper.*

uicturum: Westman p. 127 " ... formal an *furtum* angeglichen, gedanklich ... Maskulinum" compares for the use of the part. *Phae.* 1241-2 *recipe me aeterna domo / non exiturum.*

excipe: 'give shelter to' (*OLD* s.v. 7), cf. e.g. *Med.* 284 (Creon) *hos paterno ut genitor excipiam sinu.*

503 succede: 'move to a position below or in the shelter (of)' (*OLD* s.v. 1), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.123 *nostris succede Penatibus hospes*, 11.102-3 *corpora ... / redderet, ac tumulo sineret succedere terrae.*

quid retro fugis?: for this common type of question with adverbial *quid*, cf. e.g. above 41, 255, 409. Here a modern director might feel tempted to add a question-mark after *quid*, in order to make the dramatic effect of Andromache's words come out better. Beginning with a monosyllable, she proceeds with two dissyllables wording a question on his visible behaviour, then rounds off with three mainly longer words voicing a possible cause for it. For the use of *quid* as an exclamation "indicating surprise at someone's words or actions" (*OLD* s.v. *quis* 10), usually followed by a question, cf. e.g. Ter. *Hau.* 894 (Menedemus) *non.* (Chremes) *quid? non?*, Petr. 49.3.

504 turpesne: Leo (1878) 2, considering E's *turrisque* "inepte traditum", but also rejecting A's *turpesque*, "quod non minus inepte Andromacha dicit antequam cognovit cur fugiat filiolus latebras", approved of M's *tutasque*; he compared Luc. 5.743-4 *quorum tibi tuta latebra / Lesbos erit*, 8.13 *tutis fatum celare latebris*, Sil. 4.332 *tutas petit ... latebras*, 17.617 *inde petit retro montes tutasque latebras*. Aem. Baehrens, *Miscellanea critica*, Groningen 1878, 11 thought *turpisque* the original reading; it was also suggested by Richter (1894) 7 f., offering *turpisne* (*turpesne*) as an even more attractive alternative, that has found its way into the editions of e.g. Zwierlein and Boyle. Zwierlein for the frequent interchange of *-ne* and *-que* refers to Housman, *CQ* 1923, 166, for the orthography *-is/-es* to his *Prolegomena* (1984) 258 ff., and for the thought to below 710 *ne turpe puta*.

The A reading *turpesque* has been kept by e.g. Giardina, Fantham and Caviglia. Fantham rightly comments: "... *turpes* should be retained: the adjective represents the child's assumed viewpoint, that hiding (not this hiding place) is base and cowardly"; for her translation ('why do you ... disdain a safe hiding place?') she must have used Leo's text. Caviglia aptly compares Tac. *Ann.* 4.69 *tectum inter et laquearia tres senatores, haud minus turpi latebra quam detestanda fraude, sese abstrudunt.* Herrmann conjectured *toruusque*.

latebras: 'hiding-place'; for the use of the plural, cf. below 705.

spernis: there are seven more occurrences of the verb in Sen. trag., only four in his prose (*Ben.* 2.30.1, *Dial.* 3.8.1, 7.21.3, *Ep.* 104.34).

agnosco: see on 95; cf. also *Ag.* 923 *regium agnosco genus*, *H.F.* 624.

indolem: 'innate character, nature', cf. below 701, *Phoen.* 334-5 *agite, o propago clara, generosam indolem / probate factis.* With the meaning 'the rising hope (of a family)' (*OLD* 2b), it is found at *Phae.* 869, *Thy.* 492.

505 magnos: '(of the mind or spirits) bold, confident, good, high' (*OLD* s.v. 14).

fuga: Rutgers' correction has been generally accepted. Caviglia sides with Hoffa, who had defended *fuge* with a reference to Cic. *Att.* 12.18.1 *fugere recordationes*. Since *fugere* is also an expression of *timere*, *fuga* seems more likely after *agnosco ... timere* (cf. 712 *pone ex animo*); or is there a play on 503 *fugis*?

506 ueteres: "prioris fortunae" (Farnabius).

sume: cf. *Nat.* 6.1.10 *magnum sumamus animum aduersus istam cladem*, Pl. *Men.* 802 *melius sanam est, mulier, mentem sumere*, Caes. *Gal.* 1.33.5 *Ariouistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat* (*OLD* s.v. 13b). For the opposite, see below 744 *posuisset animos*, 1158 *deponit animos*.

507 en: '(used with imp., as an encouragement to action) come on! here!' (*OLD* 3), cf. *Phae.* 54 *ades en comiti, diua uirago*, 81 *en, diua, faue!*, 412 *en ades coeptis fauens*, 599, 945, 1273, *Oed.* 975 *parcite en patriae, precor*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.42 *en age segnis rumpe moras*.

turba: for this witty use of the word for a small number of people, cf. *Thy.* 979 *totumque turba iam sua implebo patrem*. Seneca was preceded in this respect by his father, *Con.* 9.5.6 *quae turba est unus puer et unus senex?*, and Ovid, *Met.* 1.355 (Deucalion and Pyrrha) *nos duo turba sumus*, 6.200 (Latona's two children) *Latonae turbam* [see Bömer *ad loc.*; Zwierlein (1986) 96]. A later instance is found in Stat. *Ach.* 1.910 *turba sumus* (Achilles referring to himself, Deidamia, and their son). Amoroso (1984) 155 f. compares Eur. *HF* 454-5, but there Megara uses the phrase 'pair of corpses' to denote Amphitryon ('old men'), her children, and herself ('mothers'.

simus super: for the inversion, see on 490.

508 tumulus, puer, captiua: for the triad in asyndeton, cf. below 574 *potest debet cupit*, 615 *maeret, illacrimat, gemit*, 630 *perge, festina, attrahe*, 653 *potero, perpetiar, feram*, 892 *pestis exitium lues*, 1056 *saeua miseranda horrida*.

cedendum est: as a wise decision of brave men, e.g. Caes. *Gal.* 7.89.2 *quoniam sit fortunae cedendum*; cf. also *Oed.* 980 *fatis agimur: cedite fatis*, *Oct.* 253 *cede fatis atque fortunae tuae*.

For the impersonal use of the verb, cf. Luc. 5.743 *cedendum*, Ov. *Tr.* 5.6.31 *ceditur*. For the combination with *malis*, cf. e.g. *Med.* 518 *cedo defessus malis*, *Ag.* 507 *ars cessit malis*, *Dial.* 1.2.6 *nec ulli malo cedit*, *H.O.* 1856 *cedite his cunctae malis*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.95 *tu ne cede malis*.

509 sanctas: 'holy, blessed', both of the dead (*OLD* 3c), cf. *Oed.* 66 *non ossa tumuli sancta discreti tegunt*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.158 *tu ... o sanctissima coniunx, felix morte tua*, and of parents (*OLD* 3d), e.g. Verg. *Geo.* 2.473 *sancti ... patres*.

age: 'come' (*OLD* s.v. *ago* 24), again at the end of the line and combined with another imperative below 963, 1000, *Phoen.* 641. As Frank notes on *Phoen.* 641-2 *age / dimitte*, "in all these instances, the second imperative gains weight, not only from the intensifying force of *age* (see Servius' comment below), but also because of its position in the verse. Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 2.707 (*age ... imponere*), explained the formula as follows: *'age' ... non est modo uerbum imperantis, sed hortantis aduerbium, adeo, ut plerumque 'age facite' dicamus et singularem numerum copulemus plurali.*"

Such imperatives are frequent in Comedy, but occur also in other poets, e.g. Lucr. 1.265 *nunc age ... accipe*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.32.3 *age, dic.*

510 subire: 'to make one's access into the interior of anything' (*OLD* s.v. 10); with acc., e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 3.83 *tecta subimus.*

fata si ... sepulcrum: for the parallelism of these lines, cf. *H.F.* 590-1 (the end of an ode) *quae uinci potuit regia carmine, / haec uinci poterit regia uiribus*, *Thy.* 613-4 *quem dies uidit ueniens superbum, / hunc dies uidit fugiens iacentem*, *Ep.* 10.5 *sic uiue cum hominibus tamquam deus uideat, sic loquere cum deo tamquam homines audiant.* Ovid again was the model: cf. *Met.* 1.325-6 *et superesse uirum de tot modo milibus unum / et superesse uidet de tot modo milibus unam*, 481-2 *saepe pater dixit: 'generum mihi, filia debes'. / saepe pater dixit: 'debes mihi, nata, nepotes'.* The mannerism is Hellenistic in origin, e.g. Theocr. 11.22-3 (transl. Gow) 'why, thus, when sweet sleep holds me, dost thou straight approach, and when sweet sleep leaves me, art gone forthwith?'

For such rehearsal of antithetical alternatives in Sen. trag., cf. *H.F.* 1243-5 *sana si mens est mihi, / referte manibus tela; si remanet furor, / pater recede: mortis inueniam* (Fitch: "characteristic of declamation"; cf. e.g. Sen. Rhet. *Contr.* 1.7.8 *si non tenuero causam, fame moriar; si tenuero, hoc tantum consequar, ne fame moriar*, 1.8.15), 1278 *si uiuo, feci scelera; si morior, tuli*, *Phoen.* 76 *si moreris, antecedo, si uiuis, sequor*, 455-7 *sancta si pietas placet, / donate matri bella; si placuit scelus, / maius paratum est: media se opponit parens*, *Med.* 194 *si iudicas, cognosce, si regnas, iube*, *Phae.* 1184-5 *morere, si casta es, uiro; / si incesta, amori*; cf. also *H.O.* 1027-9.

As an echo of Seneca's lines, Gronovius already quotes Hieron. *uita Malchi* 9: *illud nobiscum reputantes, si iuuat Dominus miseros, habemus salutem; si despicit peccatores, habemus sepulchrum*, and "Ad Principiam de Marcella, Roma a Gothis capta": *cumque & illam & te ad B. Apostoli Pauli Basilicam barbari deduxissent, ut vel salutem vobis ostenderent vel sepulchrum.* Both Watling and Boyle refer to Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy* III.xiii.12 ff., where the lines are quoted by Hieronimo in soliloquy, followed by four lines of paraphrase:

> If destiny thy miseries do ease,
> Then hast thou health, and happy shalt thou be;
> If destiny deny thee life, Hieronimo,
> Yet shalt thou be assured of a tomb.

For an instance in Neo-Latin, see Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 532-4 (Iudas) *siue testem quaeritis, / habete uerum: siue sontem quaeritis, / en confitentem.*

Such a parallelism is related to the *complexio*; cf. *OLD* s.v. 3b: Cic. *Inv.* 1.45 *complexio est in qua utrum concesseris reprehenditur ad hunc modum: 'si improbus est, cur uteris? si probus, cur accusas?'* [Lausberg at the end of § 393 cites the passage (with *improbus es*) with definitions of *dilemma*].

511 fata ... negant: an Ovidian formula, occurring e.g. at *Met.* 10.38, 10.634, 13.131-2.

512 claustra: either 'bolts, bars' (*OLD* s.v. 1), or 'a confining space' (*OLD* 2; cf. *Phae.* 1171 *Daedalea uasto claustra mugitu replens*). See also above 430.

tegunt: 'protect', simplex pro composito.

Fantham criticizes the following lines as "an awkward transition to the announcement of Ulysses' approach", but Amoroso p. 156 feels that "questa è una educazione alla tecnica compositiva teatrale palesemente verificabile in tutto il teatro latino, specialmente in Plauto, il quale componeva per scene."

514 diuersam: 'distant, remote' (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 12.621 *quisue ruit tantus diuersa clamor ab urbe.*

515 leuius ... timet: "a paradoxical *sententia* reversing the conventional wisdom", Boyle, referring to Verg. *Aen.* 8.556-7 *propiusque periclo / it timor* ('closer to danger comes fear'). For the placing of the contrasting words *leuius ... propius*, cf. e.g. below 697, 741. For *propius timet*, cf. Luc. 10.47 *propius timuere.*

516 referamus ... pedem: cf. e.g. *Ag.* 819 *rettulitque pedem*, Pl. *Epid.* 439 *incertus tuom caue ad me rettuleris pedem*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.794 *pedem referens*, Liv. 4.28.6 *pedem iam referentibus suis.*

517 questus: in Latin poetry, the noun occurs for the first time in Acc. 214-6 D (549-51 R^2) *qui iacet in tecto umido, / quod eiulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus / resonando mutum flebilis uoces refert.* It was used occasionally by Catullus (2x), Vergil (5x), Horace (1x) and Ovid (7x), but more often by some Silver Latin poets: Sen. 13x, Statius 23x, V. Fl. 25x (Korn on V. Fl. 4.25).

questus ... opprime: Friedrich, p. 24 n. 1, 119 f., notes that this second exhortation does not match Andromacha's last words. Comparable situations are found in *Phae.* 404 *sepone questus* (there actually are no complaints in Phaedra's preceding monologue), *Med.* 26 *querelas uerbaque in cassum sero?*, 150 *sile, obsecro, questusque secreto abditos / manda dolori* (Medea is more cursing than complaining), *H.O.* 276 *alumna, questus comprime* (whereas Deianira had uttered curses and feelings of revenge).

However, Steidle p. 273 f. properly objects that 515-6 are no proof that she had really calmed down; her outburst at 519 ff. proves that her emotional state of mind could produce all kinds of utterances.

518 gressus ... admouet: Sen. trag. uses various variants of the usual *gressus ferre* (cf. *Ag.* 780-1 *tulit / gressus* with Tarrant's note; below 616 *gressus refert*), like *Phoen.* 120 *derige huc gressus pedum*, *Thy.* 428 *reflecte gressum*, 927-8 *stabilem ... / figere gressum*; *admouere* is more often used with nouns like *aurem, ora,* and *manus (manum).*

dux Cephallanum: cf. Soph. *Phil.* 264 'the king of the Cephallenians' (Jebb: "it is very likely that the name is used, if not with scorn, yet with a tone of dislike, - «king of those crafty islanders»"), Eur. *Cycl.* 103.

In Hom. *Il.* 2.631-5 it is the general name of Odysseus' subjects, living on various islands and the opposite coast.

519 dehisce tellus: the same line-opening is found *Phae.* 1238 (death-prayer of Theseus) *dehisce, tellus, recipe me dirum chaos, Oed.* 868-70 (Oedipus likewise) *dehisce, tellus, tuque tenebrarum potens, / in Tartara ima, rector umbrarum, rape / retro reuersas generis ac stirpis uices*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.24 (Dido) *sed mihi uel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat.* Therefore, the words lend Andromacha's wish, aiming at the survival of her son, the sinister undertone of death.

520 reuulsam scinde: "= *reuelle et scinde*: è la medesima idea rafforzata" (d'Alfonso).

reuulsam ... tellurem: likewise Claud. *Cons. Olyb. et Prob.* 49 *tellure reuulsa*. Sen. trag. especially likes to use the verb in connection with the underworld: *Phae.* 95 *solio ut reuulsam regis inferni abstrahat*, 844 *qui cum reuulsum Tartaro abstraheret canem, Ag.* 485 *mundum reuelli sedibus totum suis, Thy.* 1012-3 *hinc compagibus / et hinc reuulsis.*

Stygis: 'the underworld' (*OLD* s.v. 2b); cf. the note on 430 *Stygis, H.F.* 54 *en retegit Styga*, 104 *poenas ... uiolatae Stygis, Oed.* 396 *populus infernae Stygis, Phae.* 148 *ferre perpetuam Styga.*

521 sinu: 'hollow, cavity' (*OLD* s.v. 8), cf. *Thy.* 842-3 *ibit in umum congesta sinum / turba deorum, Nat.* 6.1.9 *in uasto terrarum dehiscentium sinu, Oct.* 135-6 *Stygios sinus / tellure rupta pande.*

conde: ambiguously 'put away for concealment, hide' (*OLD* 5), and 'inter, bury' (*OLD* 4).

depositum: a financial metaphor, as in 486 *credam*; the noun is also used figuratively in Ov. *Met.* 5.479-80 *aruaque iussit* (sc. Ceres) */ fallere depositum*, 9.119-20 (of Deianira) *Nessoque paranti / fallere depositum*, Luc. 2.72 (of Marius) *depositum, Fortuna, tuum*, 8.190-1 (of Cornelia) *comitem pignusque recepi / depositum*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.384-5 (of Achilles) *cara mihi tellus, magnae cui pignora curae / depositumque ingens timido commisimus astu*, 1.914 *depositum tam grande deae.*

For two later instances, see Claud. *VI Cons. Hon.* 585 *depositum seruasse, Fides*, Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 930-3 (Iesus to Maria and Iohannes) *sume depositum meum / uterque: natum mater hunc pro me tibi / posthac adopta: tuque Zebedaei puer / quae fuit amici nunc tuam matrem puta*; see also below on 705.

522 adest: Tarrant, on *Ag.* 1-2 *opaca linquens Ditis inferni loca, / adsum profundo Tartari emissus specu*, refers to this passage and to *Phae.* 834 *en ipse Theseus redditis terris adest*, for the use of *adesse* in Senecan entry-announcements, even where motion is specified or implied. Other instances, *Oed.* 203, 205, *Ag.* 391, 587, (778-9 incorrectly), are given by Boyle. For a contrast, see e.g. below 1009 *accurrit.*

Vlixes: on the Latin name of Odysseus, see e.g. Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 2.7 *Vlixi*, referring to W.B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme,* Oxford 1963, 8.

dubio gradu / uultuque: for these characteristics in an entrance-announcement, cf. below 999-1000 *incitato ... gradu / uultuque toruo*, *H.F.* 329-30 *sed ecce saeuus ac minas uultu gerens / et qualis animo est talis incessu uenit*, *Phae.* 431-3 *quid huc seniles fessa moliris gradus, / o fida nutrix, turbidam frontem gerens / et maesta uultu?*, *Oct.* 435-6 *sed ecce, gressu fertur attonito Nero / trucique uultu.*

E.C. Evans, 'A Stoic Aspect of Senecan Drama: Portraiture', *TAPhA*, 81 (1950) 169-184, deals with the Stoic interest in the connection between someone's nature and his facial expression; this instance is found on p. 181. Cf. also J. Lapp, 'Racine est-il Sénéquien?', in J. Jacquot (1964) 135, and below on 626 *detexit.*

523 nectit: 'contrive' (*OLD* s.v. 9), cf. below 927-8, *Phoen.* 119-20 *dolos / Sphinx ore nectens*, *Oed.* 92 *Sphinga caecis uerba nectentem modis*, Sil. 3.233-4 *at docilis fallendi et nectere tectos / numquam tarda dolos*; in Senecan prose, e.g. *Ep.* 45.5 *nectimus nodos*, 82.23 *uerba mihi captiosa componis et interrogatiunculas nectis?*, *Ben.* 3.26.2 *nectebantur insidiae* (cf. Liv. 1.5.6 *undique regi dolus nectitur*, 27.28.4 *ne qui dolus necteretur a Poeno metuens*).

pectore: the breast as the seat of intellectual faculties (*OLD* s.v. 3b).

astus: again below 613. Before Seneca, only the abl. sing. was used, often quasi-adverbially, e.g. Pl. *Poen.* 111 *docte atque astu*, Acc. 184 D (475 R^2) *satin astu et fallendo callet?*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.704 *consilio uersare dolos ingressus et astu*, Ov. *Met.* 13.193-4 (Ulysses) *mittor et ad matrem, quae non hortanda, sed astu / decipienda fuit*; cf. below 752 *dolis et astu*, *Phae.* 153 *astu doloque*. For the use of other cases by later poets, see e.g. Stat. *Ach.* 1.283 *fraudes astumque*, *Silu.* 1.2.27 *cessent mendaces obliqui carminis astus*, Sil. 14.291 *astus ... Tyrios.*

callidos: passages like *Oed.* 668 *callidi ... doli*, *Phae.* 502-3 *callidas ... fraudes*, Pl. *Bac.* 643-4 *callidum senem callidis dolis / compuli*, prove that the MSS reading does not have to be altered to *callido* (Heinsius); cf. also Apul. *Met.* 4.12 *callido ... astu*, Amm. 15.5.5 *callido astu.* For the pleonasm, see also above on 236 *inclitas laudes.* Carlsson (1926) 53 f., noting "den an Abundanzen überreichen Stil der Tragödien", in addition refers to *Thy.* 260 *tumultus ... attonitus*, 921 *sollicitas ... curas.*

Scene 2 (**524-813**). *Ulysses demands, on behalf of the Greeks, the surrender of Astyanax. At first, Andromache almost successfully pretends that her son is dead; but when Ulysses threatens to demolish Hector's tomb, she yields after a hard inward struggle and gives up the child.*

524-555 *Referring to fate's demand and to the justified concern of the Greeks for a lasting peace, Ulysses tries to soften his claiming of Astyanax.*

Ulysses' hesitance (522-3 *dubio gradu / uultuque*), interpreted by Andromache as a token that he is weaving cunning deceits in his breast (cf. Fantham's: 'with ambiguous step and expression') is understandable: he has to convey a most unpleasant message, and the fact that he does not see Astyanax with Andromache may give him the painful presentiment that his task will be even more difficult than he had imagined.

He voices his address in a very much structured way, to which some rhetorical wording could be applied. Since his case is a *causa turpis* (*Rhet. Her.* 1.6 *hoc est cum ipsa res animum auditoris a nobis alienat*), he has to be careful in his *exordium*; although it does not conceal the truth (*durae ... sortis*), it mainly is an obvious *captatio benevolentiae*: I am only a *minister* and merely the voice of the Greeks [on the *insinuatio*, see Lausberg §§ 280-281; Caviglia attaches the term *purgatio*].

Next comes what may be called the *propositio* rather than the *narratio* [cf. Quint. *Inst.* 4.4.1 *sunt ... quaedam tam breues causae, ut propositionem potius habeant quam narrationem*]: the late return of the Greek army is hindered by Hector's son, he is claimed by fate (527-8). In the following lines, Ulysses adds a second - human/political - reason, also ascribing it to Calchas: the fear that Astyanax will grow up as a new threat.

Hereafter, the *argumentatio* (Lausberg §§ 348-430) must explain the validity of that fear: at first sight, it seems hard to comprehend that such a small boy could have so far-reaching consequences. Ulysses resorts to three similes of seeds rising up to their origin (536): a calf, a sapling, ashes. He hints at Hector in each simile: *gregem paternum ducit* (540), *caeso ... de trunco* (541), *igne de magno* (544), and emphasizes that the process goes rapidly: *subito celsus* (538), *tempore exiguo* (542), so the danger should not be disregarded (*male relictus*).

After an appeal to Andromache to be reasonable in her sorrow (545b-6), Ulysses in the *peroratio* (Lausberg §§ 431-442) recapitulates his message (550-1), partly elaborating it: e.g. 527 *seras* - 547/8 *post hiemes decem / totidemque messes*, 527/8 *petere ... / Hectorea suboles prohibet* - 552/3 *haec una naues causa deductas tenet, / hic classis haeret.* At the end, he tries to soften the cruelty of the demand by a reference to the present victor's situation at Aulis; if necessary, he would have asked for Agamemnon's son now.

[on the structure of the passage, see van Leijenhorst, pp. 149 ff.; Caviglia, pp. 60 ff.]

524 durae: as an epithet of *sors*, the adj. also occurs at *Phae.* 991, *Thy.* 879; it is already found in Ovid: *Met.* 13.184-5 *duraeque iubent Agamemnona sortes / immeritam saeuae natam mactare Dianae*, *Fast.* 2.429 (Jakobi, p. 31). For the effective placing, cf. below 1056.

sortis: for the meaning 'oracular response' (*OLD* s.v. 3), here applied to Calchas' utterance, cf. also below 554 *sorte iussus*, *Oed.* 101 *nodosa sortis uerba*, 288-9 *sorte Phoebea excitus / Tiresia*, *Ag.* 38, *H.O.* 1473-4 *quercus hanc sortem mihi / fatidica quondam dederat*, Enn. *scen.* 57 J (= 42 V^2) *quo sese uertant tantae sortes somnium*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.254 *ueteris Fauni uoluit sub pectore sortem*, Apul. *Met.* 4.32 *Apollo ... sic Latina sorte respondit.*

minister: from Farnabius on ("solenne vero est mali nuncii ministris mandatum praefatione molliendo, culpam a se avertere in alios reiectam"), compared to Eur. *Tro.* 710-1 (Talthybius addressing Andromache; transl. Way):

> Abhor not me: sore loth shall I announce
> The Danaans' hest, the word of Pelops' son.

I would like to add Soph. *Phil.* 990 'I am a servant', Odysseus' excuse to Philoctetes that he merely serves to execute Zeus' decision. Below 749, Ulysses once more will present himself as Calchas' instrument.

Fantham, p. 93 notes Seneca's fondness for appositional phrases with causal (as here) or concessive (below 683) implications as the only striking aspect of his use of the nominative; cf. *Oed.* 34 *incolumis asto — scilicet Phoebi reus.*

peto: 'try to obtain by asking, request' (*OLD* 8). Note the repeated use of the verb in the introduction (527 *petere* in the sense 'to make for', *OLD* 1; 528 *expetunt*); it will return twice in Ulysses' closing lines (554-5).

525 meo / ... omnium: cf. Racine, *Andromaque* I.2.143 (Orestes requesting Astyanax from Pyrrhus) 'Avant que tous les Grecs vous parlent par ma voix ...'.

526 Graiorum omnium: cf. Eur. *Tro.* 711, quoted on 524 *minister.*

527 procerumque: for the division into assembly and princes, cf. below 1076-7 *adfusa ducum / plebisque turba.*

petere quos ... / ... prohibet: for the use of the inf. with *prohibeo* (*OLD* s.v. 4b; K-S 1.687; H-Sz 356), cf. above 420, *Oed.* 364-5 *has omnis retro / prohibens reuerti*, *Thy.* 617, 945; it is already found in Plautus, e.g. *Trin.* 370 *tu modo ne me prohibeas accipere si quid det mihi*, *Curc.* 35 *nemo ire quemquam publica prohibet uia*, besides the use with *ne* (*Trin.* 87) and *quin* (*Mer.* 1021-2).

seras: for the quasi-adverbial force (*OLD* 4b; "sero revisendas", Farnabius), cf. e.g. *Oed.* 103 *quid sera mortis uota nunc demens facis?*, Sil. 2.253-4 *seras fesso nunc pandere portas / posse uolunt.* Weber, *Philol.* 66 (1907) 363, proposed *seros*, comparing Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45 *serus ... redeas.*

528 Hectorea: see on 369 *Hectoreus*.

hanc: sc. *subolem*.

fata expetunt: cf. above 352 *fata ... poscent*, 368 *fata quaerunt*. Seneca uses the compound either at the end of the trimeter with synaloephe (above 249, *Phoen*. 556, *Med*. 22b, 256, *Phae*. 895, *Oed*. 514, 795, *Ag*. 108), or (perf. pple) in second place (*Med*. 471, *Phae*. 865, *Ag*. 401, *Thy*. 509, 1022). In his prose, he merely (36x) applies its gerundive, e.g. *Ben*. 4.1.3 (2x), *Ep*. 117.17 (6x).

529 sollicita: see on 406 *sollicito*. Like 524 *durae*, the key-word of the message is placed first.

pacis ... fides: the combination of nouns is also found *Thy*. 294 *quis fidem pacis dabit?*, Cic. *Att*. 9.19.3 *pacis fides nulla est*, and - with totally different adjectives - *Thy*. 972 *solidamque pacis alliget certae fidem*; cf. *Phoen*. 280 *spernitur pacti fides* as another reminder that *pax* is related to *pacisci*. See Peter Flury, 'Vom Tintenfaß zum Computer' in: *Wie die Blätter am Baum, so wechseln die Wörter*, Stuttgart und Leipzig 1995, 39 f. on the genesis of the *pax*-article in *ThLL*; Fest. p. 230 M (Lindsay 260.13-15) *pacem a pactione condicionum putat dictam Sinnius Capito, quae utrique inter se populo sit observanda*.

On *fides* in general, a word "mit charakteristisch römischen Inhalten" (Flury p. 39), see E. Fraenkel, *RhM* 71 (1916) 187 ff., R. Heinze, *Hermes* 64 (1929) 156 ff. On *fides* in Sen. trag., see Walter (1975) 104 ff.; cf. also below 561, 598.

530 semper ... semper: for the repetition of the word with a shift of accent, see on 170 *uidi ... uidi*; cf. below 1013.

a tergo ... / respicere: "ne sequatur ultor" (Farnabius).

531 arma nec: inversion of *nec* is found again below 772, *Med*. 605, *Phae*. 499, 535.

532 animos: 'courage, spirit, morale' (*OLD* s.v. 13b); for the combination with *dare*, cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen*. 9.144 *dant animos*, Ov. *Met*. 5.46-7 *bellica Pallas adest et protegit aegide fratrem / datque animos*, *Pont*. 1.2.83 *dant illis animos arcus plenaeque pharetrae*, Luc. 2.570, Stat. *Theb*. 2.111.

533 Andromacha: see on 66 *Ide*; the A MSS here have *Andromache*. For the use of the vocative at the very beginning of the line, cf. *H.F*. 637, 914 *Theseu*, *Ag*. 233 *Aegisthe*.

uester: Herrmann, Thomann and Amoroso follow the A-reading of the line: *Andromacha. (And.) Vester augur hoc Calchas canit?* Caviglia, in an extensive note (p. 61 f., n. 55), confesses his uncertainty on this issue. His presupposition that Ulixes' speech extends uninterrupted 524-555 has begun to waver because of Paratore's arguments, in: 'Sulle sigle dei personaggi nelle tragedie di Seneca', *Studi ital. filol. class*. (1956) 335 f., in favour of A: firstly, the - in his view - undeniable slackness and inopportune occurrence of the phrase *natus ... uester* (*uester* looks like an expletive, *natus* would suffice), secondly, stylistic reasonings: "Introdurre fin dall'inizio l'accenno a Calcante nelle parole di Ulisse (e con una iterazione che diventa fastidiosa se collocata sulla bocca di un solo

personaggio) significa far perdere colore e, quasi per intero, il significato di tutto il passo". Caviglia proves unconvinced (rightly, I think) by these arguments: it is perfectly legitimate that Ulysses appeals to Calchas in the very beginning of his speech, and the repetition can be explained stylisticly as a phase of transition in the following *climax*. An interruption by Andromache, on the other hand, might indeed have a dramatic effect, but it does not seem to correspond with her 'tactics': "un suo intervento polemico, dopo poche parole di Ulisse, rivelerebbe che la donna ha qualcosa da difendere, la sensazione di un riscio che la riguarda nel vivo, e questo Ulisse non deve sospettarlo: Andromaca gli si deve presentare solo come una creatura di lamento, una donna che non ha più nulla da proteggere e da perdere, più nulla per cui risentirsi"; nevertheless Caviglia does place a 'signum desperationis' here.

The words *natus* ... *uester* need not cause a problem; it seems most logical to take 'your son' as 'the son of you and Hector' (whose grave is near). As Fordyce notes on Catul. 39.20, " ... *uester*, where it does not refer directly to a plural subject, generally has an obvious plural implication" (cf. *OLD* 2); he refers to Cat. 64.160 *uestras sedes*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.140 *uestras, Eure, domos*, 10.188 *crimen, Amor, uestrum*, Prop. 3.15.44 *uestra ira*, Ov. *Ep.* 1.75 *uestra libido*. For a comparable use of *uos*, Zwierlein (1986) 96 adds Verg. *Aen.* 9.525 *uos, o Calliope*. Conjectures (Richter *uiuus*, Weber *uindex*) therefore are superfluous.

As an argument in favour of the E reading, I would also like to call attention to the fact that this is the first moment in Ulysses' speech where a noun and its corresponding attributive are placed in consecutive lines (again 545-6 *iniustus* ... *aestimator*): whereas Hecuba (1-2 *magna* ... *aula*) and Andromacha (410-1 *effuso* ... *fletu*) in their emotional addresses used this stylistic figure from the very beginning, Ulysses - like Agamemnon at the start - has refrained from it up to now. Here the placing of the pronoun underlines the kernel of the message: not Andromacha's son is the issue, but Hector's.

The fear of the Greeks for Astyanax as a *futurus Hector* (551) corresponds with the hope uttered by Andromacha 469 ff. (repeated at 660). This correspondence shows that the killing of the boy is not merely demanded by *fata* (so 368 *quem fata quaerunt*), but 'politische Notwendigkeit' (Schetter p. 250, n. 30); cf. Serv. auct. ad Verg. *Aen.* 3.489 *Calchas cecinit deiciendum ex muris Astyanacta ... eo quod, si adoleuisset, fortior patre futurus uindicaturus esset eius interitum.*

augur: orig. 'one who observes and interprets the behaviour of birds' (traditional etymology derives it from *aui* + *ger*[*o*]); they were the official diviners in Rome, forming a *collegium* which consisted originally of three but later of sixteen members. Here the noun has the general meaning of 'seer, prophet' (*OLD* 2), cf. *Ag.* 180 (again of Calchas; Walter p. 50, n. 73 incorrectly: Chryses) *in nos fidelis augur, in captas leuis* (no more occurrences in Sen. trag.), Verg. *Aen.* 4.376 *augur Apollo.*

534 augur haec Calchas: Ulysses effectively repeats the name and quality of his instructor before he moves to a second authority.

535 dicebat: "rebus clare gestis praeeundo. forte verbis" (Farnabius). Kingery refers to Hom. *Il.* 6.476-81 for an utterance of Hector in this respect.

536 generosa: 'of noble birth', hence 'choice, superior'. The word can be applied to persons (e.g. below 872), as well as animals (*OLD* s.v. 3a, e.g. *Nat.* 1.17.7, *Dial.* 4.16.1), plants (*ibid.* 3b), and precious metals (*ibid.* 3c) [on the adjectives in *-osus*, see A. Ernout, *Les adjectifs latins on -osus et -ulentus*, Paris 1949 (p. 61 *generosus*); Peter E. Knox, *Glotta* 64 (1986) 90-101].

in ortus: cf. *Phae.* 907-8 *redit ad auctores genus / stirpemque primam degener sanguis refert.*

semina: 'offspring, seed' (*OLD* s.v. 5b), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 988 *Lyci nefandum semen*, Verg. *Geo.* 2.151-2 *rabidae tigres absunt et saeua leonum / semina.*

exsurgunt: 'to rise to a higher (moral, intellectual, or sim.) level' (*OLD* 6), cf. *Dial.* 4.1.2 *debet autem in haec se demittere disputatio ut ad illa quoque altiora possit exsurgere.* For the tenor of this passage, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.29-32 *fortes creantur fortibus et bonis; / est in iuuencis, est in equis patrum / uirtus, neque inbellem froces / progenerant aquilae columbam.*

537 sic ille ... comes: for the wordorder, cf. below 1097 *sic ille ... puer.*

Just as the chorus had used a combination of similes to describe the velocity with which human beings rush on their fated end (386-90 *quo ... quo ... quo ... hoc*), and the mysterious vanishing of the soul (392-6 *ut ... ut ... sic*), Ulysses now resorts to three similes from daily life, clarifying his grievous and at first sight hardly explainable message that her little boy has to be killed. Primmer, p. 213 lists them, with *Phae.* 455-8, as 'Illustrationen einer These in ... Dialogrede' (in a monologue at *Oed.* 8-11), with a similar function as the similes in the second ode: "Man sollte sie vielleicht als Exempla bezeichnen; sie haben noch am ehesten die Aura des Rhetorischen um sich, sind aber doch nur halb so häufig wie jene in den Chören: ein Zeichen dafür, daß Seneca nicht wahllos rhetorisiert." Rosenmeyer notes: "Seneca's similes ... differ from Homer's subtly allusive ventures in their combination of contrivance and obviousness. The images introduced are usually transparent in their relevance, models of demonstration that a Stoic scientist would have accepted for his own purposes, for the illumination of the objects of ethics, physics, and anthropology" (p. 193).

armenti: either 'herd' (*OLD* 1; most translations) or '(individual) bull, head of cattle' (*OLD* 2a; Hillen p. 108; Ahl: 'The small bull follows in / the large bull's steps'). Although the juxtaposition *magni paruus* favours the latter view, I think the contrasts *paruus - celsus*, *armenti comes - gregem ducit* more likely.

As for the etymology of the word, Perrot p. 170 refers to Var. *L.L.* 5.96 *ad arandum, inde arimenta, postea i tertia littera extrita*, a derivation taken over by Columella and Isidorus; the latter, *Orig.* 12.1.8, also makes the distinction *armenta equorum et boum sunt, greges caprarum et ouium.* Festus 4.3 *armentum id genus pecoris appellatur, quod est idoneum ad opus armorum*, and Servius on *Aen.* 3.540, *armenta dicta sunt quasi apta armis, nam equi intersunt proeliis, boues arma dant ex corio*, connect the noun with *arma*. For a possible affinity with *armus* 'shoulder', see Perrot p. 339.

The line is echoed by Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 854 (of a wulf) *sic ille magni summus armenti metus* (Meulenbroek's note there: "Bij Seneca is het geen wolf, maar een Umbrische jachthond" obviously is an error).

538 primis: 'that is in its early stages, young, nascent, etc.' (*OLD* s.v. 8); for *primis ... cornibus*, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.13.4-5 (of a young kid that will be offered to the *fons Bandusiae*) *cui frons turgida cornibus / primis et Venerem et proelia destinat* (Steele p. 20). Hillen p. 245, however, takes *primis ... cornibus* as 'mit den Hornspitzen'.

nondum: for the use of the word in such descriptions, cf. below 1094, *H.F.* 142 *nondum rupta fronte iuuencus*, Ov. *Am.* 3.13.15 *uituli nondum metuenda fronte minaces*, *Hal.* 2-3 *uitulus ... / qui nondum gerit in tenera iam cornua fronte*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.267 *nondum lunatis fronte iuuencis.*

findens cutem: poetically for *fissus cutem.* Hillen p. 245 in his chapter 'Hypallage' comments: "Das Durchstoßen der Stirnhaut durch die Hörner ist ein natürlicher Vorgang, dessen Subjekt nur in dichterischer Sprache und Konstruktion der *iuuencus* ist. In normaler Ausdrucksweise, wie sie Hf 141 f. dokumentiert, tritt *iuuencus* lediglich als Träger einer entsprechenden Eigenschaft auf. Wieder hat Seneca den statischen Sachverhalt in eine dynamische Form gekleidet".

The simile of a bullock, future leader of the herd, is also found in Stat. *Ach.* 1.313-7 of young Achilles, overwhelmed by Deidamia's beauty:

ut pater armenti quondam ductorque futurus,
cui nondum toto peraguntur cornua gyro,
cum sociam pastus niueo candore iuuencam
aspicit, ardescunt animi primusque per ora
spumat amor, spectant hilares obstantque magistri.

539 ceruice ... celsus: similarly V. Fl. 2.547-8 *celsior armis / taurus*; cf. also (with an acc. instead of an abl. of respect) *Ag.* 738 *colla sublimis* (of a lion).

fronte: 'the forehead, brow', of animals, esp. as the place where the horns grow (*OLD* 1d), cf. *H.O.* 551-2 *fulmine abiecto deus* (sc. Jupiter) / *cum fronte subita tumuit*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.627 *aurata fronte iuuencum* (*ThLL* VI 1359.50 f. "sc. *auratis cornibus*"), Ov. *Am.* 3.13.15 (cited on 538 *nondum*), V. Fl. 3.431 *lectas aurata fronte bidentes*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.510 *auratae crudelis gloria fronti* [*ThLL* VI 1.1359.39 ff.; Hillen p. 175].

arduus: of a bull, also at *Phae.* 1042 *opima ceruix arduos tollit toros* (cf. 1036 *caerulea taurus colla sublimis gerens*); of a horse, Verg. *Aen.* 5.567 *frontem ... ostentans arduus albam, Geo.* 2.145 *hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert,* 3.79 *illi ardua ceruix.*

540 paternum: w. ref. to animals, the adj. also occurs at Col. 6.37.4 and 7.2.5.

541 quae ... : for the following simile cf. Ov. *Rem.* 85-8

> quae praebet latas arbor spatiantibus umbras,
> quo posita est primum tempore, uirga fuit.
> tum poterat manibus summa tellure reuelli;
> nunc stat in immensum uiribus aucta suis.

tenera: 'tender' (*OLD* 3b: "of plants, etc.").

uirga ... nemus: cf. Mart. 9.61.8-10 *coepit et ex illa crescere uirga manu. / auctorem dominumque nemus sentire uidetur: / sic uiret et ramis sidera celsa petit* (Jakobi p. 31, n. 59); Vondel, *Hierusalem verwoest* (1620) 1588-91 (Titus to the daughter Sion, Worp [1892] 200 f.):

> Van luttel zaeds gestroyt dat over is geschoten,
> Wast eenen rijcken oeghst. alzoo van weynigh loten
> Ontstaet een boomrijck woud. zoo 't eerstgeplante veyl
> Beklimt en deckt een muyr al is hy hoog en steyl.

de: for the partitive use of the preposition (*OLD* s.v. 10), cf. *Thy.* 122 *de superis si quis, Phae.* 1254 *quodque de nato est super, Ag.* 412-3 *exiguas trahens / lacerasque uictor classe de tanta rates.*

542 matri: likewise of a tree (*OLD* s.v. 7), Verg. *Geo.* 2.18-9 *etiam Parnasia laurus / parua sub ingenti matris se subicit umbra,* 2.23-4 *hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpore matrum / deposuit sulcis.*

subit: 'to grow up (so as to fill a vacant space)' (*OLD* s.v. 9), cf. Verg. *Geo.* 1.152 *intereunt segetes, subit aspera silua.*

543 umbras: Fantham refers to the dream of Astyages (Hdt. 1.108) that his daughter (Fantham erroneously: his wife) conceived a vine whose shade covered all Asia, and to the dream of Atia before she gave birth to Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 94). The theme is also found in the dream of Clytaemnestra at Soph. *El.* 421-3 (tr. Lloyd-Jones) 'and from it (sc. Agamemnon's sceptre) grew up a fruitful bough, which overshadowed all the land of the Mycenaeans'.

nemus: 'Baumkrone' or 'Laubwerk', Axelson (1967) 57; 'bushy foliage', *OLD* s.v. 3, citing only V. Fl. 3.444-5 *truncas nemorum ... quercus.* Hillen p. 162 for more instances refers to Vollmer's note on Stat. *Silu.* 5.1.48-9 *qualiter aequaeuo sociatam palmite uitem / ulmus amat miscetque nemus,* and to J. Strand, *Notes on Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica,* Göteborg 1972, 75-81: V. Fl. 1.755, Stat. *Theb.* 8.546, 4.386, 3.112-3, Sil. 7.207-8.

Damsté (1918) 61, comparing *H.O.* 316, suggests that Seneca wrote *et caelo tenus*. At the end of the line, Weber (1907) 372 proposes a colon instead of the semicolon.

544 male: "incaute" Farnabius, quoting Ov. *Met.* 7.79-81 *utque solet uentis alimenta assumere quaeque / parua sub inducta latuit scintilla fauilla / crescere et in ueteres agitata resurgere uires*; cf. also Hor. *Ep.* 1 18.85 *et neglecta solent incendia sumere uires* (preceded by *nam tua res agitur, paries cum proxima ardet*).

igne: Sen. trag. uses this abl. form 19x, *igni* only below 578. Ovid has *igne* 66x, and a dozen occurrences of *igni* (Bömer on *Met.* 2.281); Statius has *igni* 6x, and far more often *igne* (van Dam p. 177). The simile may have been chosen as an allusion to Hector's fiery face (448 *ille uultus flammeum intendens iubar*).

igne ... cinis: with a reference to Manilius' 'all things change over a long period of time; then they return to their old selves' (*in semet redeunt*, 4.839), Ahl (1985) 184 notes the anagram *CINIS - IGNIS*.

de: '(indicating change) from, out of' (*OLD* 9), cf. *Thy.* 175 *altum de rapido gurgite puluerem*, Prop. 1.5.26 *quam cito de tanto nomine rumor eris!* (Tarrant attributes "a quasi-partitive sense" to the preposition in these three passages).

545 uires resumit: cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.85 *sumere uires*, Prop. 2.10.11 *sumite uires*.

quidem ... tamen: see below 736.

iniustus: 'unfair', cf. Cic. *Marc.* 15 *iniustus rerum existimator*, Sen. *Ben.* 2.29.4 *iniquus aestimator sortis humanae*, *Dial.* 5.12.3 *iniqua nostri aestimatio*.

dolor: Fantham here prefers 'resentment' (*OLD* 3), 'desire for vengeance', over 'grief' (*OLD* 2) in her commentary, but not in her translation. For the use of *dolor* here ("pro maerentibus", Gaheis p. 41), cf. below 786, 904, 1013, 1066.

546 rerum aestimator: for this combination of a verbal noun ending in -*tor* and an object. gen., cf. *Ben.* 2.29.1 *diuinorum munerum aestimatores*, 2.29.4 (cited on 545), 5.1.3 *officiorum aestimatorem*, *Dial.* 5.5.7 *aestimator sui*; it is found very often in Chr. Latin: see, for instance, van Assendelft p. 61 on Prud. *Cath.* 1.3 *excitator mentium* (for literature on these verbal nouns, see H-Sz 745).

aestimator: before Seneca, the word is only found in prose, e.g. Liv. 34.25.7 *incautior fidei aestimator*, Sen. *Suas.* 6.22 *ut est natura candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator T. Liuius*; similar words on -*tor* (-*sor*) / -*trix* in Sen. trag. are *assensor* (*Phae.* 1207), *donator* (*Phae.* 1217), *stuprator* (*Phae.* 897), *subsessor* (*Phae.* 52). Senecan coinages probably are *sortitor* (*Tro.* 982), *mactator* (*Tro.* 1002), *deceptor* (*Thy.* 140), *peremptor* (*Oed.* 221), *machinatrix* (*Med.* 266), *miratrix* (*Phae.* 742) [Billerbeck (1988) 35-37].

tecum exigas: 'turn over in one's mind, ponder' (*OLD* s.v. *exigo* 10c *secum exigere*), cf. *Ep.* 27.1 *in secretum te meum admitto et te adhibito mecum exigo*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.475-6 *tempus secum ipsa modumque / exigit*, Ov. *Met.* 10.586-7 *dum talia secum / exigit*; the A reading has been preferred by all editors to E's *excutias* (*OLD* s.v. 9 'examine').

547 ueniam: 'forgiveness, pardon' (*OLD* s.v. 4); the notion turns up in several plays, *H.F.* 595, 1266-7, *Med.* 595, *Phae.* 225, 440, *Oed.* 263, *Ag.* 267-8, but also in Seneca's prose, e.g. *Cl.* 2.7.1 *uenia est poenae meritae remissio*, *Dial.* 4.10.2 *ne singulis irascaris, uniuersis ignoscendum est, generi humano uenia tribuenda est.*

hiemes ... / ... messes: for the rough division of the year into two parts, cf. e.g. Catul. 95.1-2 *Zmyrna mei Cinnae nonam post denique messem / quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem*, Liv. 5.22.8 (of Veii) *decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessa*, Verg. *Ecl.* 5.70 *ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra* (see also above on 73-6). The more precise division into four seasons is found, for instance, at Var. *L.L.* 6.9 *huius* (sc. *anni*) *temporis pars prima hiems ... tempus secundum uer ... tertium ... aestas ... quartum autumnus*, Lucr. 5.737-47, and Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.9-13 *frigora mitescunt zephyris, uer proterit aestas, / interitura simul / pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox / bruma recurrit iners.*

548 senex: for the use as an adj. (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. e.g. Ov. *Am.* 1.9.4 *turpe senex miles, turpe senilis amor.* Cornelissen p. 184, obviously insensible to Ulysses' rhetorical exaggeration, proposed *gemens*, commenting: "Ecquis credet Danaos post decem annorum bellum iam consenuisse? Potius existimaverim eos aegre et moleste tulisse quod tantum temporis in Troia commorari belli diuturnitate cogerentur".

549 bene: 'thoroughly, completely, well' (*OLD* s.v. 13).

550 Troiam iacentem: see above on 223 *iacet*, and cf. *Ag.* 870-1 (Cassandra) *bene est, resurgis Troia; traxisti iacens / pares Mycenas.*

551 libera ... metu: Seneca applies the combination again *Med.* 185 *liberet fines metu*, 270 *libera ciues metu*, *Phoen.* 642-3 *libera patriam metu, / luctu parentes*, *Ep.* 97.16 *multos fortuna liberat poena, metu neminem.*

Graios: Housman *CR* 5 (1891) 296 suggests *Graiios*: "there is the variant *nos*, which signifies that an original *Graiios* was corrupted to *granos* and *gra* absorbed by the preceding *era*".

552 una naues: for the *complosio syllabarum*, see on 11 *rubenti Tigrin inmiscet*, 167 *effare, reduces*, 434 *turbat atque.*

naues: the prosaic word, lacking completely in Lucan, Val. Flaccus and Silius, according to Axelson (1945) 50, is found eight times in Sen. trag. (see on 27 *rates*).

deductas: 'launched' (*OLD* s.v. 7), cf. Pac. *trag.* 332 *classem ... in altum ut properiter deducerem*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.71 *deducunt socii nauis*, Servius on *Aen.* 1.551 *deducere: in mare mittere*, Prop. 1.6.15 *deducta ... puppi*; in Senecan prose: *Dial.* 8.3.3 *quomodo nauem quassam non deduceret in mare*, 5.2.5 *deductae protinus classes*, 12.10.6.

tenet: see on 365 *tenet.*

553 hic: 'in the circumstances just indicated' (*OLD* 5; cf. *ThLL* VI 3.2766.3 ff., Antolín on Lygd. 4.23), i.e. of a future Hector being alive; in Sen. trag. this use of *hic* is found again at *H.F.* 117-8 *hic prosit mihi / Iouis esse genitum*, *Thy.* 473 *errat hic aliquis dolus*. The reading of the MSS has been upheld, for instance, by Hoffa with a reference to Ter. *Ad.* 403 *metui ne haereret hic*, and by Wertis; N. Heinsius' *hac* was preferred by Leo and Moricca.

classis haeret: the opposite of below 1179 *classis mouet*; for the varied use of the verb by Sen. trag., see Liebermann p. 117, n. 123.

Rozelaar, *ANRW* II. 32.2 (1985) 1407 states that all Senecan tragedies have the *peripeteia* practically in the middle, and for *Troades* fixes it here. In my view, however, this situation is not the '*sudden reversal of circumstances* on which the plot in a Tragedy hinges' (LSJ s.v. 2; cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1452a.22); it cannot be compared to e.g. Oedipus' discovery of his parentage.

554 sorte iussus: echoes 524 *durae minister sortis*; likewise 547-51 and 552-3 have repeated chiastically the arguments from security (= 529-35) and from the alleged delay of the ships (= 527), as Fantham properly notes.

petam: / petissem: for the repetition of a word, ending a clause or verse, in a varied form at the beginning of a new clause or verse, cf. e.g. below 912-3 *graue, / grauius*, 1060 *fleueris, flebis*, *Phae.* 269 *contemne famam: fama uix uero fauet*. As instances of *(ep)anastrophe*, Canter p. 159 lists them with repetitions (*anadiplosis*) like 866-7 *mea / mea*, *H.F.* 1229-30 *date, / date*, *Phoen.* 23-4; cf. Lausberg § 713.

555 Oresten: the only son of Agamemnon and Clytemestra. For the Greek acc., cf. *Ag.* 931, Prop. 2.14.5; the form *Orestem* is found e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.63.

patere ... tulit: another reference to Aulis (see on 164, 245-9).

556-67 *Andromache mourns over her lost child.*

556 materna: "è espressione più teneramente affettuosa che *matris* o *mea*" (d'Alfonso); for the juxtaposition *nate, materna*, cf. 252 *Pyrrhum paternus*, 248 *gnatam parens*.

557 ereptum: 'to snatch (a person) away from his work, friends (also pass., with death implied as cause)' (*OLD* s.v. 3a), cf. e.g. *Ag.* 1003 *coniugem ereptum mihi*, Catul. 68.105-7 *quo tibi tum casu, pulcerrima Laudamia, / ereptum est uita dulcius atque anima / coniugium*, Ov. *Tr.* 5.11.8 *eripuit cum me principis ira tibi*.

558-62 For this vehement assertion, cf. e.g. *Med.* 401-5 (Medea) *dum terra caelum media libratum feret / nitidusque certas mundus euoluet uices / numerusque harenis derit et solem dies, / noctem sequentur astra, dum siccas polus / uersabit Arctos, flumina in pontum cadent, / numquam meus cessabit in poenas furor.*

559 confossa: 'stabbed' (only here in Sen. trag.), cf. *Ben.* 5.3.3 *multis uulneribus confossus*, 3.19.2 *confossum uulneribus*, *Dial.* 12.3.1, Sal. *Cat.* 28.1 *de improuiso domi suae imparatum confodere*, 60.7 *Catilina ... in confertissumos hostis incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.444-5 *tum super exanimum sese proiecit amicum / confossus.*

560 praestricta: 'to tie up at the extremities, to tie up so as to constrict' (*OLD* s.v. 1), only here in Sen. trag; cf. Ov. *Ib.* 547 *praestricta fauce.*

acri: of fire (*OLD* s.v. 10b), also e.g. *Ben.* 2.27.3 *flammae ... acrior uis*, Lucr. 5.906 *acrem ... flammam*, Tib. 1.6.45 *acrem flammam.*

561 flamma: see on 578 *igni.*

cincta: 'surrounded', on the pyre. This line is quoted by Jocelyn p. 201 on Alcmeo 15.26 *incinctae igni*, but the use of the verb there ('armed with fiery weapons') is different; more appropriate are his parallels Verg. *Aen.* 9.74 *facibus pubes accingitur atris*, 12.811 *flammis cincta* (Iuno).

fidem: 'sense of duty towards others, loyalty, allegiance' (*OLD* 8b: "manifested in the keeping of secrets or confidences"); below 587 Ulysses will use the noun similarly. Cf. *Ep.* 88.29 *fides sanctissimum humani pectoris bonum est, nulla necessitate ad fallendum cogitur, nullo corrumpitur praemio: 'ure', inquit, 'caede, occide: non prodam, sed quo magis quaeret dolor, hoc illa altius condam'*; for a comparable instance of such a determined attitude in Sen. trag., cf. *H.F.* 419-21 (Megara) *grauent catenae corpus et longa fame / mors protrahatur lenta: non uincet fidem / uis ulla nostram.*

562 exuissem: 'to throw off (characteristics, habits, etc.)' (*OLD* 5), cf. *Phae.* 237 *castosque ritus Venere non casta exuet?*, *Thy.* 136 *feros exuat impetus*, *H.F.* 1144-5 *an nondum exuit / simulacra mens inferna?*, Cic. *Lig.* 14 *nonne omnem humanitatem exuisses?*, *CIL* 6.1527 (*ut*) *fidem exuerem*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.14 *exuendam ad fidem.*

nate: again (cf. above 556) an effective apostrophe.

locus: resumes 558 *regio*, likewise in chiastic order 563 *fortuna* - 557 *casus.*

563 auio: 'out of the (right) way, remote'; also 'untrodden, [...] lonely' (LS), cf. *Phae.* 777-8 *auiis ... locis*, Sal. *Jug.* 54.9 *nocturnis et auiis itineribus*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.736-7 *namque auia cursu / dum sequor et nota excedo regione uiarum*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.23.2 *montibus auiis.*

564 uagus ... lustras: cf. *Phae.* 3 *lustrate uagi*, *Thy.* 965-6 *uagus intra / terror oberrat*, *H.O.* 365 *errauit uagus*, 706 *uagus ... errat*, Luc. 10.460.

arua: 'the countryside (as distinct from the town)' (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. *Phoen.* 509 *non arua, non urbes dedit*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.45-6 *rex arua Latinus et urbes / ... regebat.* The word is not only found in poetry, in Sen. trag. another 18 times, but also in prose: Lebek p. 195 notes occurrences in Cicero (3x), Varro, Sallust (2x) and Livy (2.14.3, 9.36.11 *Etruriae arua*). In Senecan prose it occurs six times. For the combination with *lustras*, cf. Verg. *Geo.* 4.517-9 (Orpheus) *solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque niualem / aruaque Rhipaeis ... / lustrabat.*

lustras: 'to traverse, roam' (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. *Med.* 753 *secreta nudo nemora lustraui pede*, 862-5 *huc fert pedes et illuc, / ut tigris orba natis / cursu furente lustrat / Gangeticum nemus*. With its original sense 'to purify ceremonially', the verb is not used in these tragedies (contrast *Dial.* 5.16.4 *hac uictima lustrauit exercitum*), but see on 634 *lustrale* and 777 *lustri*. Other meanings of the verb in Sen. trag. are 'circle round' (*OLD* 2, *Ag.* 455 *millesimam nunc ambit et lustrat ratem*), and 'survey' (*OLD* 5, *Oed.* 972 *cauisque lustrans orbibus caeli plagas*) [for a discussion of this interesting verb, see W. Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus*, Oxford 1919, 96 ff.; Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 2.528; Eden on *Aen.* 8.229; Guiraud pp. 31-33].

an: Sen. trag. uses inverted *an* again below 565, 608, 848, 929, *Med.* 457, *Ag.* 579.

uapor: the combination of 'smoke' (cf. *H.F.* 911 *pinguis exundet uapor*; Farnabius: "incendio mixtus fumus") and 'heat' (cf. *Phae.* 101-3 *alitur et crescit malum / et ardet intus qualis Aetnaeo uapor / exundat antro*, 764-5 *non sic prata nouo uere decentia / aestatis calidae despoliat uapor*). Rosenmeyer p. 130 f. has some interesting remarks on the noun.

For the *u* alliteration, cf. below 701, 721-2, *H.F.* 278 *tandemque uenias uictor ad uictam domum*, *Med.* 190 *uade ueloci uia*. Fantham calls attention to the rich assonance on *ua-* and *-us*;

565 corripuit: of fire (*OLD* 1d), again e.g. *Phoen.* 563 *quae corripi igne, quae meti gladio iubes*, *Ep.* 18.15 *arida et corripi facilia scintillam quoque fouent usque in incendium*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.536-7 *flammam ... quae plurima uento / corripuit tabulas*.

566 lusit cruore: "per ludibrium te tantulum interfecit" (Farnabius); for the mocking of the victim by the murderer, cf. *Ep.* 95.33 *homo, sacra res homini, iam per lusum ac iocum occiditur*, Luc. 10.455 *fixo qui ludit in hospite Maurus*.

numquid: 'surely ... not? (implying anxiety, caution, incredulity, etc.' (*OLD* s.v. 1). Sen. trag. uses this interrogative particle, "introducing questions where a negative answer is anticipated", thirteen times, and simple *num* six times (see below 930); it can introduce a single direct question (again below 844, *H.F.* 214, 1140, *Phoen.* 251, *Thy.* 6), but is also used in a series of such questions (*H.F.* 1180-1, *Thy.* 197-8, 805-10). The use by other poets is very distinct: it occurs in Republican comedy, Horace's *Satires* (five times), Ovid's late elegiacs, Petronius, Juvenal, and Martial, but is absent from Horace's lyrics, Vergil and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Likewise in prose: it is not found in Cicero's speeches, Livy and Tacitus, but it does occur in Cicero's letters and in Senecan prose (over 85x).

Here, as at *Thy.* 6 (see Tarrant's note), the particle implies anxiety: a negative answer is hoped for, but cannot be confidently assumed (for 'logical' exceptions on the rule of the negative answer, see H-Sz 463). The preponderance of *numquid* over *num* in Sen. trag. is in line with the

general use of the words: "*num* starb in der Volkssprache wegen seiner Lautschwäche früh aus; schon Sen. rhet. und Phaedr. bevorzugen das klangstärkere *numquid*", Hofmann p. 41.

immanis: 'savage, brutal' (*OLD* s.v. 1), of an animal again e.g. *Dial.* 5.3.6 *bestiarum immanium cauae*, 5.8.3 *nulli ... immani bestiae*, Cic. *Inu.* 1.103 *a feris ... hominibus ... et immanibus bestiis*, *S. Rosc.* 71 *bestiis ... immanioribus*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.730 *immanem ... tigrim*; cf. Sen. *Med.* 407 *ferarum immanitas*.

567 pascis: for the use of the verb in this context, cf. *H.F.* 1208-9 *feras / uolucresque pascens*, *Thy.* 10 *uulneribus atras pascit effossis aues*, 1033-4 (Thyestes of his children) *utrumne saeuis pabulum alitibus iacent, / an beluis uorantur, an pascunt feras?*, *Oct.* 515-6 *pauere uolucres et feras saeuas diu / tristes Philippi*, Luc. 4.809-10 *Libycas, en, nobile corpus, / pascit aues nullo contectus Curio busto*.

Note the crescendo in Andromache's description of possibilities: his wandering in the fields (five words), his death by the fire (six words), his death as a puppet in the hands of the victorious foe (again six words, but the horrible *lusit cruore* outdoes *corripuit artus*), and his death by a wild beast and his being eaten by the vultures (eight words). Terrible though the first three ways of dying may be, they include a possible burial; in the last case, he will be deprived of this essential ceremony (therefore *numquid* after *an ... an*). For a similar crescendo, cf. below 928-30 *utrum ... an ... num*.

568-604 *Ulysses' threat to wring the truth out of Andromache by torturing her does not move her; at the end, she swears that her son is among the dead.*

568 simulata ... uerba: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.710 *flagrantisque dei uultus simulataque uerba*; on the aspect of 'feigning' in *dolus*, see ter Beek pp. 106 ff. On the rational and harsh tone of Odysseus' answer, frustrating any hope Andromache might have, Amoroso cites W. Bruder, *Der Kalkül der Vernunft in den Tragödien Senecas*, (1954) 19: "Odysseus' Entgegnung ist schneidend kalt".

remoue uerba: for the use of the verb with abst. things (*OLD* 3), cf. *Ag.* 662-3 *questus ... / remouete*, *Ep.* 26.6 *remoue existimationem hominum*, Pl. *St.* 309 *remouete moram*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.7.31 *desidiae remoue ... causas*.

569 decipere: for the emphasis on the inf. by the placing, cf. *Med.* 120 *deserere*, and - followed by a pause - below 889 *gaudere*, 937 *falli*; for the use of the verb in the context of *dolus*, see ter Beek pp. 208 ff.

matrum ... / ... dearum: Thetis, see on 211 and 214. It has been suggested by Miller and van Leijenhorst that *matrum* refers to Clytemestra, and *dearum* to Thetis. It would create another parallel between the present situation and Aulus, but I do not know of any trick by Iphiginia's mother to rescue her daughter.

570 cassa: 'hollow, empty', cf. e.g. below 679 *furor ... cassus*, 793 *cassa praesidia*, Lucr. 3.981 *cassa formidine*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.780 *cassa ... uota*, Non. 45.10 *cassum ueteres inane posuerunt.*

consilia: '(in depreciatory sense) a plot, scheme' (*OLD* s.v. 5c), e.g. *Dial.* 1.6.1 *auida consilia* (in a list of *mala*), 4.9.3 *regnorum publicorumque exitiorum clandestina consilia*, Pl. *Mil.* 605 *tuopte tibi consilio occludunt linguam*, Ter. *Ph.* 321 *instructa sunt mi in corde consilia omnia*; see ter Beek, pp. 11 ff..

amoue: for the use of the verb with an abstract object, cf. *H.F.* 397 *uoces amoue*, *Med.* 262 *si tuam causam amoues*, likewise *admouere* at *Phoen.* 459-60 *cui nunc ... / uerba admouebo?* The use belongs to every day language, cf. Pl. *As.* 254 *quin tu aps te socordiam omnem reice et segnitiem amoue*, *Ps.* 144 *nisi somnum socordiamque ex pectore oculisque amouetis*, 1282, Ter. *An.* 181 *sperantis iam amoto metu*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.27 *amoto ... ludo*, Liv. 4.41.9 *ab se ... amouens culpam* [see Lieberman p. 112, referring to Hofmann, pp. 153 ff.].

571 ubi: Andromache counters Ulysses' prosaic, policeman-like question with an emotional series of questions, for which cf. e.g. *H.F.* 1149-53 *ubi est parens? ubi illa natorum grege / animosa coniunx? cur latus laeuum uacat / spolio leonis? quonam abit tegimen meum / idemque somno mollis Herculeo torus? / ubi tela? ubi arcus?*, *Ag.* 699 (Cassandra) *quae patria restat, quis pater, quae iam soror?*

ubi Hector: for the very rare elision in the third arsis, cf. *H.F.* 1149 (quoted above), below 1061 *me omnium.*

572 unum ... omnia: echoes Sen. Rhet. *Con.* 9.5.4-5 *ex tribus unum posco. utinam omnes quos perdidit* (Caviglia); note the chiasmus.

quaeris ... quaero: in the latter occurrence, one may feel the nuance 'seek in vain' (*OLD* s.v. 2), I feel; cf. *Phae.* 1025 *haec dum stupentes quaerimus*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.814 *unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres*, Prop. 1.17.18 *optatos quaerere Tyndaridas*, Tib. 2.3.26, Ov. *Met.* 2.239 *quaerit Boeotia Dircen*, *Eleg. Maec.* 129 *quaesiuere chori iuuenem sic Hesperon illum* [cf. Schoonhoven (1980) 24: "... *quaerere* approaching the sense of 'to lament the loss of'"].

573 coacta dices: on the use of torture to worm out the truth, cf. *Phae.* 882-3 (Theseus) *uerbere et uinclis anus / altrixque prodet quidquid haec* (sc. Phaedra) *fari abnuit*, *Oed.* 518-9 (Oedipus to Creo) *audita fare, uel malo domitus graui / quid arma possint regis irati scies*, 852 (Oedipus to Phorbas) *fatere, ne te cogat ad uerum dolor*, 862-3 (Oed.) *huc aliquis ignem! flamma iam excutiet fidem. /* (Phorbas) *per tam cruentas uera quaerentur uias?* Because such torturing originally was only applied to slaves, Ulysses implicitly reminds her that she is now just a *captiua*; for a similar treatment of a princess, cf. *Ag.* 988-90 (Aegisthus) *abstrusa caeco carcere et saxo exigat* (sc. Electra) */ aeuum; per omnes torta poenarum modos / referre quem nunc occulit forsan uolet.* As Tarrant notes, referring to Sen. *Contr.* 2.5.4 ff., 9.6.18, 10.5 *passim*, and Bonner p. 59, declamation-oratory furnishes abundant and graphic references to

torture. In Greek tragedy, it is found e.g. Soph. *O.R.* 1152 (tr. Lloyd-Jones) 'If kindness will not get you to speak, pain will!', 1154, Eur. *Ion* 1215.

sponte: in Sen. trag. again below 1102 and *Oed.* 678 (*sponte ... mea*).

fari abnuis: for the use of the inf. with *abnuo* (*OLD* s.v. 2c), cf. *Phae.* 883 cited on *coacta dices*, *Phoen.* 489-90 *quid strictum abnuis / recondere ensem?*, Liv. 8.18.9 *haud abnuentibus et illis bibere*, 22.13.11 *nec abnuebant ... melioribus parere*. Verg. *Aen.* 10.8 *abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris*, referred to by Fantham p. 96, is different.

587 This line has been much disputed, partly because it has been transmitted in different positions (in some manuscripts after 581, in others after both 581 and 586), partly because it does not cohere with the preceding lines. It was often either athetized (by Leo, Richter, Zwierlein *Gnomon* 38 [1966] 685, [1976] 182, and Fantham) or transposed: after 572 by Bothe, after 573 by Zwierlein (1980) 183 f., after 574 by Damsté (1918) 62, after 588 by Raphelingius (Gronovius incorrectly thought it confirmed by E). Other editors, Viansino, Giardina, Caviglia, Boyle, Chaumartin, have retained the transmitted order.

I have followed Zwierlein's transposition, which has the additional advantage that it provides a good subject (*fides*) to line 574; otherwise that line would be an exception to the rule that women use masculine forms in such *sententiae*: cf. e.g. *Phae.* 265-6 *prohibere nulla ratio periturum potest, / ubi qui mori constituit et debet mori*, 881 *mors optima est perire lacrimandum suis*.

stulta: finding Andromache impervious to threats, Ulysses tries a different approach, just like Lycus in the comparable scene at *H.F.* 427. The adjective appears in Sen. trag. only here, *Med.* 919 and *Ag.* 150; Lucan and Val. Fl. do not use it at all, Horace only in the *Sermones* and *Epistulae*, Vergil only in the *Eclogae*, Silius only once [Axelson (1945) 100].

fides: Ulysses resumes the word that Andromache had used (561 *maternam fidem*) after a similar rhetorical outburst. For its notion of 'loyalty' in the keeping of secrets or confidences (*OLD* s.v. 8b), cf. *H.F.* 301 *muta fide* (referring to the Eleusinian rites), *Phae.* 161 *negata magnis sceleribus fides*, *Oed.* 799 *praestare tacitam regibus soleo fidem*, *Thy.* 317 *tacita ... fides*, 334-5 *ista nostro in pectore / fides timorque, sed magis claudet fides* [see *ThLL* VI 1.681.78 ff.; Zwierlein (1980) 184, n. 14; Hillen p. 9; Töchterle on *Oed.* 799]. Farnabius already glosses the word as "silentium"; the combination of both nouns is found e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 15.59 *frustra silentium et fidem in tot consciorum animis et corporibus sperare*.

statim: originally an adverb of place, e.g. Pl. *Am.* 276 *ita statim stant signa*, 239 *nec recedit loco quin statim rem gerat*, via passages like Cato *Agr.* 83 *ubi res diuina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito*, an adverb of time. In Cicero's letters, *statim* already outdoes its synonyms *confestim*, *extemplo* etc.; in (dactylic) poetry, however, it is rare. The adverb occurs

in the hendecasyllabus (Catul. 32.9; Mart. 1.27.4, 6.30.1, 12.93.6), and four times in Phaedrus' senarius. In Seneca's tragedies, the word is found 11 times (in *Troades* again 667, 688, 916, 1163), always at the end of the line. On *statim*, see Axelson (1945) 20; Billerbeck (1988) 70; Hofmann, p. 84.

574 tuta est: sc. *fides*, understood as *uir/femina fidelis* (abstr. pro concr.). For the idea of safety, afforded by (the prospect of) death, cf., for instance, below 656 *illum fata iam in tuto locant*, *H.F.* 1302 *noster in tuto est dolor*.

potest debet cupit: this climax has been taken over by Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 1677 (Adam) *possum, debeo, cupio mori*. For the triad in asyndeton, cf. below 615 *maeret, illacrimat, gemit*, *H.F.* 1041 *praebeo, occurro, insequor*, *Med.* 507 *abdico eiuro abnuo*. For another *sententia* on death, see below 869 *optanda mors est sine metu mortis mori*. Caviglia cites Sen. *Con.* 8 *exc.* 1 *uiolatorum numinum maiestate compulsa est ut mori et uellet et deberet et non posset*.

575 magnifica: 'boastful' (*OLD* s.v. 4b: "of words"), cf. Pl. *Cur.* 579-80 *tua magnufica uerba neque istas tuas magnas minas / non pluris facio quam ancillam meam*, Ter. *Eu.* 741 *illius ferre possum ineptiam et magnifica uerba*, Tib. 1.5.5-6 *libeat ne dicere quicquam / magnificum post haec*. In his prose, Seneca has worded the tenor of this line in *Ep.* 82.7 *magna uerba excidunt cum tortor poposcit manum, cum mors propius accessit*. In his tragedies, the adj. is found once more (*Med.* 222-3 *hoc reges habent / magnificum et ingens*), but with a different meaning: 'splendid' (*OLD* s.v. 1). Other adjectives in *-ficus* in *Tro.* are 596 *laetifica*, 752 *maleficae*.

About these adjectives in *-ficus*, Axelson (1945) 61 states with a reference to P.S. Baecklund, 'Die lateinischen Bildungen auf *-fex* und *-ficus*', Diss. Uppsala 1914: "Die Adjektive auf *-ficus* sind ja zum grossen Teil hochpoetisch. Die klassische Prosa verwendet nur ganz wenige solche Bildungen öfter, u.a. *magnificus, mirificus, honorificus*: eben diesen aber geht die Dichtung im allgemeinen aus dem Wege. Das erstgenannte Adj. sucht man vergeblich bei Cat. Verg. Hor. Prop. Ov. met. Luc. Val. Sil. Mart. Juv.; ausnahmsweise begenet es bei Lucr. Tib. Sen. [n. 29: Tib. 2.6.11 hat auch das Adv. *magnifice*], mehrmals in Ovids Elegien".

Jocelyn p. 250 on Ennius' *regifice* gives a list of such formations in tragedy: *ingratificus* (Acc. 365 D = 364 R^2), *hostificus* (Acc. 621, 642 D = 80, 83 R^2), *laetificus* (Trag. inc. 134), *largificus* (Pac. 414); comedy has *beneficus, damnificus, delenificus, falsificus, fumificus, furtificus, lucrificus* (?), *magnificus, maleficus, mirificus, munificus, spurcificus, ueneficus*. "The common occurrence of *magnificus, maleficus* and *ueneficus* suggests that these belonged to the common language, but the rest may be poetic creations."

Sen. trag. himself composed five new such adjectives: *castificus* (*Phae.* 169), *incestificus* (*Phoen.* 223), *letificus* (*Med.* 577), *nidificus* (*Med.* 714), *superbificus* (*H.F.* 58); the other adjectives in *-ficus* used by him are

luctificus (*H.F.* 102, *Phoen.* 132, *Phae.* 995, *Oed.* 3, 632; first found in Cic. *Tusc.* 2.25 in a translation of Aeschylus), *sacrificus* (*H.F.* 893, *Med.* 38, *Ag.* 166, 584; coined by Ovid, e.g. *Met.* 12.249), *saxificus* (*H.F.* 902; also originating from Ovid, *Met.* 5.217, *Ib.* 551), *tabificus* (*Oed.* 79; Lucr. 6.737), *terrificus* (*H.F.* 82, *Oed.* 384; *Inc. trag.* 96, Lucr. 2.632), *uulnificus* (*Phae.* 346; Verg. *Aen.* 8.446).

The conspicuous placing at the beginning of the trimeter is found again (besides *Med.* 223) at *Phoen.* 132, *Oed.* 79, 632, *Ag.* 584 [on these adjectives, see also Fitch, *Hercules Furens*, App. 4; Billerbeck (1988) 38; H-Sz 754 styles them "hochpoetisch"; Carlsson (1926) lists them among Seneca's archaisms].

excutit: for the transferred use of the verb, cf. Tib. 2.6.11-2 *magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi magna locuto / excutiunt clausae fortia uerba fores*, Sen. *Oed.* 244 *curam perempti maior excussit timor*, 862 *flamma iam excutiet fidem*, *Ep.* 7.6 *Socrati et Catoni et Laelio excutere morem suum dissimilis multitudo potuisset*, 11.2 *haec nec disciplina nec usus umquam excutit*, 47.15 *si quid enim in illis ex sordida conuersatione seruile est, honestiorum conuictus excutiet.*

576 Vlixe: the use of the proper name, aiming for an emotional effect (cf. e.g. below 594, 692, 707, 787, *H.F.* 654, 1177, *Med.* 447; see Tarrant on *Ag.* 260), gets full force by the following mentioning of her own name instead of *me*. This form of the vocative, found again below 607, 692, 707, 787, 993, is also used at Ov. *Met.* 13.83 (Bömer's note *ad loc.* needs a correction: at *Pont.* 4.14.35 *quis patriam sollerte magis dilexit Vlixe?*, *Vlixe* is an abl.); Pacuvius uses the voc. *Vlixes.*

Andromacham: Seneca uses the metrically equivalent Latin accusative as well as the Greek (below 804 *Andromachen*); as Fantham p. 99 notes, "the most likely explanation is choice based on euphony, since *n* cannot precede *m* without assimilation." For the proud utterance of her name, see on 308 *Pyrrhus.*

577 uitam minare: for the idea that death is preferable to a life in misery, cf. (in addition to the passages cited above on 142 *alio*) *Ag.* 996 (Electra) *mortem aliquid ultra est?* (Aegisthus) *uita, si cupias mori*, *H.F.* 513 *miserum ueta perire, felicem iube*, Aesch. *P.V.* 750-1, Soph. *El.* 1007-8.

For a similar unexpected turn, cf. *Med.* 397-8 *si quaeris odio, misera, quem statuas modum, / imitare amorem.*

mori uotum est mihi: this determined attitude towards death is not only found in *Troades* (cf. 1102, 1151-2, 1171), but also in the other tragedies: *Phoen.* 74-5 *extingui cupis / uotumque, genitor, maximum mors est tibi?*, 102 *malo imperari quam eripi mortem mihi*, *H.F.* 509-10 *hoc munus a te genitor Alcidae peto, / rogare quod me deceat, ut primus cadam*, *Phae.* 711-2 *maius hoc uoto meo est, / saluo ut pudore manibus immoriar tuis*, *Oct.* 108 *mori iuuabit.* For *uotum est* + inf. 'it is (my) wish to' (*OLD* s.v. 3c), cf. e.g. *H.O.* 1324, *Oct.* 604.

Note the contrast *uitam minare - mori uotum.*

578 uerberibus: '(pl.) an instrument for flogging, perhaps a bundle of twigs, cords, etc.' (*OLD* 1), cf. *Phae.* 882 *uerbere* (quoted on 573).

igni: as a means of torture or execution (*OLD* s.v. 3c; *ThLL* VII 1.291.37 ff.), cf. e.g. *Oed.* 862 *huc aliquis ignem! flamma iam excutiet fidem*, Cic. *Ver.* 5.163 *cum ignes ardentesque laminae ceterique cruciatus admouebantur*, Caes. *Gal.* 7.4.10 *maiore commisso delicto igni atque omnibus tormentis necat, leuiore de causa auribus desectis aut singulis effossis oculis domum remittit*, Apul. *Met.* 10.10. This form of the ablative (see on 544) occurs in Senecan prose at *Dial.* 6.26.6 *cum tempus aduenerit quo se mundus renouaturus extinguat, ... omni flagrante materia uno igni quidquid nunc ex disposito lucet ardebit*, and in the formulas *non omnibus miseris aqua et igni interdixerat* (*Ben.* 4.38.2), *non igni, non ferro abstinetur* (*Ben.* 7.27.1).

morte: the MSS reading was defended, for instance, by Raphelingius: "minime vero in eorum sententiam eo, qui malunt *mortis cruciatu*, quod nec libri, quos vidi, praeferunt; nec patitur versus. Et sane haud credam Vlyssem tam articulate pensitasse quid minaretur, ut mortem distingueret a cruciatu mortis."

The discrepancy with Andromacha's utterance ("death is no threat to me"), and the cold reasoning that nothing can be squeezed from a dead person, have led many scholars to question the word. Leo in his *app. crit.* proposed *omnique*; Peiper *nocte*; Damsté (1918) 61 *mille cruciatûm*; Herrmann *forte*; Brakman (1928) 154 *rite* (cf. *Oed.* 226 *et pias numen precatus rite summisi manus*, *Thy.* 689-90 *seruatur omnis ordo, ne tantum nefas / non rite fiat*); Axelson *morte crucianti*; Fitch (1986) 271 f. *cruce* (for the cross in a list of tortures, cf. e.g. Pl. *As.* 548-9 *stimulos lamminas crucesque compedesque / neruos*, Sen. *Dial.* 5.3.6 *eculei et fidiculae et ergastula et cruces*, for the collocation of *crux* and *cruciatus*, cf. Pl. *Amph.* fr. 1, Cic. *Verr.* 1.9, 5.14, 5.170); Delz (1989) 506 *chalybe* ('steel'; cf. *Thy.* 364 *non strictus domuit chalybs*).

Viansino defended *morte* with a reference to 575 and to the more than once found combination with *cruciatus* (Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.9, *N.D.* 3.81, Caes. *Gal.* 2.31.5). So did Fantham, taking *morte* = *morte proposita* (Cic. *Ver.* 5.112), for the combination with *cruciatus* adding Cic. *Ver.* 5.138 *ad mortem cruciatumque rapuisti*: "for the Romans, who exempted citizens from torture, death with torture was a distinct and more brutal punishment than death out-right, hence the apparently inverted order of the wording. The phrase would probably not have been challenged if it had not followed the exchange of 575-77." Zwierlein (1986) 97 has also kept the transmitted reading: "Die Junktur *mors (et) cruciatus* scheint so sehr idiomatisch (vgl. ThLL IV 1220,26ff. und Jocelyn ad Enn. scen. 18 = 24 V^2 *minatur uitae cruciatum et necem* S. 193[6]), daß man schwerlich bessern darf. So sehr ein nacktes *morte* ausgeschlossen ist, da sich Andromache ja unmittelbar zuvor den Tod gewünscht hat, so paßt doch recht gut die Androhung eines qualvollen Todes, wie sie durch das Hendiadyoin *morte cruciatu* zum Ausdruck gebracht ist."

cruciatu: probably a deliberate attempt to crown the preceding traditional climax with a word that will disturb Andromacha more; but there is not always logic in the sequence of words, as *Ep.* 71.23 *quid miraris si uri, uulnerari, occidi, alligari iuuat, aliquando etiam libet?* shows. The noun occurs only here in Sen. trag. and shares this fact and the same place in the line with other four-syllable words like *modulatu* (*H.F.* 263), *equitatu* (*Phoen.* 545), *laniatu* (*Phae.* 1246) and *oppositu* (*Phoen.* 402). For the asyndetic enumeration of horrors, Fantham compares Pacuvius 53 R *famulitas uis egestas fama formido pudor*, 301 R *metus egestas maeror senium exiliumque et senectus*, Acc. *Sc.* fr. 349 R (= 372 D) *maeror anxitudo error dolor*, Lucr. 3.1017 (a list of tortures) *uerbera carnifices robor pix lamina taedae.*

eloqui: 'to reveal in words, divulge, tell' (*OLD* 2); of secrets *H.F.* 660-1 *ut iura abdita / et operta terris liceat impune eloqui*, *Ep.* 83.10 *huic autem neminem commissurum arcana quae per uinum eloqui possit*, *Ben.* 5.21.1 *nulla lex iubet amicorum secreta non eloqui.* In Sen. trag. the compound is also found *Oed.* 19 *eloqui fatum pudet*, 817 *eloquere nomen*, *Thy.* 684 *quis queat eloqui?*

579 adiget: 'to drive, impel' (*OLD* s.v. 7); for the use of the verb with an inf. (H-Sz 345, *ThLL* I 678.60 ff.), cf. *Inc. trag.* 249 *quaenam te adigunt, hospes, stagna capacis uisere Auerni*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.695-6 *tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago / saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.45 *cum tormentis edere conscios adigeretur.*

adiget ... dolor: Hillen p. 200, noting the hypallage for *uerberibus ... eloqui / quodcumque celas, adigeris inuita dolore*, or *uerbera, ignis, mors, cruciatus eloqui / quodcumque celas, adigent inuitam dolore*, deals with this passage under 3.1.5.1.1 'Zur verschobenen Konstruktion 3.1.5.1 ('Instrumentale, separative oder komitativ-soziative Abll. werden zum Subjekt') tritt ein zusätzlicher (instrumentaler) Ablativ', and (p. 276) 3.2.3 'Vertauschung von Subjekt und Instrumental'. A related passage in Senecan prose is *Ep.* 88.29 *fides sanctissimum humani pectoris bonum est, nulla necessitate ad fallendum cogitur, nullo corrumpitur praemio: 'ure', inquit, 'caede, occide: non prodam, sed quo magis secreta quaeret dolor, hoc illa altius condam'.* For the phrase, cf. *Oed.* 852 *fatere, ne te cogat ad uerum dolor.*

580 pectore imo: for the use of *imus* with parts of the body (*OLD* s.v. 3b), cf. Catul. 64.93 *imis ... medullis*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.464-5 *magnumque sub imo / corde premit gemitum*, Ov. *Met.* 2.655-6 *suspirat ab imis / pectoribus.*

arcana: 'secrets', cf. *Phae.* 875 *effare: fido pectore arcana occulam*; similarly *Phae.* 884-5 *uerberum uis extrahat / secreta mentis.*

eruet: 'to unearth (anything unknown, latent, or forgotten), elicit' (*OLD* 2); cf. *Nat.* 3.pr.1 *non praeterit me, Lucili uirorum optime, quam magnarum rerum fundamenta ponam senex, qui mundum circumire constitui et causas secretaque eius eruere atque aliis noscenda prodere*, *Dial.* 5.11.1 *qui malignos sermones etiam si secreto habiti sunt eruit.*

581 necessitas: Caviglia and Boyle take the word, in Sen. trag. found only here, = 'Ἀνάγκη (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2), citing e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.59 *sic iubet Necessitas*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.17 *te semper anteit serua Necessitas*, and LSJ s.v. ἀνάγκη 2d. For the *sententia*, they refer to e.g. Aesch. *Prom.* 105, Eur. *Hel.* 514 (Liedloff p. 9 had compared Soph. *Thyest.* fr. 235 and fr. ad. 502). In view of the preceding lines, however, the meaning 'constraint imposed by external circumstances' (*OLD* s.v. 3, e.g. Pl. *Epid.* 730-1 *inuitus do hanc ueniam tibi, / nisi necessitate cogar*) in my view seems to prevail here. M. Vielberg, '*Necessitas* in Senecas Troades', *Philol.* 138 (1994) 315-334, aims to show "wie Seneca mit geradezu klinischer Präzision eine Phänomenologie des Zwangs, der *necessitas* entwickelt — Zwang primär verstanden nicht als psychologische, psycho-pathologische oder kulturelle Erscheinung, sondern als Modus des Politischen, insofern sich aus dem Umgang mit Macht und den Reaktionen auf Machtsausübung und -anspruch ein ganzes Spektrum von Verhaltensformen ergibt" (p. 319).

pietas: of mother-love (*OLD* s.v. 3b) e.g. *Med.* 943-4 *ira pietatem fugat / iramque pietas*. An ode on the power of *pietas* is sung by the chorus in *Thy.* 549-59 *nulla uis maior pietate uera est ... ducit ad pacem Pietas negantes*; its uselesness is also marked at Verg. *Aen.* 2.429-30 *nec te tua plurima, Panthu, / labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.2-4 *nec pietas moram / rugis et instanti senectae / adferet indomitaeque morti* [on *pietas* in Sen. trag., some thirty occurrences, see Walter (1975) 109-114]. Nouns in *-tas* are found in Old Latin, e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 4 Sk (8 V^2) *o pietas animi*, Pl. *Poen.* 1277, as well as in Augustan poetry; according to H-Sz 743 f., there are 19 such nouns in Vergil and 25 in Horace. Billerbeck (1988) 60, counting 30 nouns in *-tas* in Sen. trag., thinks that this increase mirrors his diversity of meters (allowing words less fit for the dactylic hexameter) rather than the influence of his philosophical prose.

After this *sententia*, the line *stulta ... statim* (587) in *θ*v seems out of place.

582 propone: 'hold out' (of threats, *OLD* s.v. 7c), cf. Cic. *Ver.* 3.112 *cum tot cruces, tot supplicia, tot ex cohorte recuperatores proponerentur*, *Fam.* 2.16.4 *nec me ista terrent, quae mihi a te ad timorem ... proponuntur*, Catul. 99.15 *quam quoniam poenam misero proponis amori*. In its two other occurrences in Sen. trag. the verb denotes 'to picture to oneself, imagine' (*OLD* s.v. 5b): *Phoen.* 625-6 *belli mala / propone*, *Ag.* 221-2 *equos et arma classibusque horrens fretum / propone*. Caviglia compares Sen. *Con.* 2.5.4 *explicantur crudelitatis aduersus infelicem feminam adparatus, ad excutiendam muliebris pectoris conscientiam proponuntur*, 7.8.1 *proponite uobis illam supplicii faciem, carnificem, securim*.

flammas: cf. 578 *igni*. Andromache repeats Ulysses' threats in a slightly different wording (there is no need to replace *uulnera* by *uerbera*, as Heinsius suggested), and in order to show her determination she adds some nasty specifications.

diras mali: see on 1 *magna potens*.

583 artes: 'methods' (*OLD* s.v. 10), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.338 *mille nocendi artes*, Liv. 21.25.6 *gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis*, Tac. *Hist.* 3.73 *fugam et fallendi artes*; the combination *dirae artes* is found once more in Sen. trag., *Med.* 575-6 *dona ... / ... ante diris inlita ac tincta artibus*. Sen. *Ep.* 14.4-5 specifies (*timenda*) *quae per uim potentioris eueniunt*: *ingens alterius mali pompa est; ferrum circa se et ignes habet et catenas et turbam ferarum quam in uiscera inmittat humana. cogita hoc loco carcerem et cruces et eculeos et uncum et adactum per medium hominem qui per os emergeret stipitem et distracta in diuersum actis curribus membra, illam tunicam alimentis ignium et inlitam et textam, et quidquid aliud praeter haec commenta saeuitia est.*

famem: cf. *H.F.* 419-20 *longa fame / mors protrahatur lenta*.

584 pestes: 'deadly, destructive things' in general, as Costa notes on *Med.* 681; there they are elaborated as snakes and herbs.

undique: probably rather 'from every source' (Miller) than 'around me' (Fantham); cf. *Med.* 681-3 *pestes uocat quascumque feruentis creat / harena Libyae quasque perpetua niue / Taurus coercet frigore Arctoo rigens*.

ferrum: to the interpretations 'sword' (e.g. Miller, Zwierlein, Billerbeck), and 'chains, shackles' (Fantham), a third one has been added by Fitch and Mayer. The former, (1986) 272, n. 4, cites Juv. 14.21-2 *aliquis tortore uocato / uritur ardenti ... ferro* for the use of hot iron as a means of torture, but adds that "an epithet like Juvenal's *ardenti* would be needed to distinguish this from the usual poetic sense of *ferrum*, viz. 'sword'; *ustis* seems too little and too late to make the sense clear". Mayer, *CQ* 41 (1991) 267 f., shows no such reserve:

> Heat was favoured by the Romans as a form of torture. One instrument was the lighted torch brought close up to the skin. Ulysses refers to it at 578 *igni*, as does Andromache at 582 *flammas*. Another was the heated metal plate set onto the flesh, the *lammina* of Lucretius 3.1017 *pix lammina taedae* (where a third instrument, heated pitch, is added). Poets referred to the plates as *ferrum*, e.g. Ovid at *Met.* 3.698 *ferrum ignesque parantur* (where it is clear from line 700 that chains cannot be meant) and Juvenal 6.624 *haec poscit ferrum atque ignes* and 14.22 *uritur ardenti ferro*. This last example helps us with the text of 585. Once we see that *ferrum* refers to the metal set against the skin (*inditum uisceribus*), the reading of the A-tradition, *ustis*, all but imposes itself as authentic. It is of course to be understood proleptically, for the effect of the torture is to scorch the flesh; cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.15.37. Seneca himself elsewhere uses *ferrum* in this sense, e.g. at *Epist.* 14.4 *ferrum circa se et ignes habet et catenas et turbam ferarum, quam in uiscera inmittat humana*; clearly *ferrum* must be distinct from *catenas* in this sentence and its proximity to *ignes* indicates the heated *lammina* of the Roman torturer. (It would be possible to take *ustis* to mean 'chafed', for which see *OLD* s.v. 10; then Mrs. Fantham's view that *ferrum* refers to chains would be possible, if only *uisceribus* were not too undefined)

inditum: 'to put or place in or on' (*OLD* 1), only here in Sen. trag. The verb is found with early poets, e.g. Pl. *Cas.* 247 *si ego in os meum hodie uini guttam indidi*, *Mil.* 411 *inde ignem in aram*, Lucr. 2.1125, but later on its use was confined to prose. Billerbeck feels that it is used here to replace the metrically unfitting *indūtum*; see *OLD* s.v. *induo* 5a: '(w. dat. or *in* + acc.) to bury, sink, plunge (a weapon in the body, etc.)', e.g. *Phoen.* 180 *manum cerebro indue.* Fitch (1986) 272 f. suggests that *inditum* is a simplification of an original *abditum* (cf. *Tro.* 48, Verg. 2.553), since he doubts whether it could have had a violent meaning in Seneca's day. Seneca uses it of a mirror 'set in' gold (*Nat.* 1.17.8 *auro inditum ... speculum*); for a violent meaning, *ThLL* VII 1213.73 only cites the undated but late poem *Anth. Lat.* 941.64-5 *nec semel Arcitenens tentarat spicula castis / indere pectoribus.*

585 uisceribus: '(usu. pl.) the soft fleshy parts of the body (as distinct from skin, bone, etc.)' (*OLD* 1).

ustis: for the defence of the A version, see the note on *ferrum*. Seneca uses the verb in a similar context at *Ep.* 37.1 *uri, uinciri ferroque necari*, 67.3 *torqueri et ... uri*, 71.23 *uri, uulnerari, occidi, alligari*, 88.29. For the combination with *uisceribus*, cf. in a quite different context *Thy.* 99-100 *flagrat incensum siti / cor et perustis flamma uisceribus micat.*

The E reading *istis* was preferred by Leo and most Italian editors. For *iste* meaning 'this' ("with little or no reference to second pers.", *OLD* 4; *ThLL* VII 509.49 ff.), cf. *Thy.* 627 *quaenam ista regio est?*, Apul. *Met.* 2.14 *sub istis oculis* (Budé: 'sous mes yeux'). Kingery, translating 'this body which you threaten', thinks that *istis* is used in preference to *his* "because the speaker is addressing the man who had threatened the torture, and in a sense is repeating his thought". To Fitch (1986) 273, this is the clearest example of that usage of *iste* in Sen. trag.; other instances: *Ag.* 526 *ista ... classis* (the Greeks' fleet), *Phoen.* 81 *ista ... uirgo* (Oedipus' own daughter), *Met.* 970-1 *uictima ... ista* (Medea's own son).

Zwierlein (1976) 203 f. has supported Wertis' conjecture *ipsis* with a reference to various Senecan passages where the noun *uiscera* is joined with *ipsa*: *Ep.* 14.6 *illae pestes non minus graues sunt, famem dico et sitim et praecordiorum suppurationes et febrem uiscera ipsa torrentem*, 50.4 *in uisceribus ipsis*, 83.21, 95.25, *Dial.* 7.27.6, 12.3.1 *grauissimum est ex omnibus quae umquam in corpus tuum descenderunt recens uulnus, fateor; non summam cutem rupit, pectus et uiscera ipsa diuisit*, 12.13.3, *Med.* 40. In addition, he calls attention to the frequent confusion of *ipse* and *iste*, *Phoen.* 657, *Med.* 993, *Oed.* 57, 381, *Ag.* 1001. This view is shared by Delz (1989) 504. Fantham, looking for a connective, adopted Gordon Williams' suggestion: *his et*; this does provide "the deictic reference and the required copula", but it is far from the transmitted versions.

carceris: for the use of the prison as a means of subduing a person, cf. *Ag.* 1000 (Aegisthus on the fate of Electra) *ut inquietam uirginem carcer domet.*

caeci: see on 171; of *carcer*, again at *Ag.* 988 *caeco carcere*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.734 *clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*. In its two other occurrences in Sen. trag., the gen. *carceris* is located in the same position in the trimeter: *Thy.* 16 *quod ipse custos carceris diri horreat*, 70-1 *abire in atrum carceris liceat mihi / cubile*; similarly the abl. at *H.F.* 57, 737, *Phae.* 836, *Ag.* 988.

luem: with its original meaning 'plague', the word is found e.g. *Thy.* 88-9 *grauem populis luem / sparsura pestis*; here it denotes 'pestilential atmosphere' (*OLD* 1) or 'affliction' (*OLD* 2). Billerbeck (1988) 30, comparing *Oed.* 858-9 *uulneri innatus tumor / puerile foeda corpus urebat lue*, conjectures *lue*, translating: 'drohe mir ... mit dem Schwert, versenkt in Eingeweide, die vom Siechtum in dunklem Kerker entzündet sind'.

586 iratus: 'enraged at the resistance he has met', according to Kingery; in my opinion, Andromache hints at the anger of the Greeks that they still cannot sail for home.

timens: I find it hard to choose between *timens* (E TP) and *tumens* (CSV). Zwierlein (1986) 97 may be right in preferring the latter form because of the combination with *iratus*; to his illustrations from Sen. trag., *Phoen.* 352 *tumet animus ira*, *Thy.* 519-20 *ponatur omnis ira et ex animo tumor / erasus abeat*, 737 *saeuit atque ira tumet*, may be added e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.19 *sapientis autem animus ... numquam tumet; at irati animus eius modi est*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.1.58-9 *accensum quis bile fera famulisque tumentem / leniet ardentique in se deflectet ab ira?* (van Dam's note *ad loc.* mentions a similar confusion in the MSS there; for the combination of *tumere* and its derivatives with anger in Statius, it refers to Heuvel on *Theb.* 1.299, Brinkgreve on *Ach.* 1.155). It would create a similar contrast as between Agamemnon and Achilles at 253 *minasque tumidi lentus Aeacidae tuli*.

On the other hand, *timens* offers such a nice oxymoron with *audet*, and such a striking contrast with *nullos ... admittit metus* (588), that this unexptected reading may be preferred as the *lectio difficilior*, as has been done by most editors and by Fitch, *CP* 84 (1989) 242. The use of *audet* settles the matter for me: reading *tumens*, I would rather have expected *quidquid minatur uictor* instead of *et quidquid audet uictor*. For the combination of *tumere* and *minari*, cf. above 253, below 1095-6. For the fear of the victorious Greeks as a constant theme in this scene, cf. the line-endings 530 *timor*, 535 *horreo*, 548 *timet*, 551 *metu*.

588 animosa: 'courageous' (*OLD* s.v. 1), cf. *Phoen.* 94 *animosa uirgo*, *Dial.* 3.11.3 *Germanis quid est animosius?*; elsewhere 'proud' (*OLD* 2), e.g. *H.F.* 1149-50 *illa natorum grege / animosa coniunx*. Seneca is rather fond of the adj., and uses it both in his tragedies (again *H.F.* 201 *alte uirtus animosa cadit*, *Phoen.* 444-5 *iuuentus ... animosa*) and some thirty times in his prose, e.g. *Dial.* 5.41.2 *uulgus animosa miratur et audaces in honore sunt*, *Ben.* 2.16.1 *animosa uox uidetur et regia*, *Ep.* 71.18 *uirtutem ... animosam et excelsam*.

nullos: note the conspicuous placing of the adj., also found at *Phoen.* 241 *absiste: nullas animus admittit preces*, *Med.* 1027 *testare nullos esse, qua ueheris, deos*, *Phae.* 219 *reditusque nullos metuo.* The more normal order of words *animosa mater nullos admittit metus* would have brought along a spondee in the fourth foot.

admittit: 'to allow (feelings or states) to affect or get hold of one' (*OLD* s.v. 7c), cf. Luc. 2.372-3 *ille* (sc. Cato) *nec horrificam sancto dimouit ab ore / caesariem duroque admisit gaudia uoltu*, V. Fl. 2.399 *tales admittere curas*, Suet. *Aug.* 66.1 *amicitias neque facile admisit.* For the structure of the line, cf. *Phoen.* 241 quoted above, *Phoen.* 639 *in quo execrandum uictor admittit nefas.*

589 contumax: the adj. can have a positive ring 'proud and unyielding', e.g. *Nat.* 3.praef.13 *animus contra calamitates fortis et contumax*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.3 *contumax etiam aduersus tormenta seruorum fides*, but here it clearly has the more frequent negative sense 'stubborn'. Sen. trag. uses it again at *H.F.* 964 *an contumacis ianuam mundi traho?*, *Thy.* 644 *contumacem regibus populum suis.* According to Palmer (1954) 71, it was first applied to unmanageable, refractory animals. Seneca uses it thus in *Dial.* 4.26.5 *idem equi obsequentes alteri equiti, alteri contumaces sunt*, *Cl.* 1.16.4 (again of a horse); of people, *Dial.* 1.3.4 *contumacissimum quemque et rectissimum adgreditur* (sc. *fortuna*), *Ep.* 73.1 *errare mihi uidentur qui existimant philosophiae fideliter deditos contumaces esse et refractarios.* A transition is made at *Cl.* 1.24.2 *natura contumax est humanus animus et in contrarium atque arduum nitens sequiturque facilius quam ducitur; et ut generosi ac nobiles equi melius facili freno reguntur, ita clementiam uoluntaria innocentia impetu suo sequitur*, *Ep.* 83.22 *contumacissimos et iugum recusantes.* It is also used with *maeror* and *dolor* (*Dial.* 12.1.4, 6.8.1). Fitch (1987) 470 ascribes Seneca's liking for adj. in *-x* at least partly to the strong sound-effects provided by such words; contrast the smoother sound of adj. in *-osus*, of which Vergil uses many more than Seneca.

perstas: 'persist', again *Med.* 429 *quam multa sint timenda, si perstas, uide.* For the combination with the abl., cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.431 *ne perstate animis* (more usual is *in* + abl., see *OLD* s.v. 3).

590 monet: for the combination with the inf., cf. e.g. *Ag.* 321 *monuit ... celebrare*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.439-40 *interea soror alma monet succedere Lauso / Turnum* [H-Sz 345: " Bei *moneo* ... u.ä. ist der Inf. wie bei *iubeo* zu beurteilen, nämlich als alter Inf. des Zieles."]; with *ut*, e.g. *Ep.* 70.28, 95.63.

591 post ... post: repetition with change of accent, see on 170.

longinqua: rather 'of long duration, prolonged' (*OLD* s.v. 5b), I think, than 'distant' (*OLD* s.v. 1), as Farnabius takes it: "procul a patria"; cf. Catul. 64.345 *Troicaque obsidens longinquo moenia bello*, with Fordyce's note. Sen. trag. uses the adj. in this temporal sense again *Ag.* 766-7 *ossa uasti corporis / corrupta longinquo situ*; the spatial meaning is found *H.F.* 1335 *latebram quaere longinquam, abditam*, *Phae.* 848 *longinquum aethera*, 939 *longinqua clausa abstrusa diuersa inuia.*

592 timerem ... metus: comparable occurrences of a verb in combination with a cognate or internal acc. are found e.g. *Oed.* 700 *pauet uanos metus, H.F.* 741 *imperium regit, Ag.* 670-1 *carmen cantat* [see Preising p. 11; K-S 1.274-279].

facit Calchas: resumes 533.

timerem ... / ... timerem: this repetition of a word at the end of (members of) a sentence is variously called *epiphora* (Rutil. 1.8), *antistrophe* (Alex. schem. III p. 29, 27: the opposite of *epanaphora*), *conuersio* (*Rhet. Her.* 4.13.19 *conuersio est, per quam ... ad postremum (uerbum) continenter reuertimur*), or *conuersum* (Aquila 35) [Lausberg § 631]. It occurs again e.g. below 1006-7, 1039-40, *Thy.* 1030-1 *quidquid e natis tuis / superest habes, quodcumque non superest habes, Phoen.* 66 *perire sine me non potes, mecum potes,* 294 *uitam tibi ipse si negas, multis negas,* 367-9 *hoc leue est quod sum nocens: / feci nocentes. hoc quoque etiamnunc leue est: / peperi nocentes* [Canter p. 158 f.].

593 mihi ... Telemacho: a similar contrast is found *Thy.* 485-6 (Thyestes to his sons) *pro me nihil iam metuo: uos facitis mihi / Atrea timendum.*

bella Telemacho paras: resumes 529-31.

594 inuita: cf. 579 *inuitam*: Andromache feigns that the logical argument has persuaded her to tell the truth.

595 fatere ... dolor: see on 107.

premis: 'to crush down, suppress (emotions or their physical symptoms in oneself or others)' (*OLD* s.v. 20b), cf. *Dial.* 11.15.5 *non potuisset ille lacrimas alienas compescere, nisi prius pressisset suas,* Verg. *Aen.* 1.209 *premit altum corde dolorem,* 4.332 *curam sub corde premebat,* 10.465 *corde premit gemitum.*

596 laetifica: 'joyful news' (neut. pl. as subst.). The adj., occurring only here in Sen. trag. and absent from his prose, is already found Enn. *Ann.* 585 Sk (= 574 V^2) *laetificum gau*; denoting 'luxuriant, fruitful', Enn. *scen.* 152 V^2 (Jocelyn p. 285) *uites laetificae,* Lucr. 1.193 *laetificos ... fetus.* Some later occurrences: Stat. *Theb.* 8.261 *laetificos ... tumultus,* 12.521 *laetifici plausus,* Apul. *Met.* 2.31 *aliquid ... laetificum,* 6.2 *per laetificas messium caerimonias.* As for the use of adjectives in *-ficus,* see on 575 *magnifica.* On Seneca's predilection for the use of adjectives and participles as substantives, see e.g. Summers, p. lxi, esp. (c).

ut soles: one may think of the capture of Helenus (see on 60) by Ulysses. According to Lesches in the *Little Iliad,* the Trojan prince at that time informed his opponent that Troy could be taken if Philoctetes with Hercules' famous bow and arrows were brought there, and Ulysses was thus the bearer of happy news.

597 Hectoris proles: cf. 528 *Hectorea suboles.* The noun *proles* also occurs in Cicero's list (*de Orat.* 3.153) of *uerba prisca.* It is often found in poetry, e.g. Lucretius (9x), Vergil (some 30 times), Ovid (over 50 times); Livy has four instances (1.8.5, 1.9.1, 1.23.1, 4.6.2) [Lebek p. 28]. Sen. trag. uses the word another 23 times; in his prose, at *Dial.* 11.9.7 *Caesarem omnemque eius prolem, Ep.* 115.14 (quote).

obit: = *obiit*, see on 50 *redit*. In its sense 'to die' (*OLD* s.v. 8), Sen. trag. uses the verb again *Phae.* 998-9 *gnatum parens obisse iam pridem scio: / nunc raptor obiit*, *Oed.* 765-6 *obisse nostro Laium scelere autumant / superi inferique* (*H.O.* 1409, 1911). It is found in Lucretius (e.g. 3.1042), Horace (*Carm.* 3.9.24, 2.17.3, 2.20.7), Vergil (*Aen.* 10.641 *morte obita*), and Propertius (2.3.39), but it is absent from Catullus, Tibullus and Ovid. The verb occurs also in Lucan, Silius, Martial and Juvenal [Axelson (1945) 104 f.]. In Senecan prose, it is foundin *Ep.* 82.20 *exercitum pro coniugibus ac liberis mortem obiturum.*

In lines 556-67, Andromache had only alluded to Astyanax' death, without violating the truth; now she turns to the lie that the old man had advised her (493).

598 et: see on 429.

uerum hoc: for the elision of *-um* before a monosyllable, cf. 936 *unum hoc*, 978 *regum hanc*, *H.F.* 1028 *istum huc*, *Med.* 225 *solum hoc.*

fide: 'a piece of evidence for a statement, proof, confirmation' (*OLD* s.v. 4).

599-603 ita ... ut: 'so (help me God, or sim.) ... as it is true that', qualifying a wish, whose fulfillment depends on the truth of a statement (*OLD* s.v. *ita* 17), cf. e.g. *Oed.* 270-3 *ita molle senium ducat et summum diem / securus alto reddat in solio parens / solasque Merope nouerit Polybi faces, / ut nulla sontem gratia eripiet mihi*, Ter. *Ph.* 807-8 *ita me seruet Iuppiter, / ut propior illi quam ego sum ac tu homo nemost*, Ov. *Pont.* 3.9.27-30 [H-Sz 634: "*ita - ut* (dichterisch *sic - ut* seit Catull. 45, 13) <u>in Schwüren</u> <u>und</u> <u>Beteuerungen</u> ist allzeit umgangssprachlich (...). Der Modus in Satz mit *ita* ist der Optativ, im Altlatein auch der Indik. Fut. (...), im *ut*-Satz der Indik."]. Other occurrences of *ita* in Sen. trag. are only *Ag.* 268 *ita est?*, *Thy.* 270 *ita sit*, *Med.* 560 *itane est?*, *Oed.* 516 *itane et ... obrues?*, 936 *itane?*

600 maturo: 'premature, early' (*OLD* s.v. 9), cf. *Phoen.* 304-5 *leti quaero maturi uiam / morique propero*, *Phae.* 857 *letum ... maturum*, *Oed.* 72 (Oedipus) *matura poscens fata*, *Dial.* 5.43.2 *finis et quidem maturus*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.5-6 *ah te meae si partem animae rapit / maturior uis*, Ov. *Pont.* 2.1.59 *maturosque pater nati spectabit honores.*

exitu: 'the conclusion of one's life, one's end' (*OLD* s.v. 3b), cf. e.g. *Ep.* 66.43 *aliquorum melior dici, aliquorum peior potest exitus: mors quidem omnium par est*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.630 *nunc manet insontem grauis exitus.*

601 soluant: 'set free in death' (*OLD* s.v. 5d), cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.78-9 *'ipse deus, simul atque uolam, me soluet.' opinor / hoc sentit, 'moriar'*, Sen. *Ep.* 66.43 *alius inter cenandum solutus est; alterius continuata mors somno est.*

602 leuiter: cf. the traditional wish *sit tibi terra leuis*, and for a contrast below 1158-9 *ut Achilli grauem / factura terram*, *Phae.* 1279-80 *istam terra defossam premat, / grauisque tellus impio capiti incubet.*

603 luce caruit: this euphemism is also found in *Med.* 548-9 *spiritu citius queam / carere, membris, luce*, Lucr. 4.35 (39) *simulacraque luce carentum*, Verg. *Geo.* 4.255 *corpora luce carentum*, 4.472 *umbrae ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum*, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.12 *qui hac luce careant*, Ov. *Met.* 14.725 *mihi luce carendumst.* For the use of the perf. tense, 'has lost possesion of', Fantham compares *Dial.* 11.9.4 *quod uidetur ingentibus et cum maxime circumfusis bonis caruisse*; cf. also *Ben.* 3.17.2 *an tu infelicem uocas, qui caruit acie ...?*

extinctos: 'the dead' (*OLD* 2b), cf. e.g. below 660, *Phoen.* 74-5 *extingui cupis / uotumque, genitor, maximum mors est tibi?*, *Oct.* 45 *extinctus iacet.* For the substantival use of the participle, cf. V. Max. 4.6.3 *si quis ... extinctis sensus inest.*

iacet: alludes to the sense 'lies dead' (*OLD* s.v. 6).

604 debita: "exequias, iusta debita mortuis" (Farnabius).

exanimis: 'deprived of life, dead' (*OLD* s.v. 1). In the written text, the word nicely rounds off Andromache's ambiguous wording, since it can be taken both as a nom. sing. (*exanimĭs*) of the third declension, used predicatively, and as a dat. plur. (*exanimīs*) of the second declension, used substantivally. In view of her painstaking sticking to the truth in the formulation of her oath, an actor would have to pronounce *exanimīs.* In his other plays, Seneca uses forms of *exanimis* (*Phae.* 1174 *exanimis iaces?*, *Ag.* 904 *exanimem petit*) as well as forms of *exanimus* (*Phae.* 585 *terrae repente corpus exanimum accidit*, *Thy.* 1059 *corpora exanima amputans*). In his prose we only find forms of *exanimis* (*Ben.* 5.20.4, *Dial.* 10.20.3, 12.19.7, *Nat.* 3.18.2) [for a discussion of the adjectives, see J.W. Poultney, *AJP* 74 (1953) 374 f.. The figures 5 - 2 for Sen. trag. at *ThLL* V 2.1172.58 seem to imply that this instance erroneously is taken as a nom. sing.].

605-33 *After a short moment of belief, followed by doubt, Ulysses calls upon his total slyness to scrutinize Andromache. He observes that she is more afraid than sad, but she explains this by the prolonged habit of her sorrow.*

605 expleta fata: the words correspond to 528 *hanc fata expetunt.*

There is a Greek parallel for this use of the verb (this as an addition to Fantham's note), Hdt. 3.142 'Polycrates fulfilled his destiny' [*ThLL* V 2.1720.18 f. lists it under 'officia, imperia, poenas, laudes, promissa, vaticinia, sim.'].

stirpe: see on 456 *stirpem.*

sublata: 'to get rid of, remove (a person, etc., freq. with the implication of killing)' (*OLD* s.v. *tollo* 13). The participle occurs once more in Sen. trag., again in an abl. abs., *H.F.* 29 (*saeuus dolor*) *aeterna bella pace sublata geret.*

606 solidam ... pacem: in contrast with 529 *incertae pacis*; cf. *Thy.* 972 *solidamque pacis alligauit certae fidem.* The adj. is one of Seneca's stock words (cf. Klei on *Dial.* 2.3.5 *sapientis animus solidus*); for its use in combination with an abstr. noun, cf. *Ep.* 27.2 *uoluptates ... non sunt solidae, non sunt fideles; etiam si non nocent, fugiunt,* 83.3 *hodiernus dies solidus est, nemo ex illo quicquam mihi eripuit, Dial.* 10.5.3 *sapiens ... numquam semiliber erit, integrae semper libertatis et solidae.*

feram: 'to bring (news), report' (*OLD* s.v. 26).

607 quid agis, Vlixe?: 'what are you up to, Ulysses?'; cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.14.2 *o quid agis?,* citing e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 1.27 *si mecum patria, ... si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica loquatur "M. Tulli, quid agis?"* [*ThLL* I 1380.6 ff.]. In *Hercules Furens*, such abrupt and life-like shifts of thought or feeling in self-address are noted by Fitch at 108-9, 307-8, 519.

W. Strzelecki, *De Senecae trimetro iambico quaestiones selectae*, Cracovia 1938, 66 has called attention to the unusual metrical structure of this line-opening. As a rule, when a tribrach occurs in the first foot, the thesis consists of a monosyllable, and the two short syllables of the dissolved arsis in combination with the thesis of the second foot form a single word. As Caviglia remarks, "la «spezzatura» che qui si riscontra è in funzione del pathos della situazione, ed esprime il concitato e perplesso interrogarsi del personaggio."

For the following long aside 607-18, cf. below 642-62, 686-91; comparable passionate soliloquies are found at *H.F.* 1138-73, *Med.* 397-425, 431-46, *Phae.* 1184-90, *Ag.* 226-33, *Thy.* 176-204, 423-8 [see e.g. Canter p. 59 f.; Bonner p. 164].

Danaidae: the sons or descendants of Danaus (king of Argos), = the Greeks, again below 757 (the 'Index Nominum' of Zwierlein's *OCT* lists the two instances erroneously with the *Danaides* under *Danais*).

608 tu cui?: sc. *credis.*

parenti: Thomann, Caviglia, and Boyle follow Herrmann in adding a question-mark.

parenti ... parens: cf. below 741 *habet ... habet* in the same feet of the line.

an: for the use of *an* ("vale un *num*", d'Alfonso) with *quisquam*, see on 890 below. Or do the placing and indicative mood of *fingit* here imply a more positive answer? Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8.108 *credimus? an, qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?,* Ov. *Ep.* 12.91 *uidi etiam lacrimas; an et ars est fraudis in illis?*

609 abominandae: 'detestable' (*OLD* s.v. 2), in Sen. trag. again *Phae.* 948 *fer abominandam nunc opem gnato, parens,* 1119-20 *equidem malorum maximum hunc cumulum reor, / si abominanda casus optanda efficit.* In his prose, the adj. is found six times, e.g. *Dial.* 3.12.6 *abominandum remedi genus est sanitatem debere morbo.* Caviglia takes it with hypallage, noting the wordplay *abominandum* (from *omen*) - *auspicium.*

auspicium: 'a portent or omen of any kind' (*OLD* s.v. 5), orig. augury from the behaviour of birds (*OLD* 1) and the resulting omen (*OLD* 2). Sen. trag. uses the noun only in this and the following line; he has *auspex* twice (see on 853 below) and *auspicari* four times.

pauet: the trans. use of the verb (*OLD* 2) is already found in Plautus (*Cist.* 535, *Men.* 609); cf. also *Phae.* 495 *nec omnes conscius strepitus pauet*, *Oed.* 700-1 *qui pauet uanos metus, / ueros meretur.*

610 auspicia: for the repetition of the word with a shift of accent, see on 170.

611 alligauit: 'pledge' (*OLD* s.v. 9b), cf. *Thy.* 972, quoted on 606.

612 peierat: 'swears falsely'. In his tragedies, Seneca uses the verb once more in *Phoen.* 588-9 *quid paterer aliud, si fefellissem fidem? / si peierassem?*; in his prose it is only found in *Ben.* 6.8.2 *saepe testis, dum aperte pierat, etiam ueris testibus abrogauit fidem.*

613 nunc ... nunc ... / nunc: for the anaphora, cf. below 988, *Thy.* 1096-9 *nunc meas laudo manus, / nunc parta uera est palma. perdideram scelus, / nisi sic doleres. liberos nasci mihi / nunc credo, castis nunc fidem reddi toris*; with the notion 'at one moment ... at another moment', *nunc ... nunc* occurs above 458.

aduoca: 'to call upon, summon up (resources, skills, etc.)' (*OLD* 6), cf. *Phoen.* 77 *pectus antiquum aduoca*, *Med.* 562-3 *omnis aduoca / uires et artes*, *Cl.* 1.25.2 (*saeuitia*) *ingenium aduocat*, *Ben.* 4.18.3 *hoc fortes nos facit, quod licet contra fortunam aduocare.*

astus ... fraudes, dolos: such a combination of synonyms is not uncommon in Senecan tragedy; cf. e.g. *Med.* 411-2 *non procellosum mare / pontusue coro saeuus*, *Phae.* 100 *non me quies nocturna, non altus sopor*, 731 *crinis tractus et lacerae comae.* He uses the combination *astus - dolus* again below 752, *Phae.* 153 *astu doloque.* See ter Beek p. 24 for instances from other authors; he also notes the rareness of *astus* in Christian literature and its absence in juridical authors.

anime: the address to one's own heart was already common in early Greek poetry (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 20.18, Archil. 66, Theognis 695, 877, 1029), tragedy (e.g. Eur. *Med.* 1056), and - parodied - in Greek comedy (e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 450, 480). This use of *anime* is also found in earlier Latin tragedians (Pac. 284 *consternare, anime?*) and other poets, for instance Catul. 63.61 *miser a miser, querendum est etiam atque etiam, anime*, Prop. 2.10.11 *surge, anime, ex humili.* In Seneca's tragedies, there are no less than 25 occurences, in *Tro.* again at 662. Tarrant on *Thy.* 192 supposes that this frequency perhaps may be explained by Seneca's philosophical belief that voluntary acts require the assent of the rational faculty. He refers to *Dial.* 4.1.4 *nobis placet nihil illam* (sc. *iram*) *per se audere sed animo adprobante*; as an example from Shakespeare he quotes *Othello* 5.2.1 'It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul' [see also Leo, *Der Monolog im Drama*, Berlin 1908, 96 ff., esp. 106-108 on Seneca; Canter p. 144; W. Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch*, Berlin ^{2}1966].

fraudes: on this characteristic of Ulysses, see e.g. Bömer's note on Ov. *Met.* 13.31-2 *sanguine cretus / Sisyphio furtisque et fraude simillimus illi.*

614 totum: combined with a proper name also *Thy.* 494-5 *uenit in nostras manus / tandem Thyestes, uenit, et totus quidem.*

Vlixem: for this living up to one's image, cf. *H.F.* 1239 *nunc Hercule opus est, Med.* 171 (Nut.) *Medea* — (Med.) *Fiam*, 910 *Medea nunc sum, Thy.* 180 (Atreus to himself) *iratus Atreus*, and as a contrast *Thy.* 937 (Thyestes to himself) *ueterem ex animo mitte Thyestem.* "Il machiavellico realizzatore dell'inganno sfida anche se stesso. S., prima di Shakespeare, ha creato in teatro il compiacimento tragico della propria malvagità", Amoroso p. 166.

ueritas numquam perit: the tenor of this phrase is also found in Liv. 22.39.19 *ueritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui nunquam*, Publil. Syr. 76 (B 20) *bonum quod est, supprimitur, numquam extinguitur*, Hieron. *adu. Pelag.* 1.25 (col. 721 Vall.) *ueritas enim laborare potest, uinci non potest* [Otto (1890) 367], Hier. *reg. mon.* 20 (M. 30 col. 181) *ueritas claudi et ligari potest, uinci non potest* [Häussler, p. 246].

In my view, E's *perit* was rightly upheld by Gronovius: "efficacius quam *latet.* nunquam exstinguitur sive potentia sive dissimulatione: semper emergit, exseritque se, utcumque pressa, aliquibus indiciis"; the verb better motivates Ulysses' determination to go on searching [Liedloff, p. 9 with various other passages quotes *Ep.* 120.19 *ueri tenor permanet, falsa non durant*, but Reynolds' *OCT* reads *uero*]. A's reading *latet* (a wordplay on *ἀλήθεια*?) was preferred by Herrmann (in *app.* E *periit*) and Brugnoli (1957) 238; they were followed by Paratore, Caviglia, and Amoroso ("*Latet* è vocabolo della sfera teatrale che anche per questo si fa preferire a *perit* di E"). Stroh proposes a merger of the two readings, *patet*: 'Wahrheit liegt ja nie am Tag' (*patet* for *latet* has also been conjectured by Axelson at *Oed.* 295).

In Senecan tragedy, *ueritas* occurs again *Oed.* 826-7 (in a quite different context!) *latere semper patere quod latuit diu: / saepe eruentis ueritas patuit malo*, and 850 *quid uerba quaeris? ueritas odit moras.* Like *necessitas* and *pietas* (see on 581), *ueritas* is also found personified, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.6-8 *cui Pudor et Iustitiae soror / incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas / quando ullum inueniet parem?*

615 scrutare: 'look searchingly at, scan, scrutinize' (*OLD* 1d), cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.3 *ne omnium oculis uultum eorum scrutantibus falsi intellegerentur*, 16.5 *ut nomina ac uultus, alacritatem tristitiamque coeuntium scrutarentur.*

This verb, originally denoting 'to sort rags', from *scruta* = 'discarded goods, junk', is already found in early poetry, e.g. Enn. *scen.* 187 J (244 V^2) *quod est ante pedes nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas*, Pl. *Aul.* 651 *iam scrutari mitto*, Lucr. 1.830 *Anaxagorae scrutemur homoeomerian*, 6.809 *terrai penitus scrutantes abdita ferro.* The first instances in extant prose are in Varro: four times, e.g. *L.L.* 1.2 *ubi cur et unde sint uerba scrutantur.*

In Golden poetry, the verb occurs rarely, for example at Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.275-6 *adde cruorem / stultitiae atque ignem gladio scrutare*, *Ep.* 1.18.37 *arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius umquam*; it is found only once in Ovid, *Met.* 15.136-7 *fibras / inspiciunt mentesque deum scrutantur in illis*, and is absent from Vergil. In prose, it occurs rather often in Cicero (14x) and Val. Max. (11x); other instances are found in Sallust (*Jug.* 12.5 *scrutari loca abdita*), Nepos (*Dat.* 11.2 *locum qui explorarent atque ipsos scrutarentur mittunt*), Livy (three times), and Seneca Rhetor (three times, e.g. *Con.* 1. praef. 3 *illam omni cura scrutabor*). The first poet who uses the verb on a larger scale (7x) is Manilius, e.g. 4.867 *scrutari mundum.*

Seneca shows a definite liking for the verb. In his tragedies, it is found again below 812, *Med.* 1012-3 *in matre si quod pignus etiamnunc latet, / scrutabor ense uiscera et ferro extraham*, *Oed.* 372 *scrutemur, unde tantus hic extis rigor*, 965 *scrutatur auidus manibus uncis lumina*, *Thy.* 497-9 *cum feras uestigat et longo sagax / loro tenetur Vmber ac presso uias / scrutatur ore.* In his prose, there are 23 occurrences, e.g. *Cl.* 1.3.5 *mare lucri causa scrutamur*, *Dial.* 5.36.3 *totum diem meum scrutor factaque ac dicta mea remetior*, *Ep.* 16.2 *excute te et uarie scrutare et obserua*, *Nat.* 2.1.1 *prima pars naturam siderum scrutatur.* Seneca also seems to have introduced the subst. *scrutatio* (*Dial.* 7.23.2).

Of later poets, Lucan and Statius use the verb six and fourteen times respectively; on the other hand, there are only single occurrences in Val. Flaccus (2.602) and Silius (7.273). In prose, it is applied frequently again by Pliny, *Nat.* (16x) and Quintilian (20x).

maeret, illacrimat, gemit: climax, cf. Enn. *Ann.* Sk 498 *flentes plorantes lacrumantes obtestantes* (103 V[2] *maerentes flentes lacrimantes commiserantes*); of adjectives, below 1056 *o dura fata, saeua miseranda horrida!* For this triad of verbs, cf. *Dial.* 7.15.6 *quisquis autem queritur et plorat et gemit*; for the asyndeton, below 574, 653, *H.O.* 253 *queritur implorat gemit* (preceded by *formas dolor / errat per omnes*), *Med.* 390 *minatur aestuat queritur gemit.*

illacrimat: only here - *metri causa* - in Sen. trag., never in his prose; in other passages, below 926-7, *H.F.* 1229, *Ag.* 654, *Phae.* 881, Seneca uses the simple verb.

616 huc et illuc: again *H.F.* 287, 801, *Med.* 222, 862; see also on 458, 970.

anxios gressus: metonymy, cf. e.g. 674 *entheo ... gradu*, 203 *laeta ... uela.*

617 missas: 'to utter' (*OLD* s.v. *mitto* 11), cf. Cic. *Sest.* 42 *uocem ... mittere*, Lucr. 5.1028-9 *uarios linguae sonitus ... mittere*, Hor. *Ars* 390 *uox missa.*

excipit: 'to pick up, catch, seize on (spoken words)' (*OLD* s.v. 14), cf. *H.F.* 361 *parumper aure uerba patienti excipe*, *Thy.* 80 *Tantali uocem excipe*, Liv. 40.7.4 *ad has excipiendas uoces speculator ... missus.* Synonymous verbs in Sen. trag. are found at *Phoen.* 224 *ego ullos aure concipio sonos*, *H.F.* 790 *missumque captat aure subrecta sonum.*

618 timet ... maeret: sighs and tears may result from either fear or grief, cf. *Thy.* 968 *dolor an metus est?*, Luc. 2.27 *necdum est ille dolor nec iam metus*, 8.53-4 *quid perdis tempora luctus? / cum possis iam flere, times*, V. Fl. 1.327 *dum metus est nec adhuc dolor.*

ingenio: 'mental powers, intellect' (*OLD* 4), cf. *Oed.* 947 *utere ingenio, miser.*

est opus: the line-ending is also found in *Phoen.* 195 *deo nullo est opus*, *Phae.* 862 *properato est opus*, *Ag.* 267 *uenia est opus.* Sen. trag. applies the phrase again *H.F.* 1239 *nunc Hercule opus est*, *Thy.* 900-1 *sobrio ... / opus est Thyeste.* In Verg. *Aen.* 6.261 *nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo*, we meet a comparable self-address.

619 alloqui: 'to comfort, console', *OLD* s.v. 3, citing this line with *Dial.* 11.14.2 *has adloquendi partes*, *Ep.* 121.4 *cum ... ex gratulatione natum sit quicquid adloquimur*, Var. *L.L.* 6.57 *adlocutum mulieres ire aiunt, cum eunt ad aliquam locutum consolandi causa.* Cf. also *Oed.* 1007 *afflictum alloqui*, *Ep.* 98.9 *in ea epistula qua sororem amisso ... filio adloquitur*, the use of *allocutio* (*Dial.* 6.1.6, 12.1.3, Catul. 38.5) and *alloquium* (Hor. *Epod.* 13.18, Liv. 9.6.8, Stat. *Silu.* 2.1.232, Tac. *Ann.* 4.8), and the use of *affari*, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 2.775 *tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis*, *Geo.* 4.530 *ultro adfata timentem.*

620 gratulandum est: '(w. dat.) to wish (a person) joy, congratulate' (*OLD* 2). In Sen. trag. the verb occurs only here, it is found ten times in his prose.

621-2 Schreiner, p. 65 compares Eur. *Tro.* 725 (Talthybius to Andromache) 'he said that he should be flung from the Trojan walls'.

manebat: 'awaited' (*OLD* s.v. 4, "of events, fates, etc."), cf. below 858, 923, *H.F.* 395 *haec te manent exempla*, 1341 *nostra te tellus manet*, Cic. *Phil.* 13.45 *sin autem me aliud fatum manet*, Tib. 1.8.77 *te poena manet*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.15 *sed omnis una manet nox.*

praecipitem: 'headlong'. For *praecipitem dare* (*OLD* s.v. *do* 19b: 'to cause to go'), cf. e.g. *Cl.* 1.12.4 *illo exsecrabili uersu, qui multos praecipites dedit* (sc. *'oderint dum metuant'*), Ter. *Ph.* 625 *ut praecipitem hanc daret*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.815-6 *praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis / in fluuium dedit*, Liv. 31.37.9 *rex ..., ruente saucio equo, praeceps ad terram datus*, Luc. 8.93 *praecipitesque dedi populos*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.44 *praeceps datus trucidabatur.* The phrase is also used in a transferred sense, Sall. *Jug.* 63.6 *postea ambitione praeceps datus est.*

622 e turre: see on 104 *ex umeris.*

623 reliquit: against Bentley's *relinquit*, the transmitted reading was rightly defended by Carlsson (1926) 19, n. 2: the various tenses here have their proper sense (cf. as a contrast the variation of pres. and perf. below 675-6). Zwierlein (1986) 97, referring to *H.O.* 841 *destituit animus membra*, also upheld *reliquit.* Scriverius' *me liquit*, preferred by Gronovius and Bothe, finds its support in *Oed.* 595 *nos liquit animus*, but there the use of the pers. pron. is more fitting. Scaliger suggested *deliquit.*

quatiuntur: 'tremble' (*OLD* s.v. 2c), cf. *Dial.* 3.1.4 *irascentium ... labra quatiuntur*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.29-30 *mihi frigidus horror / membra quatit gelidusque coit formidine sanguis*, Apul. *Met.* 1.18 *nunc etiam spiritu deficior et genua quatior et gradu titubo.* See also on 168 *artus horridus quassat tremor.*

labant: 'totter'. Here it is a sign of fear, cf. *Ag.* 786-7 *quid ista uates* (sc. Cassandra) *corpus effusa ac tremens / dubia labat ceruice?*, *Thy.* 435-6 *nihil timendum uideo, sed timeo tamen. / placet ire, pigris membra sed genibus labant*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.905 (of Turnus) *genua labant, gelidus concreuit frigore sanguis.* In Verg. *Aen.* 5.431-2 *tarda trementi / genua labant, uastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus*, the verb indicates exhaustion.

624 torpet: similarly above 417 *torpens malis*, *Med.* 926-7 *membra torpescunt gelu / pectusque tremuit*, Ov. *Ep.* 11.82 *torpuerat gelido lingua retenta metu.*

uinctus: 'to fetter' (*OLD* 5a), cf. *Oct.* 862 *horrore uinctum trepidus astrinxit rigor*, Ov. *Met.* 11.238 *somno uincta iacebas.*

frigido ... gelu: for the pleonasm, see on 236 *inclitas laudes.*

gelu: 'cold, chilliness (caused by old age, death, fear, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. *Med.* 926 quoted on *torpet*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.508 *sed mihi tarda gelu saeclisque effeta senectus*, Luc. 4.652-3 *pectora pigro / stricta gelu.*

625-31 Schetter p. 250, n. 30 stresses the matter-of-fact attitude of a detective, displayed by Ulysses throughout this scene. M. Coffey, 'Seneca and his tragedies', *Proc. Afr. Cl. Ass.*, (1960) 18 styles it "a study of the methods used by a totalitarian inquisitor in order to conquer the mind".

intremuit: only here in Sen. trag. At the beginning of the line, it is also found Ov. *Met.* 1.284, 7.629, 12.371, Verg. *Aen.* 5.505; cf. moreover Ov. *Met.* 2.180 *palluit et subito genua intremuere timore*, 10.458 *genua intremuere.* I take *intremuit* from *intremesco* (with *ThLL* VII 2.48), not from *intremo* (Oldfather-Pease-Canter and Denooz). In his prose, Seneca has single instances of *intremesco* (*Nat.* 2.20.3 *omnia, antequam feriantur, intremescunt uibrata uento quem ignis ante se pressit*) and *intremo* (*Ep.* 90.9). Gronovius preferred *en tremuit* of some younger MSS.

Note the placing of the verb at the beginning of three consecutive lines (like above 22-4); Seidler pp. 121-149, under 'Anhäufung mehrerer invertierter Verba an dramatischen Szenen', quotes e.g. *H.F.* 1040-2 *stat ecce ad aras hostis, expectat manum / ceruice prona; praebeo, occurro, insequor: / macta — quid hoc est? errat acies luminum*, *Oed.* 574-6 *subsedit omnis silua et erexit comas, / duxere rimas robora et totum nemus / concussit horror.*

hac, hac: gemination of the pron. demonstr. is also found e.g. below 739 *has, has ruinas*, *H.F.* 99 *hoc hoc ministro noster utatur dolor*, *Thy.* 916 *hoc, hoc mensa cludatur scypho* [on the use of geminated demonstratives (rare in comedy, frequent in Cicero's speeches, mainly in post-Augustan Latin) see Wills pp. 76-79].

626 matrem: 'motherly feelings, maternal sentiment; motherhood, maternity' (*OLD* s.v. 1d), cf. below 960, *Med.* 927-8 *ira discessit loco / materque tota coniuge expulsa redit*, Ov. *Met.* 6.629-30 *simul ex nimia matrem pietate labare / sensit* (sc. *Procne*).

detexit: 'to disclose, reveal' (*OLD* 3); cf. (different context!) *Thy.* 330-2 *multa sed trepidus solet / detegere uultus, magna nolentem quoque / consilia produnt.* For the connection between emotions and outward appearance, see on 522-3 *dubio gradu uultuque*; Seneca gives some examples in *Ep.* 114.3: *non uides, si animus elanguit, trahi membra et pigre moueri pedes? si ille effeminatus est, in ipso incessu apparere mollitiam? si ille acer est et ferox, concitari gradum? si furor aut, quod furori simile est, irascitur, turbatum esse corporis motum nec ire, sed ferri?.*

iterabo: "praevalent notiones secundiariae, *a* duplicandi vel augendi", *ThLL* VII 2.549.75 f. s.v., cf. Stat. *Theb.* 12.774-5 *subtemine duro / multiplicem tenues iterant thoraca catenae*, Tac. *Hist.* 3.11 *iterare culpam.*

627 ite, ite: here a strict order to his soldiers, without the sarcasm of above 191. For another use, "pastoral and sacral *ite*", see Wills pp. 99-102. The presence of servants (soldiers) is self-evident; sometimes they are explicitly addressed (*H.F.* 1053, *Med.* 188, 980, *Oed.* 824, *Ag.* 787, 800, 997), but for the opposite cf. 678 below and *Phae.* 863 *reserate clausos regii postes laris.* Kapnukajas p. 79 suggests Ov. *Met.* 3.562-3 (Pentheus' instructions to his attendants to seize Dionysus) *ite citi (famulis hoc imperat), ite ducemque / attrahite huc uinctum. iussis mora segnis abesto* as Seneca's model. But such commands occur in Greek tragedy as well, of course, e.g. at Soph. *Ant.* 1108 [see G. Richter, *De mutis personis quae in tragoedia atque comoedia Attica in scaenam producuntur*, Diss. Halis Saxonum 1934; Canter p. 156 f.].

Note the agitated rhythm of the first three words of the line.

celeres: in my opinion, the adjective here has adverbial force, as at Verg. *Aen.* 6.202 *tollunt se celeres*, 7.519-20 *celeres ... concurrunt*, Ov. *Met.* 2.119 *iussa deae celeres peragunt.* Therefore, I see no need to print the word with a capital *C*, as Thomann does; he considers it an anachronistic reference to the vigilance-corps instituted by Romulus (Liv. 1.15.8 *trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellauit, non in bello solum, sed etiam in pace habuit*).

fraude: at 482 Andromache's own word for her deed.

628 Pelasgi nominis: cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.612-3 (of Achilles) *decus et tutela Pelasgi / nominis, Aeacides.* For *Pelasgus* = 'Greek', see on 353; for the use of *nomen* with ethnic names, = 'race', see *OLD* s.v. *nomen* 19.

629 ubicumque: 'in whatever place, wherever' (*OLD* 1), in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 520, *Phoen.* 108, *Thy.* 214; see also on 690.

erutam: since the apposition *pestem* is more close than the object *hostem*, there is no need of Bentley's *erutum*, proposed again by Garrod, *CQ* 5 (1911) 215 [see K-S 1.42 f.; Zwierlein (1986) 97]. For the use of the verb, 'to unearth, search out, bring to light', cf. e.g. above 580, *Oed.*

827 (quoted on 614), *Phoen.* 358-9 *nemo me ex his eruat / siluis: latebo rupis exesae cauo*; in a transferred use it occurs at *Oed.* 297 *fata eruantur.* With the sense 'to raze to the ground' (*OLD* 4), it is found below 663, 685; a zeugma of these two meanings: *H.F.* 995-6 *ceteram prolem eruam / omnisque latebras.*

630 bene est: 'good!', again *Med.* 550 *bene est, tenetur*, 1019 *bene est, peractum est, Ag.* 870 *bene est, resurgis Troia, Thy.* 279, 889 *bene est, abunde est.*

tenetur: 'he is caught'; similarly *Med.* 550 (cited in the previous note), *Thy.* 491 *plagis tenetur clausa dispositis fera.*

perge, festina, attrahe: on the vivid force of the asyndeton, see Quint. 9.3.50 *figuram, quae, quia coniunctionibus caret, dissolutio uocatur, apta, cum quid instantius dicamus: nam et singula inculcantur et quasi plura fiunt*; cf. with three imperatives, *Med.* 566 *perge, nunc aude, incipe*, 965-6 *fige luminibus faces, / lania, perure, Phae.* 592 *aude, anime, tempta, perage mandatum tuum, Thy.* 1023 *fruere, osculare, diuide amplexus tribus.* See also on 615.

631 respicis: the situation on the stage can be gathered from the use of the verb. Ulysses, on the one side, has sent his soldiers to the other side where Hector's grave is behind Andromache. Unable to see what is really going on, she takes Ulysses' words seriously.

perit: perf., see on 50 *redit.*

632 utinam timerem: "utinam mihi viveret filius essetque veri timoris causa!", Farnabius. Ter Haar Romeny p. 82 hesitantly proposed *quidni timerem?*

ex longo: 'for a long time past; after a long interval' (*OLD* s.v. *longus* 14c).

633 dediscit: 'unlearns', again below 884. For the placing of the verb ('in Gnomen'), cf. below 1066 *gaudet, H.F.* 385 *sequitur*, 588 *odit* (Seidler, p. 518).

dediscit ... didicit: for the use of this reversal pair, cf. Pl. *Am.* 687-8 *haud aequom facit / qui quod didicit id dediscit*, Cic. *Quinct.* 70 *discat atque dediscat*, Sen. *Dial.* 2.17.3 *qui mori didicit seruire dedicit, Ep.* 50.7 *uirtutes discere uitia dediscere est*; similarly below 1048 *decrescet ... crescet* (see Wills, p. 445 f.).

sero: the A reading has been defended by L. Tachau, 'Die Arbeiten über die Tragödien des L. Annaeus Seneca in den letzten Jahrzehnten', *Philologus* 48 (1889) 723-752, Carlsson (1926) 35 f., Zwierlein (1966) 216 f., and is now generally accepted. *Scire* (from E *sicre*), advocated by Weber p. 372, with a question mark after *diu*, was preferred by Friedrich and Moricca. As emendations have been suggested: *saepe* Leo; *nempe* Richter; *facere* Birt, *RhM* 34 (1879) 540; *aegre* ter Haar Romeny; *certe* Koetschau; *segne* Damsté; *ferre* Brugnoli, Paratore.

For *serŏ* see on 264 *uincendo.*

634-62 *Accepting that Calchas' demand has been forestalled by the boy's death, Ulysses comes with an alternative purifying sacrifice: the demolishing of Hector's tomb and the scattering of his ashes. Andromache is so bewildered, that she tortures herself with the vain inward conflict whom to spare, her husband or her son.*

634 lustrale: 'of or relating to ritual purification, lustral; (of offerings) serving to avert evil' (*OLD* 1). Liv. 1.28 records the *sacrificium lustrale* of the Alban leader Mettus Fuffetius by the Roman king Tullus Hostilius, in order to purify the army from Mettus' treachery: *exinde, duabus admotis quadrigis, in currus earum distentum illigat Mettum. deinde in diuersum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua inhaeserant uinculis membra, portantes. auertere omnes a tanta foeditate spectaculi oculos. primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit.* For the use of the rite before an expedition in later times, cf. e.g. Liv. 23.35.5, 38.12.2, 36.42.2. The ritual is described by Appian, *B. Ciu.* 5.401. In Senecan prose, it is mentioned at *Dial.* 5.16.4, the story of Xerxes (*qui*) and Pythius (Hdt. 7.38-9): *qui Pythio quinque filiorum patri unius uacationem petenti quem uellet eligere permisit, deinde quem elegerat in partes duas distractum ab utroque uiae latere posuit et hac uictima lustrauit exercitum.*

For the effective placing of the adj. at the beginning of the line, here clearly meant to impress Andromache, cf. *Ag.* 163 (Clytemestra) *lustrale classi Doricae peperi caput*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.793-4 *lustralemne feris ego te, puer inclyte, Thebis / deuotumque caput uilis ceu mater alebam?*

quoniam: in Sen. trag. again below 640, *H.F.* 501, 1336 (in his prose some 100x).

debitum muris: note the twist that Ulysses gives to Calchas' words *quem fata quaerunt, turre de summa cadat* (368). Since such a purification of walls after a war is an unknown phenomenon, we have to guess what his solemn wording alludes to: does he perhaps suggest that Poseidon, who had built the walls, and who may obstruct their return, has to be appeased by it (cf. 637)?

635 sacrum: 'a religious observance, ceremony, or rite' (*OLD* 3); cf. below 1102 (the killing of Astyanax), 1162 (the offering of Polyxena).

antecessit: 'to anticipate (an action or occurrence), forestall' (*OLD* 6), cf. *Ben.* 1.1.13 *qui non dat, uitium ingrati antecedit*, 2.1.3 *optimum est antecedere desiderium cuiusque*; below 1147 the verb is used in its literal sense.

uatem: = *iussa uatis* (d'Alfonso).

636 meliore: "mitiore, quam ut de turre praecipitaretur" (Farnabius).

hoc: *hōc* with *modo*.

637 piari: 'to cleanse (a guilty person, etc.) by expiation' (*OLD* 2). In its other occurrence in Sen. trag., *Med.* 614-5 *temerata ponti / iura piauit*, the verb denotes 'to propitiate' (*OLD* 1). It is absent from his prose.

638 sparsi: hypallage (*sparsus*).

639 imo: '(of something considered by itself) occupying a very low position' (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. *Thy.* 1010-1 *non tota ab imo tecta conuellens solo / uertis Mycenas?*, below 1114 *imam ... ad terram*, Prop. 2.10.21-2 *ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis, / ponitur haec imos ante corona pedes.*

totus: cf. *tota* in the above quoted *Thy.* passage.

640 quoniam debitam: note the repetition of above 634.

effugit necem: the combination is also found in Ov. *Met.* 7.424 *effugit illa necem*, 12.311 *effugere necem*; cf. Caes. *Gal.* 6.30.2 *effugere mortem.*

641 admouenda ... manus: here with hostile intentions (*OLD* 4d). In its neutral sense 'stretch out', the verb occurs e.g. below 693, 947.

sedibus sacris: cf. above 509 *sanctas ... sedes.*

642-62 In this long aside, Andromache expounds her mental conflict, which - as she will realise in 686 ff. - actually is no dilemma: if she tries to save Astyanax, it will result in both the destruction of the tomb and the death of her son. This type of speech, that goes back to Euripides (e.g. *Andr.* 384 ff., *Med.* 1042 ff.), was practised in the rhetorical schools and is frequently applied by Seneca: cf. e.g. *Med.* 893 ff. (where Medea before killing one of her children is tossed to and fro by her feelings as a mother and her lust for revenge on Jason), *Phae.* 177 ff. (Phaedra torn between *pudor* and *amor/furor*), and *Ag.* 132 ff. (Clytemestra describing her complex emotional state of mind). In this respect, he probably was influenced by Ovid; Andromache especially recalls Althaea, who has to make a choice between her feelings for her son Meleager and for her murdered brothers: *pugnat materque sororque / et diuersa trahunt unum duo nomina pectus* (*Met.* 8.464-5) [see Zwierlein (1966) 66, n. 9, citing R. Heinze, *Ovids elegische Erzählung*, 119 f. (= *Vom Geist des Römertums*^{3}, Darmstadt 1960, 395); Tarrant on *Ag.* 132 ff.].

642 quid agimus?: 'what am I to do?' (as an utterance of perplexity, *OLD* s.v. *ago* 19b). This use of the indicative instead of the deliberative subjunctive is not unusual; cf. e.g. Pl. *Men.* 844 *quid agimus?*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.675 *quid ago?* [H-Sz 308]. For the double tribrach *quĭd ăgĭmŭs? ănĭmum*, cf. below 908 *et Hecuba Priamum*, *Med.* 53 *repudia thalamis* (with Costa's note), *Ag.* 959 *sed agere domita.*

animum: as the seat of feelings and emotions (*OLD* s.v. 9), cf. e.g. *Med.* 203 *difficile quam sit animum ab ira flectere*, *Thy.* 419-20 *animus haeret ac retro cupit / corpus referre*, Pl. *Bac.* 237 *nam meus formidat animus*, Ter. *And.* 260 *curae, quae meum animum diuorsae trahunt.*

distrahit: 'drives distracted' (*OLD* s.v. 8), cf. *Dial.* 7.19.3 *hi qui in se ipsi animum aduertunt quot cupiditatibus tot crucibus distrahuntur*, *Ep.* 51.8 *inter tot affectus distrahar*, Cic. *Luc.* 134 *distrahor, tum hoc mihi probabilius tum illud uidetur*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.40 *Tiberium anceps cura distrahere.* In its literal sense 'pulled apart', the verb occurs in Sen. trag. *Phae.* 1106 *distractus Hippolytus.*

643 cari: the A reading was defended by Zwierlein (1969 *Ph*) 257, with a reference to the use of *sacer* to the grave (483 *tumulus ... sacer*, 641 *sedibus sacris*, cf. 509 *sanctas ... sedes*), and of *carus* to Hector (483 *coniugis cari*, 811 *manesque cari*), adding: "Die Verschreibung in E war infolge von Dittographie des *-s* und Buchstabenmetathese (*-is cari* / *-is sacri*) leicht möglich, zumal zwei Zeilen zuvor an gleicher Versstelle *sacris* zu lesen ist". Viansino, Giardina and Caviglia ("*cari* sembra una banalizzazione") prefer *sacri*.

644 pars: 'side', (*OLD* s.v. 16).

utra: in these tragedies, forms of *uter* are also found at *Phoen.* 454-5 *in uestra manu est, / utrum uelitis*, 564 *rex sit ex uobis uter*, *Thy.* 640 *non quaero quis sit, sed uter*, *Ag.* 3 *incertus utras oderim sedes magis*. Lucretius uses the word seven times, Catullus, and Horace in his *Carmina* not at all; in Ovid's works it is found five times [Axelson (1945) 90]. Note the scansion *ūtra* versus below 893 *ŭtriusque*.

immites: 'harsh, merciless', at *H.F.* 569 of the *umbrarum dominos*. The adj. is applied to the gods in general again Luc. 2.304 *immites ... diui*, to fate Catul. 64.245 *immiti ... fato*, Ov. *Met.* 13.260 *fatis ... inmitibus*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.774-5 *immites scis nulla reuoluere Parcas / stamina*. On the negative image of the gods in Sen. trag., cf. above 2 *leues*, 56 *non tamen superis sat est*, *Phae.* 1242-3 *non mouent diuos preces; / at, si rogarem scelera, quam proni forent!*, and Jason's desperate outburst to Medea *testare nullos esse, qua ueheris, deos* (*Med.* 1027). An echo of *testor immites deos* may be heard in Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 870-1 (Devil to Adam) *testor immitem mihi, / tibique amicum, forte nec semper, Deum*.

645 mei: Karsten (1881) 53 suggested *mihi*: "*coniugis manes* dii *ueri* non sunt nisi ipsi Andromachae", but the order of words does not seem to support his "correction". Besides, *coniugis ... mei* matches with *meo nato* in the next line.

647 quam te: "quam quod te referat" (Farnabius).

648 prorutus: rather 'hervorgerissen' (Thomann), or 'dug' (Watling), in my opinion, than 'flung' (*OLD* 1, Fantham, Boyle). Damsté (1918) 62 proposed *proruto*, 'overturned' (*OLD* 3). In Senecan prose, the verb has the latter sense in *Nat.* 6.1.2 *uillae ... prorutae*, 7.28.3 *urbes terrarum motibus prorutae sunt*.

649 fluctibus: for the simple local abl. with *spargi*, cf. 776 *sparsas ... saltibus latis feras*, *Med.* 133 *sparsum ... ponto corpus*, *Phae.* 961 *sparsa ... sidera mundo*.

650 uastis: 'desolate on account of great extent or lack of features, dreary, endless' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. e.g. below 819 *maris uasti*, 930 *uastum in mare*, *Phae.* 85 *uasti ... freti*, *Oed.* 1015 *uastum mare*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.86, 1.333, 3.421-2 *uastos fluctus*, 1.118 *in gurgite uasto*, 2.780 *uastum maris aequor*, 3.191 *uastum ... aequor*. For other uses of the adjective, see on 114.

hic: Astyanax.

651 poteris: 'to be able to bring oneself (to do something cruel, unpleasant, etc.), have the heart or courage (to)' (*OLD* 3), cf. *Phoen.* 531-2 *quam paene mater maius aspexi nefas, / quam quod miser uidere non potuit pater*, 579-80 *potesne ciues leto et exitio datos / uidere passim?*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.419-20 *hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, / et perferre, soror, potero*, 7.309 *potui*, 9.481-3 *tune illa senectae / sera meae requies, potuisti linquere solam, / crudelis?*, Prop. 2.8.5, 2.20.28, 3.12.1.

deditum ... neci: cf. *Med.* 1005 *me dedo morti*, Pl. *As.* 608 *qur tu, opsecro, inmerito meo me morti dedere optas?*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.341 *iamque neci Sthenelumque dedit*, *Geo.* 4.90 *dede neci*, and the contrast Sen. *Ep.* 82.12 (of Brutus) *o hominem dignum qui uitae dederetur!*

652 poteris: sc. *uidere*; for the repetition of the verb with a change of accent, see on 170 *uidi ipse, uidi.*

653 rotari: *OLD* lists this instance under 3: 'to cause to move onward with a rolling or spinning motion', citing e.g. *Nat.* 3.27.7 *deuolutus torrens altissimis montibus rapit siluas ... et saxa ... rotat*; cf. the intr. use of the participle (*OLD* 3b) at Verg. *Aen.* 10.362-3 *saxa rotantia late / impulerat torrens*. Boyle translates in this way: '(Can you, mother ...) See him on the high battlements / Come wheeling down?' (similarly Thomann).

In other comparable passages, however, the verb clearly denotes the 'swinging round' (*OLD* 2b) of a child before it is flung away: *H.F.* 1005-6 (maddened Hercules killing his little son) *dextra precantem rapuit et circa furens / bis ter rotatum misit*, Ov. *Met.* 4.516-8 (Athamas in his madness) *deque sinu matris ridentem et parua Learchum / bracchia tendentem rapit et bis terque per auras / more rotat fundae*; cf also *Met.* 9.217-8 (Hercules killing his attendant Lichas) *terque quaterque rotatum / mittit in Euboicas ... undas*, Hyg. *Fab.* 36.4 *Hercules Licham ... rotatum in mare iaculatus est.* Therefore, I think it preferable to take the verb in this sense, and *missum* as proleptic (similarly Hillen p. 163).

potero, perpetiar, feram: for the asyndetic triad of verbs see on 574 *potest debet cupit* (the cited passages *H.F.* 1041 and *Med.* 507 express a similar determined attitude), 615 *maeret, illacrimat, gemit.*

654 dum non: for the use of *non* instead of *ne*, cf. *Ep.* 56.5 *dum inter se non rixentur cupiditas et timor*, 54.6 *dummodo non ex animo suspirem* [see H-Sz 616 f.].

meus ... / ... Hector: possessive pronoun and personal name are even farther apart than above 464-5 *meus / ... Hector*; cf. also above 350-1 *meus ... ensis*, below 916-7 *meus ... dominus.*

post fata: 'after his death'; see on 390, and cf. e.g. *Ag.* 38, *Oct.* 96, 112, 289, 529, Verg. *Aen.* 4.20.

656 in tuto: 'in a safe place, in a secure situation' (*OLD* s.v. *tutus* 4a), in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 1302 *in tuto est dolor*, *Oed.* 24-5 *in tuto tua, / natura, posui iura*, in his prose 5x, e.g. *Cl.* 1.1.7, *Dial.* 10.7.9, *Ep.* 82.1 [see Fitch on *H.F.* 1307 *in arto ... et ancipiti*; K-S 1.562]. The line returns in Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 1266 (Iohannes to Maria) *fata te in tuto locant.*

locant: for the figurative use (*OLD* 4), cf. *Ag.* 58-9 (*Fortuna*) *in praecipiti dubioque locas / excelsa nimis*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.426-7 *multos alterna reuisens / lusit et in solido rursus fortuna locauit.*

657 fluctuaris: 'to be in doubt or show irresolution, hesitate, waver' (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. *Ag.* 109 (Clytemestra) *quid fluctuaris?*, *Med.* 939-43 *anceps aestus incertam rapit; / ut saeua rapidi bella cum uenti gerunt, / utrimque fluctus maria discordes agunt / dubiumque feruet pelagus, haut aliter meum / cor fluctuatur*, *Ep.* 52.1 *fluctuamur inter uaria consilia*, *Ag.* 138 *fluctibus uariis agor*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.680 *haec memorans animo nunc huc nunc fluctuat illuc*. In the New Testament, it is found in the *Letter of James* 1:6 'But he must ask in faith, without a doubt in his mind; for the doubter is like a heaving sea ruffled by the wind.' The metaphor is also applied to 'a state of agitation or turmoil (with violent emotion or sim.)' (*OLD* 3), e.g. Pl. *Mer.* 890 *quid si mi animus fluctuat?*, Catul. 64.62 *magnis curarum fluctuat undis*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.19 *magno curarum fluctuat aestu*, Prud. *Cath.* 6.135-6 *tali dicata signo / mens fluctuare nescit.*

extrahas: 'deliver, rescue' (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. *Phoen.* 5-6 (Oedipus) *melius inueniam uiam, / quam quaero, solus, quae me ab hac uita extrahat*, *Ep.* 95.37 *hos inbecilliores adiuuabit malisque opinionibus extrahet*, Tac. *Ann.* 6.23 *extractum custodiae iuuenem.*

659 utrimque: this line inspired Bentley to read *utrimque natum uideo* at *Phoen.* 380 (MSS *utrumque*).

660 futurus: 'und vielleicht vom Schicksal bestimmt, Rächer seines getöteten Vaters zu werden', Westman (1961) 119; cf. 551 *futurus Hector.*

661 quidnam: 'what, tell me?' (*OLD* s.v. *quisnam* 2), in Sen. trag also at *H.F.* 358-9 *quidnam iste, nostri generis exitium ac lues, / noui parat?*, *Oed.* 330 *quidnam loquar?*; as adv. 'why, pray? (*OLD* 2c) *Phae.* 886 *quidnam ora maesta auertis ... ?* Leo's *quid iam* was taken over by Richter, Herrmann, Viansino, and Amoroso ("è efficace teatralmente").

662 anime: forms a ring with 642 *animum*. For the self-address, see on 613.

663-85 *Ulysses threatens to proceed to demolish Hector's tomb to the ground.*

663 responsa: of answers given by a soothsayer or an oracle (*OLD* 2), in Sen. trag. found again *Oed.* 212 *responsa dubia sorte perplexa iacent*, 291-2 *sacrate diuis, proximum Phoebo caput, / responsa solue*, *Ag.* 167-8 *horruit Calchas suae / responsa uocis*, *Thy.* 679-80 *hinc orantibus / responsa dantur certa*. Some earlier occurrences: Ter. *An.* 698, Cic. *Diu.* 2.45, Verg. *Aen.* 6.799, Ov. *Met.* 3.340.

peragam: 'carry out' (orders, etc., *OLD* s.v. 4c), cf. below 680, Ov. *Met.* 7.502 *Cecropidae Cephalus peragit mandata.*

funditus ... eruam: after Andromache's protests, Ulysses will repeat his threat at 685.

busta: poetic plural, cf. e.g. below 940, Ov. *Met.* 4.88 *conueniant ad busta Nini.* Here the use of the (not metrically required) plural may have been influenced by the preceding *responsa*; the singular is found at 330, 361, 689, 1150.

664 uendidistis: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.484 *exanimumque auro corpus uendebat Achilles.* Austin, with a reference to K. Stanley, *AJP* 86 (1965) 270, n. 12, notes that in art Hector's body is sometimes shown being weighed against gold; cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.14 *diues Priamus*: "Aeschylus in his *Phrygians* described how Hector's body was weighed against gold (schol. A *Il.* 22.351, Roscher 3.2659 f.)". The derivation of Priam's name from Greek 'I buy' goes back to the same event.

For the elliptical syntax, a feature of informal speech at home in lively or excited dialogue (Tarrant on *Thy.* 321 *ut ... uacent*), cf. *Med.* 496 (Ias.) *Medea amores obicit?* (Med.) *Et caedem et dolos* [on *ellipsis*, see Lausberg § 690-691].

pergam: 'to pursue with energy, prosecute vigorously' (v. Mützell ad Curt. 3.8.7, LS), cf. *Phae.* 96 *pergit furoris socius*, *Med.* 566 *perge, nunc aude*, *Thy.* 23-4 *perge, detestabilis / umbra, et penates impios furiis age*, V. Fl. 4.121-2 *sic te olim pergere sensi / Iuppiter* (with Korn's note). Zwierlein (1986) 98 turns down Bentley's *peragam*; he prefers (with Kassel) *pergam* to his own earlier suggestion *uertam*, based on *Oed.* 645-6 *incestam domum / uertam*, Luc. 7.855 *omnia maiorum uertamus busta licebit.*

pergam et ... / traham: for the combination of verbs, cf. *Thy.* 23-4 (quoted on *pergam*), 890-1 *pergam et implebo patrem / funere suorum*, *H.F.* 75 *perge et ... opprime.*

e summo: Karsten p. 54 thought *ex imo* more likely.

aggere: 'a mound or pile of earth, wood, rubble, etc. (esp. of funeral mounds or pyres)' (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. *H.F.* 1216-7 *quin structum aceruans nemore congesto aggerem / cruore corpus impio sparsum cremo?*

665 sepulcra: for the use of the poetic plural, cf. Catul. 64.368 *alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulcra.*

appello: 'I appeal to', only here in Sen. trag. In *H.O.* there is also one occurrence at 1246 *quid patrem appello Iouem?*

666 Pyrrhe: note the effective placing between *Achillis* and *genitoris.*

667 munus: 'present, gift' (*OLD* s.v. 5).

668 prorsus: intensifying 'absolutely' (*OLD* s.v. 2), in Sen. trag. again *Phae.* 853 *hospitia digna prorsus inferno hospite*, 909-10 *est prorsus iste gentis armiferae furor, / odisse Veneris foedera*, *Thy.* 515-6 *est prorsus nocens / quicumque uisus tam bono fratri est nocens.* According to Axelson (1945) 95, the word occurs various times in Lucretius, never in Catullus, in Augustan poetry only at Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.70. Billerbeck (1988) 16 lists it with *cena, flagitium, pernicies* and *recreare* as words used by Horace, but otherwise considered as unpoetic.

nefas: for the use of *nefas* in the context of obligations towards the dead, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 12.216-7 *heu si nudus adhuc, heu si iam forte sepultus: / nostrum utrumque nefas*, Luc. 8.763-4.

669 inausum: 'not ventured on, undared'. The adj. is found for the first time in Vergil, *Aen.* 7.308-9 *ast ego, magna Iouis coniunx, nil linquere inausum / quae potui infelix*, 8.205-6 *ne quid inausum / aut intractatum scelerisue doliue fuisset.* In Sen. trag. it occurs again *Phae.* 824 *quid sinat inausum feminae praeceps furor*, *Thy.* 20 (*turba quae*) *inausa audeat.* In his prose, it is found in *Dial.* 11.16.5 *nihil inausum sibi reliquit* (sc. *fortuna*), *nihil intactum relinquet*, *Ep.* 91.15 *formetur animus ad intellectum patientiamque sortis suae et sciat nihil inausum esse fortunae.* For the use of the dative with it, cf. *Ep.* 91.15 just cited, Tac. *Ann.* 1.42 *quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumue uobis?*

uiolastis: in its original sense 'to disturb the sanctity of, violate, profane', cf. *CIL* 1.366.1.2 *HONCE LOVCOM NEQV<I>S VIOLATOD*, Quad. *hist.* 2 *tanta sanctitudo fani est, ut numquam quisquam uiolare sit ausus.* There are eight more occurrences of the verb in Sen. trag.: *H.F.* 447 *quid uiolas Iouem?*, 104 *poenas petite uiolatae Stygis*, 1270, *Med.* 1003, *Oed.* 241, *Ag.* 208, *Thy.* 94, 584.

deos: Athena, whose temple was desecrated through the rape of Cassandra by Ajax of Locris and the theft of the Palladium (see on 38).

670 fauentes: see on 263 *nimium fauentes.*

transierat: 'had left unaffected' (*OLD* s.v. 12e), cf. Petr. 61.3 *omne me ... lucrum transeat.*

671 inermis: with *manus*; the combination also occurs at Verg. *Aen.* 1.487 *tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.* This is one of two instances in *Troades*, where E has the acc. plur. ending *-is*, whereas the A MSS have *-es*; again 817 *omnis* [on *-es* / *-is* in Sen. trag., see Zwierlein (1984) 258 ff., and his *OCT*, Appendix orthographica vel grammatica, 2. Varia; in general N-W II 60 ff.].

The other occurrences of the adjective in Sen. trag. are *H.F.* 1173 *inermem* (see the following note), *Phoen.* 488 *inermes*; he does not use second declension forms.

inermis ... armatis: for this pairing of opposite adjectives with polyptoton, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 1172-3 *uel meis armis licet / petas inermem*, *Phae.* 1195 *iuuenisque castus crimine incesto iacet*, Andr. *com.* 3 *ornamento incedunt gnobili ignobiles*, Pl. *Am.* 35-6 *iniusta ab iustis impetrari non decet, / iusta autem ab iniustis petere insipientia* (for a list of instances, see Wills p. 457 f.).

offeram: lit. 'to put in a person's path' (*ob* + *ferre*), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 326-7 *se ... / periculis offerre*, Caes. *Gal.* 4.12.6 *incitato equo se hostibus obtulit*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.290-1 *corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum / Aeneas strictamque aciem uenientibus offert.* For Andromache's brave attitude, Liedloff p. 8 compares Ennius' line *Andromachae nomen qui indidit recte ei indidit*, quoted by Var. *L.L.* 7.82 *ille ait ideo nomen additum Andromachae quod* ἀνδρὶ μάχεται.

672 dabit ira uires: cf. *Oct.* 175-6 (Nutrix) *natura uires non dedit tantas tibi.* / (Octavia) *dolor ira maeror miseriae luctus dabunt*, Ov. *Am.* 1.7.66 *quamlibet infirmas adiuuat ira manus*, *Met.* 5.32-3 *contortam uiribus hastam,* / *quantas ira dabat, ... misit.*

qualis: for the fighting spirit of the Amazons, see on 12. Another Senecan heroine, Phaedra, also compares herself to them: *Phae.* 399-403 *qualis relictis frigidi Ponti plagis* / *egit cateruas Atticum pulsans solum* / *Tanaitis aut Maeotis et nodo comas* / *coegit emisitque, lunata latus* / *protecta pelta, talis in siluas ferar.*

Primmer pp. 222-224 opposes Zwierlein's criticism, (1966) 119 n. 18, that Seneca in this and other passages (see below 794) neglects the dramatic action by inserting too long comparisons. Primmer not only defends this double comparison in a technical-formal respect, but also highly appreciates its purport. In this masterly picture of Andromache getting entangled more and more in her unreal wishes: from her supposed alternatives of saving her husband or her son, via the vain decision to offer resistance, up to the fata morgana of victorious Hector, the choice of the similes adds to her feeling of despair: Penthesilea (673), with her bravery, could not be prevented from being killed by Achilles; Agave (674), sobering up from her ecstasy, found out that she had killed her son instead of a lion.

Argolicas: 'Greek' (*OLD* s.v. 2); see on 150. *Argolicas* is found in the same feet of the trimeter at *H.F.* 7, *Phoen.* 58, *Thy.* 404.

673 aut qualis: again in a double simile, *H.F.* 1046-8 *flexo genu iam totus ad terram ruit,* / *ut caesa siluis ornus aut portum mari* / *datura moles*, *H.O.* 241-5 *feta ut Armenia iacens* / *sub rupe tigris hoste conspecto exilit* / *aut iussa thyrsum quatere conceptum ferens* / *Maenas Lyaeum dubia quo gressus agat* / *haesit parumper.* As d'Alfonso notes, the use of *aut* (not *uel*) may here stress the contrast: "o userò la forza, come Pentesilea, e farò danno a voi, o, come la Menade, inveirò contro me stessa."

deo / percussa: cf. *Phoen.* 16-7 *instinctas deo* / *sorores*, *Phae.* 339-40 *Venere instinctus ...* / *... iuuencus.* For the use of the verb (*OLD* s.v. 8 'to affect sharply or profoundly, strike, smite'), cf. *Thy.* 828-9 *trepidant, trepidant pectora magno* / *percussa metu*, *Ep.* 71.19 *iuuenes quos alicuius honestae rei pulchritudo percussit*, Hor. *Epod.* 11.2 *amore percussum graui.*

674 Maenas: the same simile is found in *Med.* 382-6 (of Medea) *incerta qualis entheos gressus tulit* / *cum iam recepto maenas insanit deo* / *Pindi niualis uertice aut Nysae iugis,* / *talis recursat huc et huc motu effero,* / *furoris ore signa lymphati gerens*; cf. *Ag.* 719 (of Cassandra) *maenas*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.300-1 (of Dido) *saeuit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem* / *bacchatur.*

entheo: 'possessed by a god, frenzied, inspired' (*OLD*); like ἔνθεος, the adj. is applied to the Maenads (Soph. *Ant.* 963, *Med.* 382, *Oed.* 628-9 *uibrate thyrsos, enthea gnatos manu* / *lacerate potius*), as well as to Cassandra (Eur. *Tro.* 255, *Ag.* 588 *effrena Phoebas entheas laurus quatit*). These uses are distinguished in LSJ.

675 thyrso: 'a wand tipped with a fir-cone, tuft of ivy or vine-leaves (orig. concealing a spearpoint), carried by worshippers in the rites of Bacchus' (*OLD* s.v.); in Sen. trag. the noun occurs again *H.F.* 472-4 *non erubescit Bacchus effusos tener / sparsisse crines nec manu molli leuem / uibrare thyrsum*, 904 *tectam uirente cuspidem thyrso gerens*, *Phoen.* 18 *uibrante ... thyrso*, *Oed.* 404 *mollia Nysaeis armatus bracchia thyrsis*, 439-41 *tibi commotae pectora matres / fudere comam / thyrsumque leuem uibrante manu*, 628 *uibrate thyrsos*. The first instance of the noun in Latin literature is Catul. 64.256 *harum pars tecta quatiebant cuspide thyrsos*.

expers sui: = *Ag.* 117 *impos sui*; below 1106 Seneca combines the adj. with *iuris*. In his prose, it is found eight times, with various nouns.

676 nec sensit: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.1.41 *utque suum Bacche non sentit saucia uulnus*. For the variation praesens - perfectum, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 30-1 *quidquid horridum tellus creat / inimica, quidquid pontus aut aer tulit*, 473-4 *sparsisse - uibrare* (quoted on *thyrso*), *Phae.* 978-80 *res humanas ordine nullo / Fortuna regit sparsitque manu / munera caeca peiora fouens*, with Grimal's note: "dans cette opposition des temps, le présent implique un état continu, et le parfait («gnomique») la répétition d'un certain nombre d'actions définies", *Thy.* 103-4 *sentit introitus tuos / domus et nefando tota contactu horruit*. Zwierlein (1986) 98 tentativily proposes *sentit*, analogous to e.g. *Ag.* 779-81 *adit, tulit gressus reditque*, *Thy.* 110-4 *pallescit, stetit, exaudit*, *Ag.* 132-4 *exurunt, subdidit, pulsat*, 890-1 *haurit, egit, stupet*. But only in the last instance there is no change of subject. On the 'perfect of instantaneous action or result', see Tarrant's note there).

in medios ruam: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9.438 *at Nisus ruit in medios*, 2.353 *in media arma ruamus*.

677 cineris socia: just as she was his *socia* (*tori*) when they both lived. The noun *socia* is often used in the context of marriage, e.g. *Phae.* 864 (Theseus to Phaedra) *o socia thalami*, Ov. *Met.* 1.620 *sociae generisque torique*, Sal. *Jug.* 80.6-7 *singuli pro opibus quisque quam plurumas uxores, denas alii, alii plures, habent, sed reges eo amplius. ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nulla pro socia obtinet, pariter omnes uiles sunt*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.5 *adsumere coniugem, prosperis dubiisque sociam*.

Sen. trag uses the word in other contexts at *H.F.* 309 (Amphitryon to Megara) *o socia nostri sanguinis*, 900-1 (Hercules) *te te laborum socia et adiutrix precor, / belligera Pallas*, *Med.* 568-9 *tu, fida nutrix, socia maeroris mei / uariique casus*, *Oed.* 1024-5 (Iocasta) *socia cur scelerum dare / poenas recusas?*

678 cessatis: spoken to his soldiers (see on 627). Hesitation right before an important action is a regular phenomenon in Sen. trag.; cf. below 870, 1000, 1154 (for a list of instances from all the plays, see Lieberman p. 59, n. 181).

flebilis: 'accompanied by tears' (*OLD* 3), cf. *Phae.* 850 *fremitus ... flebilis*.

679 cassus: see on 570. Notice the alliteration and the chiasmus.

feminae: Sen. trag. uses the noun 14x (in *H.O.* it occurs 9x), *mulier* is only found at *Med.* 193. This is in line with, for instance, Vergil (10 : 1) and Ovid (over 100 : 1); Lucan, Val. Flaccus and Silius do not use *mulier* at all. In the earlier poets, the situation at first was strongly in favor of *mulier*; from Plautus 297 : 13 (of which four times as a contrast to *mas*), Terence ca. 60 : 1 (*Ph.* 971 *feminae primariae*), slowing down to Catullus 7 : 4, Lucretius 6 : 5, Horatius 13 : 5. Likewise, the adjective *femineus* is found 7x in Seneca's tragedies, *muliebris* only at *Phae.* 619.

In prose, there is a similar flux. Cato, Caesar and Cicero greatly prefer *mulier*, Seneca, on the other hand, *femina*: in his *Ad Marciam de consolatione*, for instance, he uses *femina* 10x, *mulier* only once (*Dial.* 6.16.1). The same is true for Tacitus: in *de Germania* there are eight occurrences of *femina*, of *mulier* only one (in the second half of his *Annales*, however, the latter is found more often, usually in a depreciatory sense). As a contrast, Seneca's contemporary Petronius and later Latin (esp. the Vulgate) again show a strong preference for *mulier*.

As for the "colouring" of the word: Cicero as a rule adds a positive epithet to *femina*, such as *bona*, *sanctissima* (*Phil.* 3.16), *optima* (*ibid.* 3.17; cf. Pl. *Aul.* 135), *primaria* (*Ver.* 1.153, 2.24, 3.97; cf. Ter. *Ph.* 971); negative qualifications are found, for instance, in Plautus (*Truc.* 131 *mala*, *Pers.* 208 *scelesta*), and Apuleius (*Met.* 2.27 *nefaria, scelesta*, 2.29 *pessima*) [see Axelson (1945) 53-57]. Apart from these two Plautine instances, Adams pp. 234-242, under the heading 'The Respectful Use of *Femina* and its Debasement', states that, whereas the word for 'female' in various languages can have a contemptuous connotation when applied to a woman, "Latin is unusual in that *femina* tends to be employed rather as a respectful term denoting a woman of moral or social distinction". Noting a comparable debasement in English 'lady' and Italian *donna*, he thinks it "not surprising to find *femina* losing its tone of respect. It first occurs extensively in prose as a neutral equivalent of *mulier* in the educated language, from the second century A.D. onwards."

ocius: 'without delay, quickly, promptly' (compar. used much as positive, *OLD* s.v. *ociter* 2b); likewise at the end of a line, combined with an imperative, *Phae.* 130 *nefanda casto pectore exturba ocius*, 1245-6 *nunc iusta nato solue et absconde ocius / dispersa foede membra laniatu effero*, *Oed.* 80 *profuge iamdudum ocius*, 647-8 *proinde pulsum finibus regem ocius / agite exulem quocumque*, *Thy.* 640 *effare ocius*. Some instances from other poets: Ter. *Hau.* 832 *sequere hac me ocius*, Verg. *Ecl.* 7.8-9 *ocius ... / huc ades.*

680 me, me: for the abrupt, i.e. before the caesura, change of speaker cf. e.g. below 926, 978, *H.F.* 991. This emotional duplication of the personal pronoun is found quite often in Sen. trag.; cf. below 969, *H.F.* 110-1 *me me, sorores, mente deiectam mea / uersate primam*, 900, *Phae.* 1159-60 *me me, profundi saeue dominator freti, / inuade*, 663, 888, *Oed.* 249, 642-3 *te, te cruenta sceptra qui dextra geris, / te pater inultus urbe cum tota petam.*

As Wills p. 79 f. notes, this passage recalls Nisus' futile effort to save Euryalus by focusing attention on himself, (Verg. *Aen.* 9.427-8) *me, me, adsum qui feci, in me conuertite ferrum, / o Rutuli!*, and the echo in his mother's address to the Rutulians when Euryalus' body returns (9.493-4). Similarly Stat. *Theb.* 1.651-2 (Coroebus) *me, me, diuum optime, solum / obiecisse caput fatis praestabat*, goes back to Nisus' formula and to *Aen.* 8.144-5 (Aeneas) *me, me ipse meumque / obieci caput.* Vergil uses geminated *me* once more *Aen.* 12.260-1 (Tolumnius).

sternite: 'to strike down or stretch lifeless (a person, etc.) with a blow or weapon' (*OLD* s.v. 7), in Sen. trag. again *Phoen.* 260 *genitorem adortus impia straui nece*, *Med.* 634 *strauit Alcides Aquilone natos*, 643 *strauit Ancaeum*, *Thy.* 1109. See also on 183 *strauit.*

681 rumpe ... moras: 'end delay' (*OLD* s.v. *rumpo* 10c), cf. e.g. *Med.* 54 *rumpe iam segnes moras*, *Phae.* 1101-2 *pariter moram / dominumque rumpunt*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.569 *heia age, rumpe moras*, 9.13, *Geo.* 3.42-3, Ov. *Met.* 15.583, Luc. 1.264, 2.525; likewise below 939 *abrumpere ... moras.*

fatorum: 'death' (*OLD* s.v. 6), cf. above 390, 654, *H.F.* 566 (the Chorus meditating on Hercules' return from the underworld) *fatum rumpe manu*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.882 *si qua fata aspera rumpas!*, Liv. 1.42.2 *rupit fati necessitatem*, Lucr. 2.254 *fati foedera rumpat*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.17.

moras: 'obstacles' (*OLD* s.v. 8), cf. e.g. *Ep.* 7.4 *omnia ista mortis morae sunt*, *Ben.* 1.15.1 *beneficiis non obicio moras*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.569 (quoted above), 2.282.

682 molire: 'force or shift from its position, force away' (*OLD* s.v. 8), cf. Liv. 9.3.3 *num montes moliri sede sua paramus?*, 25.36.10 *neque transilire nec moliri onera obiecta ... facile erat*, Luc. 3.489-90 *moliri nunc ima parant et uertere ferro / moenia.* Sen. trag. more often uses the verb of plotting something sinister or disastrous, *H.F.* 1162 *quis tanta Thebis scelera moliri ausus est*, *Phoen.* 303 *scio ... quanta moliri parent*, *Med.* 181 *molitur aliquid*, *Oed.* 28 *iam iam aliquid in nos fata moliri parant*, *Ag.* 229-30. He applies it twice to problematically walking (*Phae.* 431, *Oed.* 996), and once to the propelling of a missile (*Phae.* 200).

683 uel umbra satis es: the reference to Eur. *Herc.* 494-5 (Megara's appeal to Heracles; transl. Way)

> Though as a shadow, yet appear!
> Thy coming as a dream-shape should suffice

(a reference already made by Grotius) supports the validity of the A reading (E *est*). The phrase has been imitated *H.O.* 1829-31 *reliquiae auxilium dabunt, / erunt satis praesidia, terrebunt tuae / reges uel umbrae.*

For *uel* = 'even' (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 494 *uel ex coacta*, *Oed.* 81 *uel ad parentes*; for the use of the nominative, see on 524.

satis: '(applied to persons) one of sufficient strength, power, etc. (for)' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. [Tib.] 3.7.177 *non ego sum satis ad tantae praeconia laudis*, Liv. 2.44.3 *unum uel aduersus omnes satis esse.*

arma: as the opposite of *tela*, not only 'defensive arms', but also 'arms used in close combat., usu. sword and shield' (*OLD* s.v. 2b).

concussit: 'brandished', of a weapon also Liv. 22.1.12 *Mauors telum suum concutit*, Ov. *Met.* 1.143 *sanguineaque manu crepitantia concutit arma*, 7.130 *edita concutit arma*, 12.79 *concutiensque suis uibrantia tela lacertis*, 12.468 *armaque concussit*; cf. *H.F.* 331 *aliena dextra sceptra concutiens Lycus*, *Dial.* 4.35.6 (a quoted poetry-line) *sanguineum quatiens dextra Bellona flagellum*.

On the hallucinative character of these lines, see K.H. Trabert, *Studien zur Darstellung des Pathologischen in den Tragödien Senecas*, Diss. Erlangen 1953, 20 ff. Comparable passages are *Med.* 964 ff. (Medea's vision of Absyrtus' ghost) and *Phoen.* 39 ff. (Oedipus' vision of the blood-stained Laius).

Andromache's delirium does not only form a dramatic climax, it can also be explained from ancient medical theory; cf. Cels. 3.18 *raro, sed aliquando tamen ex metu delirium nascitur* (van Leijenhorst p. 158, n. 337).

684 iaculatur ignes: Hector at his best, cf. above 445, below 1073, Verg. *Aen.* 2.274-6 *quantum mutatus ab illo / Hectore qui redit exuuias indutus Achilli, / uel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis*, Hom. *Il.* 22.373-4.

cernitis ... / ... uideo?: cf. Oedipus' address to Antigone at *Phoen.* 43-4 (see on 683 *concussit*) *nata, genitorem uides? / ego uideo.*

As for the placing of *cernitis* (only occurrence in Sen. trag.) after the penthemimeres: in the same position are always found *cernis* below 893, *H.F.* 1017, *Thy.* 107, (*H.O.* 1352), *cernere H.F.* 1026, 1264, (*H.O.* 876), *cerneret Phae.* 467 (*cerneres Oct.* 640; *cernitur H.O.* 1432). A form like *cerno*, on the other hand, is found both after the penthemimeres *Med.* 396, *Phae.* 898, *Thy.* 407, 493, (*H.O.* 740) and in other positions *H.F.* 1159, *Ag.* 730, *Thy.* 1038, (*Oct.* 727, 844).

cernitis ... ? / an ... : the words show some resemblance to Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.5-7 *auditis? an me ludit amabilis / insania? audire et uideor pios / errare per lucos.*

funditus ... eruam: Ulysses' brief and cold repetition of his threat at 663 offers a shrill contrast with Andromache's growing emotions, culminating in her hallucination. "Het is een bijzonder procédé, dat Seneca hier toepast. Elke keer dat Andromache spreekt is het alsof fellere kleuren op dezelfde ondergrond worden aangebracht", van Leijenhorst, p. 158. He refers to L. (Cilliers-) Theron, 'Progression of Thought in Seneca's De Providentia c. VI', *Acta Classica* 13 (1970) 61-72, where a comparison is made with Ravel's *Bolero*.

cuncta: for the idea, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 351 (Lycus) *stat tollere omnem penitus Herculeam domum*, *Phoen.* 345 (Oedipus) *ab imo tota considat domus*.

686-704 *Andromache shifts to pleading, but Ulysses orders her to call forth Astyanax first.*

686 quid agis?: Andromache uses the same words as Ulysses on his moment of insight (607). She now realizes that she actually has no choice between her son and her husband: the demolition of the grave, resulting from her choosing in favour of her son, will destroy them both.

ruina ... una: for the effective 'Sperrung', cf. e.g. below 719-20 *paruus ... Priamus*, 760-1 *officium ... supremum*, 801-2 *pauca ... uerba*, 988-9 *cunctis ... cladibus*.

mater: Jac. Gronovius ("indecorum et inconditum est hoc loco solum illud *mater*, quod uni respondet *gnatum*") proposed *pariter*: cf. *Phoen.* 327 *succurre, prohibe pariter et bellum et scelus*; his conjecture was approved of by many editors. Carlsson (1929) 19 f. upheld the MSS reading: 'Was tust du eigentlich? In deiner Mutterliebe vernichtest du unter denselben Trümmern Sohn und Mann', for the antithetical juxtaposition referring to *Phoen.* 411 *iuuenes anus* and *Thy.* 90 *auus nepotes*. He was followed by Giardina and Zwierlein; the latter compares *H.F.* 507-8 *coniugem et totum gregem / consumat unus igne subiecto rogus* for the use of *unus* without *pariter*. For the emphasis on her feelings as a mother, cf. above 651.

gnatum: see above on 247; the variation *gna-* E: *na-* A, occurring here, is found another 21 times in the *corpus* according to Zwierlein's Appendix, *OCT* p. 462 (the reverse *gna-* A: *na* E four times; in other instances there is variation in the A MSS themselves).

uirum: 'husband' (*OLD* 2a), again below 807 (and probably 897).

687 forsitan: in Sen. trag. the adverb is only found in combination with the ind., cf. below 886, *Phae.* 225, 238-9; see also on 274 *forsan*. Other poets use both the subj. and the ind., e.g. Lucretius (5.610-1 *forsitan ... sol ... / possideat*, 5.104-5 *dictis dabit ipsa fidem res / forsitan*), and Ovid (*Tr.* 4.1.37 *forsitan hoc studium possit furor esse uideri*, 4.4.47-8 *forsitan hanc ipsam, uiuat modo, finiet olim, / tempore cum fuerit lenior ira fugam*) [H-Sz 334 f., K-S 1.810 f.].

688 conditum: see on 521 *conde*.

elidet: 'crush or batter to death' (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. Cic. *Rep.* 2.68 *auriga ... e curru trahitur, opteritur, laniatur, eliditur*, Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.315-6 *denarrat ut ingens / belua cognatos eliserit*, Liv. 44.42.6 *elephanti ... exeuntis obterebant elidebantque*; below 1112, the verb is used of Astyanax bones, 'smashed' by the jump from the tower. Sen. trag. applies the verb also to the 'shattering' of clouds (*Ag.* 495), the 'choking' of snakes (*H.F.* 221), and the 'emitting' of sounds (*Oed.* 734). Carlsson (1926) 39 f. here also favored the A reading; likewise Zwierlein (1969 *Gn*) 767 and most subsequent editors. The alternative *illidere* (E), preferred by Giardina and Amoroso, denotes 'to beat' (*OLD* 2), e.g. *Thy.* 1045-6 *pectora inliso sonent / contusa planctu*, and 'to injure by crushing', e.g. *Phae.* 1093-5 *late*

cruentat arua et inlisum caput / scopulis resultat; auferunt dumi comas, / et ora durus pulcra populatur lapis. At *Phoen.* 19-20 *corpus inlisum trahens, / Zethi iuuencus*, cited by *OLD* s.v. 1, *inlisum* is a conjecture by Leo; *inuisum* is the reading of all MSS.

689 immane: 'of enormous size, vast, tremendous' (*OLD* s.v. 3); with the sense 'savage, brutal', the adj. occurs above 566.

intereat: in Sen. trag. the verb occurs only once more, *Oed.* 124 *interimus*, whereas forms of *perire* are used some 55 times.

690 ubicumque: 'in any place whatever' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. *Phoen.* 166-7 *et tu, parens, ubicumque poenarum arbiter / adstas mearum*; see also on 629.

potius: Zwierlein (1986) 50 on *H.F.* 427-8 *effare thalamis quod nouis potius parem / regale munus*, calls attention to the free positioning of the adverb: *Phae.* 661-2 *si cum parente Creticum intrasses fretum, / tibi fila potius nostra neuisset soror*, *Oed.* 628-9 *enthea gnatos manu / lacerate potius*, *Thy.* 1021-2 *iam accipe hos potius libens / diu expetitos*, *Ep.* 45.8 *quo enim nomine potius sophismata appellem?*

pater natum ... / ... patrem natus: when a clause is repeated with the same words but with an exchange of their relationships, natural pairs (men - women, night - day) dominate in such passages, esp. parents - children: *Thy.* 40-1 *fratrem expauescat frater et gnatum parens / gnatusque patrem*, 1050-1 *genitor en natos premo / premorque natis*, Manil. 4.82 *ecce patrem nati perimunt natosque parentes*, Hdt. 1.87.4 'in peace sons bury fathers, but in war fathers bury sons'. On 'interchange', see Wills p. 272 ff., citing as an early and simple example Pl. *Most.* 305 *tu me amas, ego te amo*, and from modern speeches: 'ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country', and 'mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind' (John F. Kennedy's address to the United Nations in 1961).

For the juxtaposition of nouns denoting kinship, see on 248 *gnatam parens*; for the chiasmus subj. - obj. - verb, verb - obj. - subj., see on 170 *Titan iuga / stringebat ortu, uicerat noctem dies.*

pater: his tomb, of course, cf. 508 *tumulus*.

691 prematque: "Bentleys *prematue* (auch von Bothe gefordert) verkennt, daß der Lateiner in *premere* eine wechselseitige Aktion sieht: »premunt etiam ea quae supposita sunt oneri« (Weise bei Housman zu Lucan. 8,757)", Zwierlein (1986) 99; his addition "vgl. Thy 518" does not clarify his previous statement, but is probably meant as an illustration of 691-3 (see on 692-3 *quamque ... dextram*).

patrem: for the lenghthening of the first syllable, cf. *H.F.* 305 *florere patrem*, *Phoen.* 121 *hic siste patrem*, 617, *Ag.* 537, *Thy.* 41. Note again the shift of accent in the two repeated substantives (likewise at *Thy.* 1050-1, quoted on 690).

genua: for the habit of suppliants to touch or clasp someone's knees, cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 24.478, *Od.* 3.92, 6.141-4, Verg. *Aen.* 3.607, Liv. 25.7.1. In Sen. trag. it is found with a variety of phrases in *H.F.* 1002-3

en blandas manus / ad genua tendens uoce miseranda rogat, Phoen. 306-7 *nata, quid genibus meis / fles aduoluta?, Med.* 247-8 *genua attigi / fidemque supplex praesidis dextra peti, Phae.* 666-7 *en supplex iacet / adlapsa genibus regiae proles domus,* 703 *genibus aduoluor tuis, Thy.* 521-2 *a genibus manum / aufer.*

accido: 'to fall down (at a person's feet), prostrate oneself' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. e.g. Ter. *Hec.* 378-9 *ad genua accidit / lacrumans misera,* Liv. 44.31.13 *genibus praetoris accidens,* Tac. *Hist.* 3.38 *filium eius sinu complexus et genibus accidens*; elsewhere in *Tro.* (33, 416, 1006, 1007) the verb denotes 'to happen' (*OLD* 5).

692 quamque ... / ... dextram: cf. *Thy.* 517-8 *supplicem primus uides; / hae te precantur pedibus intactae manus,* Racine, *Andromaque,* III.6.915-6 (Andromache to Pyrrhus) 'Andromaque, sans vous, / n'aurait jamais d'un maître embrassé les genoux.' For the interchange of subject and object with *nouere,* cf. *H.F.* 175 *nouit paucos secura quies, Phae.* 290, 1212; see below on 698 *reuisat.*

693 admoueo: 'stretch out towards' (*OLD* s.v. 4c), cf. 947 below, *Thy.* 690 *quis manum ferro admouet?,* Liv. 5.22.4 *religiose admouentes manus*; for the hostile meaning 'lay hands upon', see on 641.

694 miserere matris: *matris,* not *mei,* just as Ulixes had put forward his concern as a father for his son as his incentive (593). Andromache will repeat her plea at the end (703), and her words will be echoed by Astyanax (792). For the repetition Boyle compares *Phae.* 623 *miserere uiduae,* 636 *miserere, pauidae mentis exaudi preces,* 671 *miserere amantis.*

For the *m* alliteration cf. below 736-7, *Med.* 362 *maiusque mari Medea malum, Phae.* 113 *miserae matris agnosco malum,* 170 *memorque matris metue concubitus nouos.*

preces placidus pias / patiensque: for the *p* alliteration see on 64; some more instances in Sen. trag. are found above 694-5, below 1074, *H.F.* 739 *placide potens, Phae.* 938 *profugum per omnis pertinax latebras premam,* 1010 *placidumque pelagus propria tempestas agit,* 1194, *Ag.* 201. For other conspicous instances in this play, see e.g. below 1109-10 and 1166-7. Carlsson (1926) 58 f. supposes the influence of the old *Scenici* in this respect, for instance Enn. *Ann.* 9 V^2 *quae caua corpore caeruleo cortina receptat* (not in Skutsch; see Jocelyn 365-6 *quaeque in corpore caua caeruleo / caeli cortina receptat*).

placidus: 'graciously', likewise as a personal adjective *Oed.* 528 *coacta uerba placidus accipias precor, Phae.* 628 *nisi forte amori placidus et Pluton sedet, Med.* 985, *Thy.* 132, Verg. *Aen.* 3.266, 4.578. The adj. is also used of Sleep (*H.F.* 1075), death (*Ag.* 592), the sea (see above 201), peace (*Phoen.* 349, 351, cf. *Ag.* 60), a person's heart (*H.F.* 219, *Phoen.* 187) or face (*Oed.* 336).

pias: *pietas* (cf. 501, 581) is Andromache's ground for pleading to Ulysses, as it is Aeneas' in his prayer to the gods at *Aen.* 3.265-6 quoted above.

695 recipe: 'to give approval to, count allowable or acceptable, approve, allow' (*OLD* s.v. 8), cf. *Phoen.* 33 *recipe supplicium uetus*, Stat. *Silu.* 4.1.9 *precibusque receptis*.

celsum: probably added (redundant with *altius*) as a contrast to *lapsos*, as *altius* corresponds with *mitius* (d'Alfonso).

696 superi leuarunt: cf. 259-60 *Fortuna .. leuauit.*

mitius: for the omission of *eo*, see above on 254 *quo plura.*

697 misero ... datur: Gronovius cites both Commelinus' comment (Heidelberg 1589) "ut si quando ipse miser fias, illa tibi beneficium acceptum referre iure teneatur" and Lipsius' suggestion *miserae datur quodcunque fortunae, datur* ("q.d. animo vere liberali datur, non aucupante & retributionem sperante"). On 'gifts' and 'retribution', vital elements in Roman social life, see e.g. Seneca's *De beneficiis* and his *Ep.* 81. Kingery refers to Proverbs 19:17 'He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth to the Lord'.

For the structure of the line, cf. below 741 *nullas habet spes Troia, si tales habet.*

698 sic: 'on these terms, in this way' (*OLD* s.v. 8d: in a wish which is made conditional on the granting of a request), cf. *Phae.* 418-22 *sic te lucidi uultus ferant / et nube rupta cornibus puris eas, / sic te regentem frena nocturni aetheris / detrahere numquam Thessali cantus queant / nullusque de te gloriam pastor ferat*, Catul. 17.5-7 *sic tibi bonus ex tua pons libidine fiat, / ... / munus hoc mihi maximi da, Colonia, risus*, Verg. *Ecl.* 9.30-2, Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.1-3 *sic te diua potens Cypri, / sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera, / uentorumque regat pater* [Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.* refer to J.E. Church, *TAPhA* 36 (1905) lv ff.; H-Sz 331; Appel, *De Romanorum precationibus* (1909) 152]. Likewise *ita ... ut* (see on 599-603).

te reuisat ... torus: hypallage for *tu reuisas ... torum*, noted as such by Farnabius, Smith p. 68, Hillen p. 259 'Subjekt-Objekt-Vertauschung'.

sanctae: 'virtuous' (*OLD* s.v. 4); of a wife, for instance, Apul. *Met.* 7.7 *sanctissima – uera enim dicenda sunt – et unicae fidei femina*, *CIL* 11.7898 *sola uiro tu sancta tuo dum uita manebat.* Penelope was a symbol of chastity and fidelity: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.10.11-2 (of Lyce) *non te Penelopen difficilem procis / Tyrrhenus genuit parens*, Ov. *Tr.* 5.14.35-6 *aspicis ut longo teneat laudabilis aeuo / nomen inextinctum Penelopaea fides?*, Prop. 3.12.37-8, Lucianus, *DMeretr.* 12.1.

699 dum: 'until' (*OLD* s.v. 5). For the use with pres. ind., cf. e.g. *Dial.* 12.18.1 *dum ... peruenis*, Verg. *Ecl.* 9.23 *Tityre, dum redeo ... pasce capellas* (with Page's note); for the use with the subj., see on 997.

extendat: 'prolong' (*OLD* s.v. 6), cf. *Phoen.* 94 *funus extendis meum*, *H.O.* 866 *leuis una mors est - leuis, at extendi potest.*

700 Laerta: for this nom. form with a short *-a*, Fantham (1982) 102 compares Prop. 2.14.1 *Atrida*, and Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.100 *Apella*; at *Thy.* 587 Seneca uses the nom. *Laertes* (see also N-W I 60).

sic te: for the anaphora cf. *Phae.* 418-22 quoted on 698 *sic.*

iuuenis ... tuus: Telemachus (593).

excipiat: 'to receive, greet' (*OLD* 8). Carlsson (1926) 36, referring to *H.O.* 937 *et umbra tristis coniugem excipiam meum*, *Phae.* 864-5 *o socia thalami, sicine aduentum uiri / et expetiti coniugis uultum excipis?*, with Richter preferred the A reading over E's *accipiat* and Leo's *aspiciat*; likewise Zwierlein (1969 *Gn*) 767. Miller and Watling take the verb in the sense of 'to succeed' (*OLD* 15).

701 uota uincens uestra: for the *u* alliteration see on 564.

uincens: 'to surpass, outdo' (*OLD* 9), cf. Cic. *Ver.* 5.11 *uincam tamen exspectationem omnium*. Sen. trag. also uses the verb of things 'to exceed, be greater than' (*OLD* 9b), e.g. *Ag.* 692 *quae patimur uicere modum*.

uestra: see on 533 *uester.*

felici: '(of the gifts of fortune) constituting a blessing, happy, fortunate, good' (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. "(*of natural endowments*)" *Nat.* 5.18.8 *felicem ualetudinem*.

702 aetate auum transcendat: cf. *Eleg. Maec.* 3-4 (*iuuenis deflendus*) *tam / longius annoso uiuere dignus auo*; for the use of *transcendat* see on 213.

ingenio: an echo of 618. Note the A B C A' B' structure of the line.

703 miserere matris: an effective repetition of above 694.

unicum: see on 462. A comparable wording is used by Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 1768-9 (Eve of Adam) *unicum lapsae mihi / firmamen, unam spem graui afflictae malo*. Astyanax now is everything to Andromache, just as Hector had been to her in the past (see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 6.429-30).

704 solamen: 'solace'; likewise Medea of her children, *Med.* 945-6 *cara proles, unicum afflictae domus / solamen*. Cf. also the Nurse addressing Phaedra, *Phae.* 267 *solamen annis unicum fessis*, and Octavia's mourning for her brother Brittannicus, *Oct.* 68-9 *in quo fuerat spes una mihi / totque malorum breue solamen*. The noun is absent from Senecan prose (see also on 809 *solacio*). In Vergil it is found at *Aen.* 3.661, 10.493, 10.859 [Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.32.15 *lenimen*, with a reference to Löfstedt (1933) 2.297 and Perrot p. 104 ff., comment that formations in *-men* are more grandiloquent than those in *-mentum*].

exhibe: 'produce, bring out' (*OLD* s.v. 1), cf. *H.O.* 843-4 *natum reposcit Iuppiter, Iuno aemulum; / reddendus orbi est - quod potest reddi, exhibe*, Cic. *Mil.* 33 *exhibe ... librarium illud legum uestrarum*, Sen. *Con.* 1.7.6 *exhibe, respublica, priuatum depositum tibi*. Delrius already styles it "iuridicum & sollemne vocabulum" [cf. *OLD* 1b *agere ad exhibendum* 'to sue for production (of evidence or sim.)'; Walter (1975) 56 f.].

et: 'and then' (*OLD* s.v. 18).

705-35 *Andromache calls forth Astyanax and makes him adopt a suppliant attitude; she tries to soften Ulysses by reminding him of Hercules, who was once moved by Priam as a little boy.*

At this dramatic moment, Andromache shifts to singing her lines in anapaestic dimeters, with a concluding monometer (E) or trimeter (A). For this transition to a lyric metre may be compared *Phae.* 1201-12 (Theseus, trochaic tetrameters), and *Ag.* 759-74 (Cassandra, iambic dimeters); in Greek tragedy e.g. Aesch. *P.V.* 88-127 (Prometheus, anapaestic). Such monodies are found again *Thy.* 920-69 (Thyestes, anapaestic), and *Med.* 740-842 (Medea, in a complex sequence of trochaic tetrameters, iambic trimeters and dimeters, and anapaests).

As for the colometry, Caviglia, Fantham and Chaumartin have followed E. I have preferred Zwierlein's (and Boyle's) modification, with 707 *mille carinis* and 711 *Fortuna iubet* as additional monometers, since it results in a better sense-correspondence. Just as in the first choral ode, Fitch proposes a greater number of monometers, for instance 708 *submitte manus* and *dominique pedes*.

Giambattista Giraldi (1504-1573), who in a comparison of this play with Euripides' *Troades* thinks Seneca superior in many respects, for his appraisal also refers to this aria: "on peut lire chez lui des anapestes remplis de larmes, de pitié et d'amour (par exemple ceux où Andromaque présente Astyanax à Ulysse après l'avoir fait sortir du tombeau), et c'est à peine si l'on peut retenir des larmes en les lisant. Quant au reste on ne peut guère le lire sans éprouver une vive compassion" (*Discorso*, p. 95, cited by Lucia Dondoni, 'L'Influence de Sénèque sur les tragédies de Giambattista Giraldi', in: Jacquot p. 42 f.).

705 huc ... procede: cf. Pl. *Mil.* 828 *procede huc*, Ter. *Eun.* 470 *procede tu huc*. Caviglia thinks this line a "significativo riecheggiamento da Sen. Rhet. *Controv.* 2.4.1 *accede huc puer depositum* (cfr. v. 521) *crimen meum*", but the situations seem too different: "questo parole sono di un giovane che - prossimo a morire - presenta al proprio padre il figlio avuto da na meretrice; per questa unione il padre lo aveva ripudiato."

latebris: the plural forms of the noun clearly prevail in Sen. trag. The ablative occurs again at *H.F.* 1009, *Med.* 685; the accusative above 504, *H.F.* 996, 1012 A, *Med.* 250, *Phae.* 938, *Oed.* 608, (*H.O.* 4x). Singular forms are found at *H.F.* 1012 E, 1335, *Oed.* 362. The scansion *lătĕbra* is the most frequent one, with *-ē-* it is found at *H.F.* 1335 *Theseu, latebram quaere longinquam, abditam*, *Oed.* 608 *pauide latebras nemoris umbrosi petunt* (at *Oed.* 362 *membrana latebram rebus occultis negans*, Töchterle in my opinion incorrectly takes it with a long *e*).

procede: 'advance from shelter, concealment, or sim., come forth (from a place stated or implied)' (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. *H.F.* 1168-9 (Hercules) *uictor Alcidae, lates? / procede*, *H.O.* 1249-50 *quaecumque pestis uiscere in nostro lates, / procede*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.592.

As for the colouring of the verb, Shackleton Bailey (1956) 8, on Prop. 1.2.1, reacting to an overemphasis of it (e.g. Postgate: 'move majestically'), feels that it means no more than *prodire*. Enk on Prop. 2.10.9 *nunc uolo subducto grauior procedere uultu* gives the Solomonian judgement of siding with Postgate for that passage and for Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.13-4 *ut Attica uirgo / cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes*, but taking the verb = *prodire* at Ov. *Ep.* 21.69 and Tert. *Cult. Fem.* 2.11. In my view, the verb has a more elevated tone here and in *H.F.* 1169 than in its third occurrence in Sen. trag., *Phoen.* 419 *procedit acies tarda, sed properant duces.*

706 flebile ... miserae: note the wordorder a B A b and the alliteration.

furtum: see on 501.

707 hic est, hic est: for the repetition, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.791 *hic uir, hic est*, Ov. *Am.* 3.1.20 *hic, hic est*, *Oct.* 371 *'hic est, hic est fodiendus' ait.* Here it is better taken as a pronoun (*hic-ce*) than as an adverb, I feel.

terror: 'a person or thing that causes terror' (*OLD* 1c), cf. above 435, *Ag.* 743-4 (of Hector) *auxilium Phrygum / terrorque Danaum*, Eur. *Tro.* 1136 'terror of the Achaeans' (of Hector's shield).

carinis: 'ships', again below 1030, four times in *Medea* (see on 27 *rates*).

708 submitte manus: 'to hold out the hands in supplication' (*OLD* s.v. 4b), cf. e.g. *Oed.* 226 (*ut*) *pias numen precatus rite summisi manus*, Ov. *Met.* 5.235 *summissae ... manus*, *Ep.* 19.78, Sen. *Con.* 1.3.7 *cuius enim genibus summisit manus?*, 1.5.3 *supplices summisit manus*. The phrase is also found in *Ag.* 783-5 (Agamemnon at his home-coming) *o cara salue terra! tibi tot barbarae / dedere gentes spolia, tibi felix diu / potentis Asiae domina summisit manus*, but there it rather denotes a gesture of submission without the connotation of entreating (cf. *OLD* s.v. 7b, 7c).

domini: cf. Eur. *Andr.* 529-30 (Andromache urging her son by Pyrrhus to supplicate Menelaus) 'plead, touching the knees of your master, o child', *Tro.* 699 (Hecabe to Andromache; transl. Way) 'honour him that is to-day thy lord'.

709 supplice: '(of things) expressing or involving supplication' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. e.g. Caes. *Ciu.* 2.11.4 *ad legatos ... supplices manus tendunt*, Sen. *Oed.* 225 *ut sacrata templa Phoebi supplici intraui pede*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.439 *supplicibus ... donis*, Ov. *Met.* 6.33 *supplice uoce*, Sen. *Con.* 1.5.3 *supplices ... manus*. On the use of the abl. sing. forms *supplici* (*H.F.* 570 *prece supplici*, *Oed.* 225) - *supplice* (*Ag.* 807 *supplice ... fibra*), see e.g. N-W II 78.

stratus: 'having thrown yourself prostrate' (*OLD* s.v. 5), of a suppliant also Cic. *Lig.* 13 *quod ... petimus precibus ac lacrimis, strati ad pedes*, Liv. 25.37.9 *alii strati humi suum quisque nominatim ducem implorare*; cf. Eur. *Hec.* 339 (Hecuba to Polyxena; transl. Way) 'fall piteously at this Odysseus' knee'.

adora: Sen. trag. uses the verb quite often in a combination of reverence/worship and supplication; cf. its other occurrences: *Ag.* 392-4 *delubra et aras caelitum et patrios lares / post longa fessus spatia, uix credens mihi, / supplex adoro, Phoen.* 127 (*quisquis ... Cadmi nemus ...*) *supplex adoras, H.F.* 410-1 *non ut inflexo genu / regnantem adores petimus,* 914 *Tonantem nostra adorabit manus.* Lewis-Short distinguish the following main tripartition of meanings: 'to address' (according to Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 10.677 the *ueteres* thought *adorare = alloqui*), 'to entreat', and 'to reverence'. The other occurrences of the "archaic" (Austin on *Aen.* 2.700) verb in Vergil are at *Aen.* 1.48, 3.437, *Geo.* 1.343.

710 nec turpe puta: cf. 504 *turpes ... latebras spernis?*

711 Fortuna iubet: for this ending cf. 735, *Phae.* 1124 *Fortuna furit,* 1143 (*praestat*) *Fortuna fidem, Ag.* 72 *Fortuna rotat,* 101 *Fortuna tulit.*

712 pone ex animo: cf. e.g. *H.O.* 225-7 *quid regna tui clara parentis / proauosque tuos respicis amens? / fugiat uultus fortuna prior*; Racine, *Andromaque*, IV.1.1120-2 (Andromache)

> Nous lui laissons un maître, il le doit ménager.
> Qu'il ait de ses aïeux un souvenir modeste:
> Il est du sang d'Hector, mais il en est le reste.

atauos: 'a remote ancestor, forefather' (*OLD* 2), orig. 'a great-great-great-grandfather', clearly an echo of Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.1 *atauis ... regibus,* Verg. *Aen.* 7.474 *ataui reges*; likewise V. Fl. 2.343 *atauos reges.*

713 magni ... senis: Priam.

iura: see below 772.

714 excidat: 'to escape the memory, be forgotten', like above 204 *excidit.* For a comparable transferred use of the verb in Sen. trag., cf. *Thy.* 32 *superbis fratribus regna excidant* ('to fall away, be lost, perish', *OLD* 9).

Hector: "memoria *vel* indoles & virtus Hectoris" (Farnabius).

715 gere: 'play the part, act as' (*OLD* s.v. 6); cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.115 *gerere quam personam uelimus,* Stat. *Theb.* 9.13 *hominem ... gerit* (Dewar *ad loc.* cites Just. 22.3.1 *nec heredem regni sed regem gerebat,* Claud. *IV Cons. Hon.* 294 *tu ciuem patremque geras*; add: *VI Cons. Hon.* 59 *ciuem gereret*), V. Max. 9.1.9 *eodem animo ciuem gerens quo patrem egerat.* The latter verb is used similarly (*OLD* s.v. 26) at Sen. *Ag.* 959 *agere domita feminam disces malo.*

posito ... genu: 'on bended knee' (*OLD* s.v. *pono* 7), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 546 *uictorem posito suspiciens genu,* Ov. *Fast.* 2.438 *suppliciter posito procubuere genu,* Curt. 8.7.13 *tu Macedonas uoluisti genua tibi ponere,* Claud. *VI Cons. Hon.* 71-2 *posito ... genu.*

716 funera: 'death' (*OLD* s.v. 3a); cf. *Med.* 47-8 *uulnera et caedem et uagum / funus per artus,* Pl. *Am.* 190 *quod multa Thebano poplo acerba obiecit funera,* Verg. *Aen.* 11.646-7 *dant funera ferro / certantes.* For the use of the poetic plural, cf. e.g. Ov. *Fast.* 6.581 *post Tulli funera.*

717 tuae: "nonne potius *m. f. i. tuis?*", Damsté (1919) 62.

Andromache in Hooft's *Achilles en Polyxena* 503-10 closely follows this passage (cited by Th.H. d'Angremond, *P.C. Hooft's Achilles en Polyxena*, Diss. Amsterdam, Assen 1943, 92):

> Ach, cleen Astianax! compt, gaet den vijant groeten,
> Den overwinner trots valt vrijelijck te voeten,
> Bidt hem ootmoedich aen, en acht geen schande niet
> Te doen het gene, dat u t' wree geluck gebiet.
> Laet dalen u gemoet, off hout sijn crachten binnen,
> Vergeet u out geslacht, stelt Hector wt u sinnen,
> Off, so ghij mee gevoelt de wonden van u leyt,
> So doet gelijck als ick en met u moeder schrayt.

718 uidit: for this use of the verb with inanimate things, places etc. as subject (*OLD* s.v. 11b), cf. e.g. below 785, *H.F.* 335 *quidquid Cithaeron uertice excelso uidet*, *Phoen.* 543-4 *uidit hostili grege / campos repleri patria*, *Med.* 44-5 *quodcumque uidit Phasis aut Pontus nefas, / uidebit Isthmos*, Cic. *Mil.* 7 *in ea* (*urbe*) *quae primum iudicium de capite uidit.*

pueri regis: see on 133.

719 prior: "hoc est *prius*; veluti *serus* pro *sero*" (Delrius).

720 trucis: see on 252; of Hercules again Stat. *Theb.* 11.46.

Alcidae: Hercules, as grandson of Alceus (Servius ad *Aen.* 6.392).

flexit: 'to avert, turn aside' (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 1.378 *si flectitur ira deorum*, 2.482 *neue preces animos et uerba precantia flectant*, 9.608-9 *duram / flectere ... mentem*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.31.

721 ille, ille: for the gemination of the pron. demonstr., see above 625 *hac, hac*, and cf. *Oed.* 106 *ille, ille dirus callidi monstri cinis*, *H.O.* 753 (A) *ille ille uictor*, *Oct.* 23-4 *illa, illa meis tristis Erinys / thalamis.*

ferox: see on 46; of Hercules again *H.F.* 57, 90 (471, 1082).

722 omnes ... ferae: cf. *H.F.* 30-3 *quidquid horridum tellus creat / inimica, quidquid pontus aut aer tulit / terribile dirum pestilens atrox ferum, / fractum atque domitum est.* For a detailed list of Hercules' labours, see *H.F.* 216-48, *Ag.* 829-62.

723 perfracto: 'to break or burst through, force a way through' (*OLD* 2), cf. *H.F.* 47 *effregit ecce limen inferni Iouis*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.36 *perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.* Sen. trag. uses the compound two more times (*H.F.* 1025, 1275).

limine: of the doorway to the underworld, see on 403 *limen.*

Ditis: for the use of *Dis* = *Tartarus*, see on 432 *Dite.*

724 caecum: see on 171. For the combination with *iter*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.456 *caecum iter explorat*, and (quite different!) Prop. 3.14.32 *caecum uersat amator iter.*

patefecit iter: 'to open a road' (*OLD* 3b), in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 55 *patefacta ab imis manibus retro uia est*; cf. *Med.* 638 *post feri Ditis patefacta regna.*

725 hostis parui: note the climax after *pueri regis* (718) and *paruus* ... *Priamus* (719-20).

726 habenas: the 'reins' of government (*OLD* s.v. 2b), cf. Cic. *Rep.* 1.9 *neque sapientis esse accipere habenas*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.600 *rerumque reliquit habenas*, Ov. *Met.* 15.481 (*ferunt*) *accepisse Numam populi Latialis habenas*; for a comparable use in Sen. trag. see *Med.* 346-7 *palluit audax Tiphys et omnes / labente manu misit habenas*. For the use of metaphors from horsemanship, see on 279 *regi frenis*.

727 celsus: for the appliance of the adj. to a magistrate, etc. or his chair (*OLD* 2b), cf. Luc. 5.16 *Lentulus e celsa sublimis sede profatur*; see below 886 *excelso*.

solio: 'throne' (*OLD* 2), a subst. used by Seneca in his tragedies twice as often (eight times) as in his prose; for *patrio* ... *solio*, cf. *Thy.* 887 *solium patris*.

728 fide meliore: sc. than Laomedon (see on 133). Vergil hints at the latter's perjury in *Geo.* 1.501-2 *satis iam pridem sanguine nostro / Laomedonteae luimus periuria Troiae*, *Aen.* 4.541-2 *nescis heu, perdita, necdum / Laomedonteae sentis periuria gentis?*, 5.811 *periurae moenia Troiae*.

Such an insertion of lines in *oratio recta* in a lyric part is also found in *H.F.* 582-7, *Oct.* 332-44, 371-2. This enlivening of the narration, familiar from lyric poetry, was already applied in Greek tragedy by Aeschylus (e.g. *Ag.* 126-37, *Ch.* 823-5, *Eum.* 511-2), and on a more extensive scale by Euripides, especially in his later plays, e.g. *Ba.* 152 ff., 526 ff.; the latter occasionally also ends a strophe with some lines in *oratio recta*, e.g. *I.A.* 790-800, *Or.* 827-30 [Walther Kranz, *Stasimon*, Berlin 1933, 150, 259].

729 hoc fuit: Scaliger's remark "ineptissima aut nulla sententia. Seneca scripsit *profuit illo uictore capi.* infra (887) *profuit multis capi*" met approval with some of his contemporaries, but not with Gronovius. Leo (1879) 377 too, despite Claud. *IV cons. Hon.* 116 *profuit hoc uincente capi*, defended the transmitted *hoc fuit*, "eadem ratione usurpatum qua Ovidianum illud *est aliquid*".

730 mites ... iras: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.5.41 *flexas ad mitius iras*.

731 arma: the famous bow and arrows, indispensable for the capture of Troy; for this use of the noun (*OLD* s.v. 2c), = the more usual *tela*, cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 11.644 *tantus in arma patet*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.629-30 (*Delius*) *arcu crudelis iniquo / pestifera arma iacit*.

733 supplice supplex: for the polyptoton see on 38.

734 quocumque ... / ... ferat: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.25 (Teucer fleeing from Salamis and from his father) *quo nos cunque feret melior fortuna parente*, Sen. *Ag.* 142 *quocumque me ira, quo dolor, quo spes feret*, V. Fl. 4.47 *quocumque* (sc. *undae fetum*) *ferant*. As noted above on 5 *fors*, the Romans connected *fors* and *fortuna* with *fero*, often combining them as a kind of *figura etymologica*: e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 186 Sk *quidue ferat fors* (197 V^2 *quidue ferat Fors*), Lucr. 3.983 *casum* ... *quem cuique ferat fors*, Luc. 2.461 *dubiamque fidem fortuna ferebat*.

736-59 *Unable to persuade Ulysses with her pleas, Andromache proceeds to insult him, but without effect.*

736 matris ... maeror ... mouet: for the alliteration in this and the following line, see on 694.

quidem ... tamen: for this use of *quidem*, cf. above 545-6, *H.F.* 1272-4 *sunt quidem patriae preces / satis efficaces, sed tamen nostro quoque / mouere fletu*, Prop. 2.8.28 *mors inhonesta quidem, tu moriere tamen.*

maeror attonitae: Hillen p. 16 notes the use of *attonitae* as an instance of "Abundanz" (*attonitae* = 'in erregter Trauer').

737 tamen: for the postponement of *tamen*, cf. below 801, *H.F.* 1110-1 *et qui medius tua tela tamen / senserat aer*, *Phoen.* 542-3 *ut recedas, magna pars sceleris tamen / uestri peracta est.*

mouent: a similar conspicuous repetition of the verb occurs at *Oed.* 512-3 *si te ruentes non satis Thebae mouent, / at sceptra moueant lapsa cognatae domus*; cf. also below 1144-6.

738 crescit: cf. the similes in 536-45.

in: '(indicating form or substance into which something changes, grows, is made, etc.) so as to become, to, into' (*OLD* s.v. 19); cf. Stat. *Silu.* 4.7.43 *crescat in mores patrios*, Ov. *Met.* 1.550 *in frondem crines, in ramos bracchia crescunt*, Prop. 4.5.73 *in nostros ... dolores.*

739 has, has: for the geminated pron. demonstr., cf. 625 *hac, hac,* 721 *ille, ille.*

in cinerem datae: the phrase *in cinerem* (*-es*) *dare* is also found in *Phoen.* 113-4 *in cinerem dabo / hoc quidquid in me uiuit, Culex* 313-4 *omnis ut in cineres Rhoetei litoris ora / classibus ambustis flamma lacrimante daretur*, Sil. 6.716 *in cineres monumenta date atque inuoluite flammas*; cf. also *Oed.* 67 *pars quota in cineres abit?*

740 excitabit: 'build up', according to *OLD* s.v. 8b. But is not 'stir into activity' (*ibid.* 5) better? In favour of such a translation (cf. Watling 'bring to life again', Fantham, Boyle 'revive') seem to me two other occurrencies of the verb in Sen. trag., viz. *H.F.* 311 *animum excita*, *Med.* 902 *incumbe in iras teque languentem excita*, and the fact that the actual rebuilding is referred to in the following words.

hae ... erigent: cf. Eur. *Tro.* 1159-61 (Hecabe; transl. Way)

> Fearing this child, Achaeans, why have you wrought
> Murder unheard-of? — lest he raise again
> Our fallen Troy?

Andromache at first had included this wish (472 *recidiua ponas Pergama*) in her *magna uota* (475).

741 nullas ... tales: this placing of the opposite words in the first and fifth foot is also found above 515 *leuius solet timere, qui propius timet*, 697 *misero datur quodcumque, fortunae datur*; cf. also 581 *necessitas plus posse quam pietas solet.*

habet ... habet: for the position of the verb and its repetition, cf. again above 697, *Thy.* 1031 (*quidquid e natis tuis*) *superest habes, quodcumque non superest habes.* Above 336 *minimum decet libere cui multum licet,* Seneca has placed the opposite verbs in the second and final foot of the trimeter, and the opposite subjects in the first and fifth foot.

spes: for the use of the plural, cf. e.g. Pl. *Capt.* 445 *tibi commendo spes opesque meas, Curc.* 307 *ubi sunt spes meae?,* Verg. *Aen.* 3.103.

742 iacemus: see on 6 *starent.*

Troes: Homer's usual name for the Trojans is used less often by Sen. trag. than *Phryges* (see above 29); it occurs again below 791, 1055, 1129, *Ag.* 511, 526, 618. Here his choice is easily explained by the repeated use of *Troia,* and especially the parallelism with the preceding line; likewise 791 *liberos Troas uide* after 790 *Troia te expectat tua,* 1055 *Troes* after 1051 *Troia,* and 1129 *Troes* followed by 1131 *Troiae.* As a contrast to the Greeks, he uses the name at *Ag.* 511 *eademque superos Troes et Danai rogant,* 526 *uehit ista Danaos classis? et Troas uehit!* The name *Troiani* is absent from his tragedies, but occurs in his prose: *Ep.* 27.5 *nemo uetulus nomenclator ... tam perperam tribus quam ille* (sc. *Caluisius Sabinus*) *Troianos et Achiuos persalutabat.*

743 spiritus: here 'spirit, vigour' (*OLD* s.v. 7c) as well as 'pride' (see on 252). Cf. Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 600-3 (Pilatus) *scilicet maris accolae / inops inersque uulgus, et Galilaidum / grex feminarum, spiritus facient duci / tantos?* To the rhetorical question may be compared *H.F.* 422 *animosne mersus inferis coniunx facit?*

facit: ter Haar Romeny p. 82 proposed *dabit* (cf. 268).

744 nempe: see on 325; *sed nempe* is found again at the beginning of *Thy.* 412. Amoroso *ad loc.*, "Quest'uso di *nempe,* diverso rispetto a v. 325 e v. 340, è di una esacerbata ironia tragica", compares *H.O.* 437 (Deianira) *nempe et Alcmena satum,* after (Nutrix) *at Ioue creatum.*

tractus: cf. 189 *trahens.*

post Troiam: for the concise expression = 'after Troy's fall', cf. *Phoen.* 50 *post matrem* ('after my incest with my/your mother'), *Med.* 637 *post terrae pelagique pacem* ('after establishing peace'), *Ben.* 5.17.2 *post Catilinam* ('after his conspiracy'), *Dial.* 5.30.5 *post Pompeium* (i.e. 'after his death'), *Ep.* 119.7 *post Darium et Indos, Nat.* 3.praef.6 *Hannibal etiam post Carthaginem pertinax.* In other authors: Ov. *Met.* 12.607 *post Hectora,* Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.5 *post uina,* 3.21.19 *post te,* Luc. 5.473 *post pignora tanta,* Tac. *Ann.* 4.40 *post Drusum,* Claud. *VI Cons. Hon.* 429 *post Libyam* [see Summers p. LXIX; H-Sz 243: "besonders im Spätlatein"].

745 frangunt: 'crush in spirit or temper, discourage, daunt, deject (a person; also, his spirits)' (*OLD* s.v. 12); cf. *Oct.* 464-5 *exilia non fregere summotos procul / Plautum atque Sullam,* Cic. *Fam.* 4.8.1 *sin te tanta mala reipublicae frangunt,* Pl. *Cist.* 222 *ita meum frangit* (sc. *Amor*) *amantem animum,* [Tib.] 3.2.6 *frangit fortia corda dolor,* Ov. *Tr.* 3.14.33 *ingenium fregere meum mala.*

746 (quae ... potest?): Müller (1901) 263, proposing the parenthesis, compared *Oed.* 262 (*num quid grauius optari potest?*) [Lausberg § 860 '*interpositio*' cites Quint. 9.3.23: *unum (schema), quod interpositionem uel interclusionem dicimus [...], dum continuationi sermonis medius aliqui sensus interuenit*; the Greek term is *parenthesis* or *paremptosis*].

747 famulare ... iugum: 'the yoke of slavery', cf. *Dial.* 4.14.4 *seruile ... iugum*. Sen. trag. uses the adj. once more at *Thy.* 901 *turba famularis*; some other occurrencies are in Cic. *Tusc.* 1.116 *ueste famulari*, Ov. *Met.* 15.597 *famularia iura*. See also on 915 *famula*. For the framing of the line, see on 17 *omnis ... domus*.

subeat iugum: the combination occurs again *Phae.* 135 *sero recusat ferre quod subiit iugum*, Apul. *Met.* 11.15 *ministerii iugum subi uoluntarium*.

748 seruire ... regi: the words repeat the antithesis *famulare ... nobili*.

aliquis: for its use in a question (*OLD* 3c), cf. 979, *H.F.* 1310-1 *tam tarde patri / uitam dat aliquis?*, *Phoen.* 82 *aliquis est ex me pius?*, Prop. 2.22.15, Ov. *Met.* 9.429-30 *tantumne aliquis sibi posse uidetur / fata quoque ut superet?* [Wölfflin, *ALL* 9.507; *ThLL* I 1613.27 ff.; H-Sz 195]

749 Calchas: for the reference to his authority, cf. above 533, 592, 636.

750 machinator: 'a contriver of plots or other events' (*OLD* 2); cf. *Med.* 266 (Creon to Medea) *tu, tu malorum machinatrix facinorum*, Cic. *S. Rosc.* 132 *nonne quiuis potest intellegere omnium architectum et machinatorem unum esse Chrysogonum?*, *Catil.* 3.6 *scelerum improbissimum machinatorem*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.10 *machinator doli* (I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinungen*, Heidelberg 1965, cites this istance on p. 174). The original meaning 'engineer' occurs e.g. *Ep.* 88.22 *machinatores qui pegmata per se surgentia excogitant*, Liv. 24.34.2 (of Archimedes) *inuentor ac machinator bellicorum tormentorum*. This shift *in malam partem* is also found in *machinari*: from 'to invent, frame', to 'to devise artfully or cunningly, contrive, plot', e.g. *Phae.* 1221 *exitia machinatus insolita effera* (in Sen. trag. only here), Pl. *Bac.* 232-3 *aliquam machinabor machinam, / unde aurum ecficiam*, *Capt.* 530 *nisi si aliquam corde machinor astutiam* (cf. ter Beek pp. 79-87).

artifex: 'a contriver' (*OLD* 5b), cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.551 (of Polymestor) *artificem dirae ... caedis*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 2.125 *artificis* (of Ulysses) 'an adept at cunning, master-schemer' (*OLD* 7). The line-ending *scelerum artifex* is found again at *Med.* 734 (of Medea), *Phae.* 559 (of *dux malorum femina*); cf. also *Ag.* 983 (of Aegisthus) *sceleris infandi artifex*, *Phae.* 1220-1 (Theseus of himself) *crudus et leti artifex, / exitia machinatus insolita effera*. For an instance of this use of the noun in Neo-Latin tragedy, see Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 1179 *criminis falsi artifex*. In his prose, Seneca uses the word in a more favourable context, for instance at *Ep.* 90.27 *artificem uides uitae* (sc. *sapientiam*), 65.5 *aes prima statuae causa est [...]. secunda causa artifex est*, *Dial.* 12.8.3 *incorporalis ratio ingentium operum artifex*.

751 uirtute ... / dolis: the same contrast occurs e.g. Lucr. 5.857-9 *nam quaecumque uides uesci uitalibus auris / aut dolus aut uirtus aut denique mobilitas est / ex ineunte aeuo genus id tutata reseruans*, Caes. *Gal.* 1.13.6 (Divico) *se ita a patribus maioribusque suis didicisse, ut magis uirtute quam dolo contenderent*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.390 *dolus an uirtus, quis in hoste requirat?*, Liv. 42.47.5 *astu magis quam uera uirtute*, 42.47.8 *plus profici dolo quam uirtute.*

bellica: Seneca uses the adjective without exception in the middle of the trimeter; cf. below 769, *H.F.* 416-7, *Phoen.* 541, *Phae.* 550, *Ag.* 547. For *uirtute ... bellica*, cf. Quad. *hist.* 7 *is et genere ... et uirtute bellica nemini concedebat.*

752 dolis et astu: a repetition of above 613.

maleficae: for the adjectives in *-ficus*, see on 575. *Maleficus* is already found in Old Comedy, e.g. Pl. *Ps.* 938 *neque ego hoc homini quemquam uidi magi' malum et maleficum*, *Cas.* 783 *noui hominum mores maleficos*; Seneca uses it only here and at *Dial.* 4.31.8 *prauum maleficumque ingenium.*

753 Pelasgi: when Odysseus tried to avoid going to Troy by pretending he was mad, he was detected by Palamedes. This son of the Euboean king Nauplius, whose cleverness was proverbial (Ar. *Ran.* 1451), threw little Telemachus in front of Odysseus ploughing the sands (see e.g. Hyg. *Fab.* 95.2 with Rose's note). The latter took revenge by forging a letter from Priam to Palamedes, arranging for him to betray the Greeks, and by hiding a sum of gold in his tent; on this evidence Palamedes was found guilty and put to death by the army (Hyg. *Fab.* 105). Homer does not mention him; he appears for the first time in the *Cypria*, where he is said to have been drowned while fishing by Diomede and Odysseus. All three great Greek tragedians wrote a play on him (for a reconstruction of Euripides' *Palamedes*, see Scodel pp. 43-63); still extant is a *Palamedes* (a speech in defence of him), attributed to Gorgias.

Socrates mentions him at Pl. *Apol.* 41b (transl. H.N. Fowler, Loeb): 'for I personally should find the life there (sc. in the Hades) wonderful, when I met Palamedes or Ajax, the son of Telamon, or any other men of old who lost their lives through an unjust judgment, and compared my experience with theirs', and at Xen. *Apol.* 26: 'I am still comforted also by Palamedes, who died about the same way; for even now he provides much more beautiful hymns than Odysseus, who killed him unrighteously'. Sinon tries to get sympathy with the Trojans for his tale, by starting with a reference to his consanguinity with Palamedes (Verg. *Aen.* 2.81 ff.). Ajax, who in the contest for Achilles' weapons was to become a victim of Odysseus' shrewdness as well, also mentions him (Ov. *Met.* 13.56). See on him Knut Usener, 'Palamedes. Bedeutung und Wandel eines Heldenbildes in der antiken Literatur', *WuJbb.* NF 20 (1994/1995), 49-78; in Dutch literature there is Vondel's *Palamedes* (1625), in which the influence of Sen. trag. is clearly visible (esp. *Agamemnon*) [Worp (1892) esp. 204 ff.].

754 praetendis: 'put forward as a pretext or a reason (for something else)' (*OLD* 4), cf. *Ep.* 116.8 *nolle in causa est, non posse praetenditur*, *Dial.* 12.16.5 *non potes itaque ad optinendum dolorem muliebre nomen praetendere*, Cic. *Vat.* 14 *hominis doctissimi nomen tuis immanibus et barbaris moribus praetendere*. Sen. trag. uses the verb once more, *Phae.* 886-7 (Theseus to Phaedra) *quidnam ora maesta auertis et lacrimas genis / subito coortas ueste praetenta optegis?* ('extend in front as a protection', *OLD* 3). For similar indignant reactions, cf. *H.F.* 447 *quid uiolas Iouem?*, *Ag.* 297 *quid deos probro addimus?* Andromache's words may recall Soph. *Phil.* 992 (Philoctetes to Odysseus) 'by holding out gods you make the gods liars' (Liedloff p. 9, Schreiner p. 65).

755 nocturne: see on 39.

fortis: for the sarcastic use of the adj., cf. *H.F.* 1283-4 *fortis in pueros modo / pauidasque matres?*, *Phoen.* 44-5 *tandem spiritum inimicum expue, / desertor anime, fortis in partem tui*, *Ag.* 236 *ignauus iste ductor ac fortis pater*. For *fortis in* + acc., cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.149-50 *est et mihi fortis in unum / hoc manus*, *Aetna* 38 *numerosa in uerbera fortes*.

756 solus ... et claro die: cf. Ajax' taunts, Ov. *Met.* 13.100 *luce nihil gestum, nihil est Diomede remoto*.

claro die: in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 821, *Med.* 5, 298.

757 uirtus: a reaction to *uirtute* (751).

Danaidis ... satis / nimisque Phrygibus: for the use of proper names in a chiasmus, cf. e.g. below 854-5, *Med.* 697 *maior Pelasgis apta, Sidoniis minor*, *Phae.* 654 *tuaeue Phoebes uultus aut Phoebi mei*, 1129 *Euros excipiunt, excipiunt Notos*.

758 uacat: 'there is time or leisure (to)' (*OLD* 5b), cf. *Ag.* 654 *non uacat istis lacrimare malis*, *Thy.* 29-30, 593, *Dial.* 5.42.2 *non capiunt res istae iacturam nec tempus uacat perdere*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.373, Ov. *Met.* 5.334. Impers. *uacat* w. inf. is found for the first time in Cic. *Fam.* 12.13.2 *non maxima me turba puto excludi, quo minus tibi uacet me excipere*; in poetry it became popular since Vergil, in prose since Val. Max. [H-Sz 348].

759 conterere: 'to spend, use up (time, freq. unprofitably or laboriously)' (*OLD* 4a), cf. *Dial.* 7.1.2 *quam diu quidem passim uagamur non ducem secuti sed fremitum et clamorem dissonum in diuersa uocantium, conteretur uita inter errores*, Pl. *Cas.* 566 *ego feci stultus: contriui diem*, *Bac.* 781, Ter. *Hec.* 815, Lucr. 3.1047, Prop. 2.1.46, Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 41 *frustra tempus contero*. For the similar use of the simplex (*OLD* s.v. *tero* 6a), cf. *H.F.* 633 (= *H.O.* 1774) *cur diem questu tero?*, *Ep.* 113.1 *disputationibus nihil profuturis otium terere*, Pl. *Trin.* 796, Verg. *Aen.* 4.271, Stat. *Silu.* 3.5.61. Sen. trag. uses *conterere* only here, *terere* 5x; the respective figures for Horace and Vergil are 0 : 7 and 0 : 12.

legit: 'weighs' (*OLD* 4a), cf. V. Fl. 2.428 *legitur piger uncus harenis*. The verb is also used in the nautical terms *uela legere* (e.g. Verg. *Geo.* 1.373, *Aen.* 3.532), and *legere rudentes* (Luc. 3.44); with *ancoras* the verb *tollere* is more common, for instance Caes. *Gal.* 4.23.6 *sublatis ancoris*.

760-813 *Andromache is granted some time by Ulysses to take her definitive leave of Astyanax.*

760 breuem moram largire: cf. *Med.* 288-90 (Medea begging to Creon) *breuem largire fugienti moram, / dum extrema natis mater infigo oscula, / fortasse moriens.* Andromache will reiterate her request below 787-8.

largire: 'confer generously, grant, bestow (abstract things)' (*OLD* s.v. 3a). Costa on *Med.* 288 notes the contrast between this verb and *reddere*, 'give what is due' (*OLD* s.v. 9); Fantham calls attention to the oxymoron with *breuem.*

officium ... / ... supremum: 'the last rites' (*OLD* s.v. *officium* 1d), cf. e.g. *Ep.* 92.35 *neminem de supremo officio rogo, nulli reliquias meas commendo,* V. Max. 2.6.8 *supremum opprimendorum oculorum officium,* Tac. *Ann.* 5.2 *quod supremis in matrem officiis defuisset.*

officium ... / ... reddo: the combination of verb and noun occurs also in *Culex* 414 *funeris officium uitae pro munere reddit.*

parens / nato: for the juxtaposition, see on 248.

761 supremum ... ultimo: the same variation is found *Med.* 551-2 *suprema certe liceat abeuntem loqui / mandata, liceat ultimum amplexum dare.* For the placing of the kindred words in the second and final foot, see on 741 *habet ... habet.*

amplexu ultimo: cf. *Med.* 552, cited in the previous note, and *ibid.* 848 *ultimo amplexu.*

762 auidos: for this transferred use of the adjective (*OLD* s.v. 4b), cf. e.g. Catul. 68.83 *auidum ... amorem,* Plin. *Nat.* 17.3 *odio, quod ex aemulatione auidissimum est,* Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3.50 *auido ... luctu.*

satio: 'to gratify (passions or desires)' (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.3.4 *quorum crudelitas nondum esset nostra calamitate satiata,* Phaed. 4.9.9 *uoluptas ut satiari non possit mea.*

misereri tui / utinam liceret: a late reaction to Andromache's *miserere matris* (703). Farnabius quotes Soph. *Aias* 121-2 as an instance of Odysseus' feelings of pity (in the translation of Lloyd-Jones: 'I pity him in his misery, though he is my enemy').

764 tempus moramque: cf. *Ag.* 129 (Nutrix to Clytemestra) *proin quidquid est, da tempus ac spatium tibi.* At 758, as in 679-80, Ulysses had no time for delay; but now that Andromache has shifted from insults to supplication, he shows the same compassion that he had uttered at 736 after her aria.

arbitrio tuo: 'as you feel inclined' (*OLD* s.v. 7); cf. *Oed.* 882-3 *fata si liceat mihi / fingere arbitrio meo, Dial.* 11.6.4 *non licet tibi ... ex tuo arbitrio diem disponere,* 11.6.5, *Ep.* 9.17.

765 implere: middle, 'fill yourself'.

fletus ... leuat: for the tenor of the line, cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.38 *expletur lacrimis egeriturque dolor,* Sen. *Con.* 5.30 *dolor per lacrimas effluit,* Tac. *Ann.* 3.6 *conuenisse recenti dolori luctum et ex maerore solacia.* The

contrast is worded in Ov. *Tr.* 5.1.63-4 *strangulat inclusus dolor atque exaestuat intus, / cogitur et uires multiplicare suas.* Sorrow can also be diminished by sharing (see e.g. below 1009 ff., *Ag.* 664 ff.), and by time: cf. *Ag.* 130 *quod ratio non quit, saepe sanauit mora, Med.* 559 *miserias lenit quies,* Verg. *Aen.* 4.433-4 (Dido) *tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori, / dum mea me uictam doceat fortuna dolere.*

766-812 Canter p. 65 lists these lines, with 981-1008 below, under 'passages showing in a striking way various features of a declamatory style, such as exclamations, interrogation, entreaty, apostrophe, sudden transition, etc.'.

o: see on 164. For the anaphora, cf. e.g. 469, *Med.* 985-6 *o placida tandem numina, o festum diem, / o nuptialem!,* Ov. *Met.* 1.351 *o soror, o coniunx, o femina sola superstes* (note in all instances a shift of accent).

o dulce ... decus: as in line 712 (*reges atauos*), there is an echo of Horace's address to Maecenas, *Carm.* 1.1.2 *o et praesidium et dulce decus meum.*

pignus: applied to children as the guarantee of the reality of a marriage (*OLD* 4), cf. *Med.* 1012 *in matre si quod pignus etiamnunc latet, Oed.* 1022 *per inauspicatum sanguinis pignus mei, Oct.* 591 *cum portet utero pignus et partem mei,* Prop. 4.11.73, Ov. *Met.* 5.523-4, 3.134, 11.542-3, Luc. 2.370, 3.33, Stat. *Ach.* 1.127. In Neo-Latin tragedy, e.g. Grotius, *Soph.* 1082 *egregia certe pignora enixa est Rachel.*

decus: the appliance of the word to 'a person who by his presence or in other ways confers distinction' (*OLD* s.v. 3), is wide-spread; cf. below 876, *H.F.* 619 *ille domitor orbis et Graium decus* (Hercules), *Ag.* 395 *telluris altum remeat Argolicae decus* (Agamemnon), *Dial.* 6.17.1 *graue est tamen quem educaueris iuuenem, iam matri iam patri praesidium ac decus amittere, Oct.* 534 *Claudiae gentis decus* (Octauia), Pl. *As.* 655 *custos erilis, decu' popli, thensaurus copiarum,* Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.2, Verg. *Geo.* 2.40, *Cat.* 9.3, Cic. *poet.* 29.1, V. Fl. 2.243.

lapsae domus: cf. *H.F.* 1250-1 *unicum lapsae domus / firmamen,* above 696 *lapsos, Oct.* 269 *lapsam domum,* 179 *labentem ... domum.*

767 summum: 'last, completing a process or piece of work, crowning', *OLD* s.v. 5d), cf. Luc. 2.39-40 *neue hunc differte dolorem / et summis seruate malis,* Stat. *Theb.* 10.436-7 *summumne hoc cladibus ... / deerat ut adflictos turparem ego proditor Argos?* Hudson-Williams, *CQ* 39 (1989) 188, after the analogy of *Thy.* 1081 (see Tarrant's note) and e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 1.17.57, wonders if it is not to be taken jointly with both *decus* and *funus* (cf. Housman, *CQ* 10 [1916] 150); Caviglia takes it this way with both *funus* and *timor.* Neither view attracts me.

Danaum: for the archaic genitive form ("sehr gewöhnlich ... in Völkernamen", N-W I 181), see on 32 *liberum*; Sen. trag., like Vergil in his *Aeneid,* never uses the form *Danaorum* (cf. *Ag.* 125, 626, 744).

timor: 'an object or source of fear' (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. the use of *metus* (62), *terror* (707).

768 genetricis: from Ennius on (*Ann.* 58 Sk = 52 V^2), this noun is found in Roman poetry. It occurs ten times in Sen. trag. (*H.O.* 3x, *Oct.* 11x), but is absent from his prose.

demens: Phaedra (*Phae.* 1193) and Oedipus (*Oed.* 103) likewise apply the adj. to themselves; *amens* is used similarly *Phae.* 702, 1180 (Phaedra), *Oct.* 338 (Agrippina in a quite different mother-son relation).

769 laudes parentis bellicas: cf. *H.F.* 1122 (the chorus to the sons of Hercules) *non uos patriae laudis comites*; for *laudes ... bellicas*, cf. Caes. *Gal.* 6.24.3 (*quae gens*) *summam ... habet iustitiae et bellicae laudis opinionem.*

parentis ... aui: cf. 702 *aetate auum transcendat, ingenio patrem.*

770 medios: Farnabius correctly explained the text as "Priami aetatem mediam, id est florentem opibus, regno, liberis". It was also kept by ter Haar Romeny (1897) 792 and by Damsté (1918) 63: "Andromacha enim Priami aetatem mediam intellegit, opibus, regno, liberis florentem, non senectutem eius, quae miseriis extremis obnoxia fuit, neque iuventutem, qua patriam ab Hercule captam vidit vastatamque, Laomedontem patrem amisit". Housman's defence of *medios*, *CQ* 17 (1923) 164, is also worth quoting, I think.

> When Seneca had written *medios* in 770 he felt a pleasant glow of pride: it was worthy of himself, at once smart and subtle, and he knew that none of his contemporaries would miss the point. The seventeenth century, could he have foreseen it, was to prove no less quick of apprehension than the first, and the passage was rightly explained by Farnaby and rightly translated by Marolles. The nineteenth century arrived, and the silver age of Latin became unintelligible to a breed of men who have no natural affinity with its ways of speech and thought and who do not think it worth their while to learn them; so *medios* is supposed to be unsound, and up starts a crop of conjectures, each worse than the other, *demens*, *toties*, *melius*, I know not what besides.

The three conjectures, mentioned by Housman at the end, had been made by Richter, Leo, and Garrod respectively. Carlsson (1929) 20 f., in his defence of *medios* refuting Hoffa's *plenos* as well, referred to Mart. 10.32.3-4 *talis erat Marcus mediis Antonius annis / Primus: in hoc iuuenem se uidet ore senex*; he thought *Iliaca ... iugum* (771-3) a reminiscence of those happy years. Zwierlein (1986) 99 in favour of *medios* quoted *Ep.* 22.14 *adulescentem senem medium.*

Nevertheless, after Lee (1969), Fitch (1989) 247 has tried to revive Garrod's *melius* on the ground that a Roman audience hearing *annos* would inevitably understand it in the sense of 'long life, old age', so "the addition of *medios* could only cause mental chaos". Noting the tension between *annos* and *laudes bellicas*, since military heroes are not noted for longevity (cf. 211-3), he thinks *melius* an obvious correction: 'I used to pray (insanely) that you would be renowned in war like your father, and (more wisely) that you would live as long as your grandfather'.

Fitch is certainly right that *medius* and *melius* are often confused: in Sen. trag. *H.F.* 72 *mediusque* A - *meliusque* E, 1110 *medius* E - *melius* A. But unlike him, I feel *melius* at *Med.* 139-40 (*melius, a melius, dolor / furiose, loquere*) and 930 (*melius, a, demens furor!*) not "used in a slightly different but analogous fashion, to correct a previous prayer".

Hudson-Williams, *CQ* 39 (1989) 188, proposes another emendation, viz. *medicos*: 'the healing years' of Priam, denoting the restoration of Troy after its destruction by Hercules and the city's resultant prosperity. But the reference to the confusion of the words *medicus* and *medius* (*ThLL* s.v. *medicus* 547.14 f.), and the quoted parallels Stat. *Theb.* 2.11 *medica ... uirga*, V. Fl. 4.87 *medicabile carmen*, Cic. *Sest.* 51 *periculorum ... medicina*, *Tusc.* 3.54 *calamitatis praesentis ... medicina*, Sil. 15.7 *quasso medicamina ... imperio*, have not convinced me.

destituit: 'to fail to come up to, disappoint, belie (expectations, standards, etc.)', *OLD* s.v. 5, citing e.g. Liv. 26.18.5 *quae ut destituta exspectatio est*, 35.19.4 *si tu spem meam destitueris*, Ov. *Am.* 3.7.14 *mea membra ... propositum destituere meum*. Caviglia compares *destituere spem*, Tib. 1.1.9, but my text reads *nec Spes destituat* (cf. *OLD* s.v. *destituo* 6). Sen. trag. uses the verb once more, *H.F.* 755 *poma destituunt famem*. *Oct.* 198 ends in either *destituit deus* (A) or *destituet deus* (recc.).

deus: see on 358 above. The harsh line-ending (cf. the *d* alliteration *Med.* 120 *deserere durus*) contrasts sharply with the smooth *uota uincens uestra* in 701.

771-82 Iliaca non ... coles: the long series of negative clauses may be compared to above 147-55, to which it in a way forms a counterpart: Priam will not have to suffer several unpleasant prospects, his grandson will not enjoy the benefits he is entitled to. On the other hand, one may feel a contrast with Ascanius, who will enjoy several things mentioned here: he will reign for thirty years (*Aen.* 1.267-71), take part in the hunt and the fighting (see below on 776-7 *sparsas ... sequeris*), and revive the *lusus Troiae* (778).

For the anaphora of *non* (*nec*) in a list of various subjects, governing the same verb, cf. e.g. *Thy.* 344-7 *regem non faciunt opes, / non uestis Tyriae color, / non frontis nota regiae, / non auro nitidae trabes*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.197-8 *quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles, / non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae*. For its use in an enumeration of names, cf. Sen. *Ag.* 208-18 (see Tarrant's note for literature), Hor. *Epod.* 16.3 ff.; for a similar use of negations in Greek literature, see Theocr. 15.137-42.

sceptra ... / gestabis: for the appliance of the verb to the carrying of insignia, ornaments, etc. (*OLD* 1b), cf. above 154, *Ag.* 10 *quibus superba sceptra gestantur manu*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.210-1 (*sceptrum*) *aere decoro / inclusit patribusque dedit gestare Latinis*; in *Phoen.* 648-9, Seneca uses *sceptra ... gerere*.

regali potens: same line-ending *Med.* 217 *decore regali potens*.

regali potens / ... aula: for the structure of the line, cf. above 1-2.

772 iura ... dabis: 'prescribe laws or rules (esp. as a symbol of sovereignty)' (*OLD* s.v. *ius* 3b), cf. e.g. Verg. *Geo.* 4.561-2 (*Caesar*) *uictorque uolentes / per populos dat iura*, *Aen.* 1.291-2 *aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis: / cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus / iura dabunt*, 5.757-8 *gaudet regno Troianus Acestes / indicitque forum et patribus dat iura uocatis*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.43-4 *triumphatisque possit / Roma ferox dare iura Medis*, *Ars* 398 (*OLD* incorrectly 298) *concubitu prohibere uago, dare iura maritis*, Ov. *Met.* 1.576. The phrase *iura* (*ius*) *dare* (*reddere*) also denotes 'administer justice' (*OLD* 4a), e.g. *Phae.* 150 (of Minos) *populis ... reddit iura centenis*. For a later use of the phrase, see Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 1423-4 (Maria of her son in heaven) *inde ex superna sede pacatis bonus / das iura populis*.

773 sub tuum mittes iugum: for this Roman custom, cf. e.g. Liv. 3.28.11 *tribus hastis iugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transuersa una deligata. sub hoc iugo dictator Aequos misit*, Caes. *Gal.* 1.7.4 *exercitumque eius ab Heluetiis pulsum et sub iugum missum*, Sal. *Jug.* 49.2 *cum eis certamen fore, quos antea uictos sub iugum miserint*. In a figurative sense, the phrase occurs in *Dial.* 1.4.1 *calamitates terroresque mortalium sub iugum mittere proprium magni uiri est*. It is used by Aeneas in Verg. *Aen.* 8.147-8 *nos si pellant, nihil afore credunt / quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittant*.

774 Graia: in a chiastic contrast with 771 *Iliaca*.

terga: "implying their cowardly flight" (Kingery).

non Pyrrhum trahes: "in retaliation for his father's treatment of your father's body" (Kingery).

Richter's proposal to transpose 771-4 after 782 was, in my opinion, properly rejected by Carlsson (see on 770 *medios*): "Die überlieferte Versordnung bringt Andromaches Klagen um den Sohn in einer, wenn ich so sagen darf, chronologisch wie dramatisch-psychologisch gleich einwandfreien Reihenfolge zum Ausdruck. In dem Folgenden geht sie nämlich von der Ausmalung einer fernen, nie sich erfüllenden Zukunft mit steigendem Pathos zu näher liegenden, das Mutterherz unmittelbarer bewegenden Gedanken über: *non arma* ... etc., um endlich in V. 783 über die bevorstehende Hinrichtung des Sohnes auszurufen: *o morte dira tristius leti genus!*"

775 arma ... parua: "selbstverständlich die Spielwaffen des Knabes", Carlsson (1929) 21, n. 1, turning down Swoboda's *patria*, accepted by Richter. Leo (1878) 104, n. 7 approved of *patria*, but printed *parua* in his text. Viansino in defence of *parua* refers to Juv. 13.168 *Pygmaeus paruis currit bellator in armis*. Zwierlein (1986) 99 f. compares *H.F.* 1126-8 *iam tamen ausi telum Scythicis / leue corytis / missum certa librare manu*, and esp. Stat. *Theb.* 6.73-8 (at the funeral of the boy Archemorus) *munera ... in cineres annis grauiora feruntur / (namque illi et pharetras breuioraque tela dicarat / festinus uoti pater insontesque sagittas; / iam tunc et nota stabuli de gente probatos / in nomen pascebat equos) cinctusque sonantes / armaque maiores expectatura lacertos*.

tenera: epithet of children (*OLD* s.v. 2: 'of tender age'), in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 221 (infant Hercules strangling the snakes) *et tumida tenera guttura elidens manu*, *Phae.* 200 (of Amor) *proterua tenera tela molitur manu*, *Phoen.* 254 *teneros ... pedes* (of infant Oedipus), *Med.* 647-8. *tener ... puer.* Two instances from other poets: Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.126 *os tenerum pueri*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.512 *tener in cunis filius*. Below 794, 1094, the adjective is applied to young animals.

tractabis: 'handle' (*OLD* s.v. 2), likewise of weapons *Ep.* 88.19 *arma tractare*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.52-3 *adde uirilia quod speciosius arma / non est qui tractet*, Ov. *Am.* 2.3.7-9 *non tu natus equo, non fortibus utilis armis. / bellica non dextrae conuenit hasta tuae. / ista mares tractent*, *Fast.* 5.397 *senex tractat squalentia tela uenenis*, Liv. 7.32.11 *tela tractare*. Sen. trag. uses the verb again below 1066-7 *gaudet magnus aerumnas dolor / tractare totas* ('to treat'), *Med.* 558-9 *mentem ... tractes* (*OLD* 4b, 'to conduct oneself'), *Thy.* 757 *fibras tractat.*

Note the many *a* sounds in this line (cf. e.g. above 409), esp. the sequence *arma ... parua* ..., followed by *sparsasque.*

776 sparsas ... / ... sequeris: Leo (1878) 103 f., discussing *H.F.* 1126 ff., quotes several passages concerning hunting as a good training for youths in handling weapons, e.g. Mart. *Sp.* 23.1-2 *Norica iam certo uenabula dirigit ictu / fortis adhuc teneri dextera Carpophori*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.590-2 *tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam / dicitur, ante feras solitus terrere fugaces, / Ascanius, fortemque manu fudisse Numanum*, Ov. *Fast.* 5.173-6, Stat. *Theb.* 9.718-21. For *feras ... sequeris*, cf. e.g. *Phae.* 110 *iuuat excitatas consequi cursu feras*, *Oct.* 409 *sequi cursu feras*. For the picture of a youthful hunter, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.156-9 *at puer Ascanius medius in uallibus acri / gaudet equo iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos, / spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia uotis / optat aprum, aut fuluum descendere monte leonem.*

Liedloff p. 3 to 775-7 compares Eur. *Tro.* 1209-11 (Hecabe mourning over Astyanax; transl. Way)

> Child, not for victory with steeds or bow
> Over thy fellows, – customs which thy folk
> Honour, yet not unto excess pursue.

777 stato: 'fixed' (participle of *sisto*), cf. e.g. *Ep.* 88.15 *per statas uices remeant*, *Nat.* 2.48.1 *omnium ergo fulminum et omnis euentus dies stata est*, Liv. 27.23.7 *ut ii ludi in perpetuum in statam diem uouerentur*, 42.32.2 *stato loco statisque diebus sacrificia habere*, Cic. *Off.* 1.37 [N-W I 1014 f.]. In the XII Tables, *status dies* is a day of trial, fixed by the judge or agreed upon with the adversaries; cf. Fest. p. 314 M (Lindsay 414.37-416.2) *status dies <cum hoste> uocatur qui iudici causa est constitutus cum peregrino*. According to LS, in MSS *status* is often confounded with *statutus* (Moricca's *app. crit.* here records *statuto* in some younger Italian MSS).

lustri: 'a ceremony of purification, lustration (...); esp. that performed by the censors every five years, at the end of the census' (*OLD*).

778 sollemne ... sacrum: 'the ceremonial / traditional festival', cf. *Nat.* 4a.2.7 *in haec ora stipem sacerdotes et aurea dona praefecti cum sollemne uenit sacrum iaciunt*; the phrase occurs again *Med.* 797-8 *tibi sanguineo caespite sacrum / sollemne damus* ('customary ritual'), *Phae.* 424 *ipsum intuor sollemne uenerantem sacrum* ('his usual cult object'). The word *sollemnis* is often derived from *sollus* + *annus* (cf. Fest. p. 298 M *sollemne, quod omnibus annis praestari debet*, *OLD* s.v., Servius on *Aen.* 5.301), but with *lustri* that connotation is absent here.

referens: 'reviving' (*OLD* 16), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5.596-8 *hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus / Ascanius ... / rettulit.*

Troici lusus: Verg. *Aen.* 5.545-603 describes the *lusus Troiae* as the closing event in the anniversary games held in honour of Anchises. As Williams notes on 545-6, these equestrian manoeuvres took place in the time of Sulla (Plut. *Cat. Min.* 3), and were revived by Julius Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 30, Dio 43.23.6). Under Augustus they were established as a regular institution, performed by boys of noble birth: Suet. *Aug.* 43 *sed et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere.* They continued to be held under his successors (Suet. *Tib.* 6, *Cal.* 18, *Claud.* 21, *Nero* 7), no doubt as associated with the claim of the Julii to Trojan descent [see also Walter (1975) 95 f.].

779 puer ... nobilis: like Britannicus and Nero, who took part in it in 47 A.D., when they were six and nine years old respectively; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 11.11 *sedente Claudio circensibus ludis, cum pueri nobiles equis ludicrum Troiae inirent interque eos Britannicus imperatore genitus et L. Domitius adoptione mox in imperium et cognomentum Neronis adscitus.*

citatas: 'speeded up', of horses e.g. Acc. 373 D (381 R^2) *reprime parumper uim citatum quadrupedum*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.372-3 *spumantia frenis / ora citatorum dextra detorsit equorum*, Liv. 1.57.8 *citatis equis auolant Romam*, 30.12.10 *citato ... equo.* Sen. trag. applies the word to various quick movements: *Med.* 891 *citatum ... gradum*, *Phae.* 1049 *citatas ... rates*, *H.F.* 179 *properat cursu uita citato*, *Phoen.* 431-2 *delapsa caelo stella ... / rectam citatis ignibus rumpit uiam*, *Thy.* 621-2 *res deus nostras celeri citatas / turbine uersat.*

turmas: 'squadrons of cavalry', in the context of the *lusus Troiae* again at Verg. *Aen.* 5.548-51 (Aeneas to Epytides) *uade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum / agmen habet secum cursusque instruxit equorum, / ducat auo turmas et sese ostendat in armis / dic*, 560-2 *tres equitum numero turmae ternique uagantur / ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti / agmine partito fulgent*, Suet. *Jul.* 39.2 *Troiam lusit turma duplex maiorum minorumque puerorum.*

780 mobili uelox: for this pleonastic combination, cf. *Phae.* 446 *mobili cursu fugit*, 763 *uelox celeri pede*, 902 *concitum celeri pede*, *Thy.* 621.

For the accentuation of swiftness in reference to the Cybele-worship, cf. Catul. 63.30 *uiridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus.*

781 reuocante: 'to bring back into existence or use, revive (a custom, institution, state of affairs)' (*OLD* 12), cf. *H.F.* 841 *quinta cum sacrum reuocauit aestas*, *Nat.* 3.30.7 *antiquus ordo reuocabitur*, *Phae.* 292 (*aestus*) *rursus extinctos reuocat calores*, *Thy.* 576 *alta pax urbi reuocata laetae est*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.12 (*tua, Caesar, aetas*) *ueteres reuocauit artes*. In this line, the verb seems the more appropriate because of the *uox* of musical instruments (*OLD* 5b): cf. Cat. 63.21 *cymbalum ... uox*, *Ciris* 107 *citharae uoces ... acutas*, Hor. *Ars* 216 *sic etiam fidibus uoces creuere seueris.*

When the MSS are unanimous and the transmitted text makes good sense, there should be strong reasons to suggest an alteration. Hemsterhusius' *reboante*, based on Lucr. 4.545-6 *cum tuba depresso grauiter sub murmure mugit / et reboat* (Q corr.: *reuorat* OQ) *raucum retro cita barbara bombum*, is ingenious and worthy of the positive reactions it has met; but I am not convinced that it is what Seneca wrote.

The verb *reboare* occurs for the first time at Lucr. 2.28 *nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa*, where interpretations differ: *citharae* dat. sing. or nom. plur.?, *reboant* intr. or trans.? Besides, Macrobius quotes the line with *citharam* and *cithara* at 6.2.5 and 6.4.21 respectively.

In two other passages, the verb is clearly used intransitively; in both cases it is preceded by a verb denoting a sound: Cat. 63.19-22 *simul ite, sequimini / Phrygiam ad domum Cybebes, Phrygia ad nemora deae, / ubi cymbalum sonat uox, ubi tympana reboant, / tibicen ubi canit Phryx curuo graue calamo* (Kroll: "die Tamburine antworten gewissermaßen den Schallbecken"), Verg. *Geo.* 3.222-3 *uersaque in obnixos urguentur cornua uasto / cum gemitu; reboant siluaeque et longus Olympus* (Servius: *resultant, remugiunt*). Later occurrencies of the verb, like Sil. 17.251 *hinc rupti reboare poli*, V. Fl. 3.634-5 *gestit aper reboatque superbis / comminus ursa lupis*, are of no support for a transitive use either.

The simplex *bo(u)o* occurs with an intransitive sense e.g. at Enn. *Ann.* 594 Sk (585 V^2) *clamore bouantes*, Pac. *trag.* 223 *clamore et sonitu colles resonantes bount*, Pl. *Am.* 232-3 *boat / caelum fremitu uirum*, Ov. *Ars* 3.450 *toto uoce boante foro.* As instances of a transitive use, *OLD* only quotes Apul. *Met.* 9.20 *recipit ... fidem deum boantem dominum*, 7.3 *identidem boaui 'non non'.* As for its origin, Servius (on *Geo.* 3.223) and Festus rightly note it as a *Graecum uerbum* (βοάω); Nonius 79.5 gives the popular etymology *a boum mugitibus* (cf. Var. *L.L.* 7.103 *multa ab animalium uocibus tralata in homines*).

flexo ... cornu: the passages Ov. *Fast.* 4.181 *inflexo Berecynthia tibia cornu*, *Met.* 11.16 *infracto Berecynthia tibia cornu*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.13-4 *saeua tene cum Berecyntio / cornu tympana*, and Catul. 63.22 (quoted on *reuocante*), make clear that the *tibia curua* with its curved horny end is referred to (so already Farnabius); cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 11.737 *curua choros indixit tibia Bacchi*, Ov. *Met.* 3.533 *adunco tibia cornu*, Tib. 2.1.86 *Phrygio tibia curua sono.*

Stat. *Theb.* 6.120-1 *signum luctus cornu graue mugit adunco / tibia* seems to contradict *concitos ... modos*; but judging from the description of the Cybele-worship given by Lucretius, 2.618-21 *tympana tenta tonant palmis et cymbala circum / concaua raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu / et Phrygio stimulat numero caua tibia mentis*, the *tibia* seems perfectly in line with the *concitos modos*. Cf also Catullus' description of the Bacchic worship: 64.261-4 *plangebant aliae proceris tympana palmis, / aut tereti tenuis tinnitus aere ciebant; / multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos / barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu.*

Quite different, of course, is the use of the *cornu* ('trumpet, bugle', *OLD* s.v. 4b) for giving signals, e.g. *Oed.* 732 *sonuit reflexo classicum cornu*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.1-2 *ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce / extulit, et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu*. Var. *L.L.* 5.117 explains *cornua, quod ea quae nunc sunt ex aere, tunc fiebant bubulo e cornu*; Ov. *Met.* 1.98 makes the distinction *non tuba directi, non aeris cornua flexi.*

concitos: forms of *concitus* in Sen. trag. always have a short *i* (*H.F.* 1095, *Med.* 506, *Phae.* 902, *Ag.* 388, 689, 913); Lucretius has *concita* both with a short (2.239) and a long (2.267) *i*.

782 barbarica: *Phrygia* (Farnabius). The use of the word by a Trojan of something outside the Greek-Roman world may at first sight be surprising (hence Cornelissen's *dardania*), but cf. Enn. *scen.* 89 J (see above on 44) *uidi ego te, adstante ope barbarica*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.504 *barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi*, where Austin's note refers, among other things, to the Persian messenger reporting to Atossa, Aesch. *Pers.* 255 'the whole barbarian army is lost'.

The adjective here seems to refer to the Cybele-cult (see on 72), which after a decline in the Republic had been revived by the emperors. The Palatine temple, burned down in 3 A.D., was restored by Augustus, and under Claudius the priesthood (no castration any more!) was opened to citizens and henceforth controlled by the *quindecimuiri sacris faciundis*. The rites began on March 15th (*canna intrat*) with a procession of *cannophori* (reed-bearers); after a week of fastings the festival proper opened on March 22nd (*arbor intrat*) with the bringing of the pine-tree, symbol of Cybele's youthful lover Attis, to the temple. It was followed by the *dies sanguinis* (24th), the *Hilaria* (25th), the *requietio* (26th) and the *lauatio* (27th) [James pp. 172-174; Latte p. 261, 342; *OCD* s.v.].

prisco ... saltatu: I side with Farnabius that this refers to old Phrygian dancing; cf. Lucr. 2.631 *in numerum ... exultant*. Suetonius, cited by Servius on *Aen.* 5.602, places the *lusus Troiae* on a line with a πυρρίχη (Latte p. 116, n. 2).

Fantham, fearing the association of the prince with the dances of the *Galli*, and taking up a suggestion made by Latte (1960) 115, supposes that the words aim to evoke Rome's oldest dance, that of the Salii. She calls attention to the fact that the very rare word *saltatus* is also used by Livy when he reports the inauguration of this rite by Numa (1.20): *per urbem ire canentes cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit.*

A main source of information on the Salii is Dion. Hal. 2.70. He gives a description of their festival in March, 'held at the public cost, for several days', with processions to the Forum, the Capitolium, and many other private and public places in the city. Moreover, he mentions their dress and weapons, and the derivation of their name (from *salire*). Of their dance he adds: '... they execute their movements in arms, keeping time to a flute, sometimes all together, sometimes by turnes, and while dancing sing certain traditional hymns' (2.70.5, transl. Cary, Loeb). The dance is mentioned by Seneca in *Ep.* 15.4: *saltus ... ille, ut ita dicam, saliaris*; Lucianus, *Salt.* 20 styles it 'a most stately and most hallowed dance'. In my view, these descriptions are hard to reconcile with *mobili uelox pede* and *concitos ... modos*; besides, as Fantham concedes, one might expect here distinctive features like the *caelestia arma quae ancilia appellantur* (Liv. 1.20) and the processions.

Walter (p. 97) also thought *prisco saltatu* and *inter aras mobili uelox pede* too vague to accept Latte's identification: "this rather would have required *tripudiare* (Acc. *trag.* 249-50; Serv. *Aen.* 8.285; 663) or *redamptruare* (Pac. *trag.* 106)." But the use of *tripudium* would not have been decisive either; Catul. 63.26 uses it in the context of the Cybele worship, and in Livy it is found of other groups: 25.17.5 *cum tripudiis Hispanorum*, 38.17.4 (*Gallorum*) *cantus ineuntium proelium et ululatus et tripudia*. On the other hand, Verg. *Aen.* 8.663 uses the verb *exsultare* of the Salii. Walter adds as a second argument that not the *cornu flexum* usually accompanied this dance but the *tuba* [G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München [2]1912, 558].

783 o ... genus: Zwierlein (1986) 100 notes that a reference to *Oed.* 180-1 *o dira noui facies leti / grauior leto*, *H.F.* 706 *ipsaque morte peior est mortis locus*, and *Thy.* 572 *peior est bello timor ipse belli*, has already been made by J. Jortin; see *Miscellaneae Observationes in Auctores veteres et recentiores, ab eruditis Britannis anno 1731 edi coeptae, cum notis et auctario variorum virorum doctorum,* edd. P. Burmannus et J. P. d'Orville, Amstelodami, vol. I (1732) 69 f. M. Schmitt-Hartlieb, 'Zu Senecas Troades 783', *RhM* 61 (1906) 634 f. also compared the *Oedipus* passage, when defending *morte dira*; Peiper's *Marte diro*, approved of by Leo, Richter, Herrmann, was attacked again by Carlsson (1929) 21, and G. Stégen, *Latomus* 32 (1973) 185 f.

More "echoes" of this phrasing are heard at Mart. 11.91.5 *tristius est leto leti genus*, Plin. *Ep.* 5.16.6 *o morte ipsa mortis tempus indignius*, Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 94 *heu morte dura durius mortis genus*. To me, it sounds like a counterpart of the Hebrew idiom of *uanitas uanitatum* (*Ecclesiastes* 1:2).

morte dira: Hudson-Williams, *CQ* 39 (1989) 189, objects to 'O form of death more grim than dreadful death itself' (Fantham): "... *mors* is not necessarily *dira*; the adjective limits the application of *morte* to the particular case, and the sense must be that the form of the boy's death is

one whose sadness exceeds its direness, = *o leti (mortis) genus tristius quam dirius*. Being flung from the walls is indeed a dire death, but in view of the boy's youthfulness and future promise the direness of the form taken by his death is exceeded by its sadness, and this is further emphasized in the next few words: Hector's death was dire, but less pitiful than that of the boy." But the combination certainly is a standard one: cf. *H.F.* 56 *sacra dirae mortis* (E* *durae*), *H.O.* 928 *mortisque dirae ... decretum horridum*, Tib. 1.10.4 *tum breuior dirae mortis aperta uia est.*

morte ... leti ... / ... nece: a similar variation of synonyms is found in *H.F.* 1048-9 *uiuis an leto dedit / idem tuos qui misit ad mortem furor?*, *Phae.* 257-8 ... *nece. / decreta mors est: quaeritur fati genus*, 854-7 *necis, morti, leti, letum*, 1220 *mortem ... leti.*

tristius: cf. Mart. 11.91.5 *tristius est leto leti genus.*

leti genus: a comparable use of *genus*, 'a (particular) kind or sort of thing' (*OLD* 9) occurs in Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.51 *nec letum timeo, genus est miserabile leti.*

784 flebilius aliquid ... / muri uidebunt: Farnabius already compares Aus. *Epit.* 15:

> Flos Asiae tantaque unus de gente superstes,
> paruulus, Argiuis sed iam de patre timendus,
> hic iaceo Astyanax, Scaeis deiectus ab altis.
> pro dolor! Iliaci, Neptunia moenia, muri
> uiderunt aliquid crudelius Hectore tracto.

785 rumpe: 'break off, cut short (an activity, etc. begun)' (*OLD* s.v. 9), cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.539 *excidit illa metu rumpitque nouissima uerba*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.110-1 *rumpere ... sacra*, 12.699 *opera omnia rumpit.* Ulysses now goes back on his words *arbitrio tuo / implere lacrimis* (764-5).

786 magnus ... dolor: cf. below 903-4 *ratione quamuis careat et flecti neget / mag-nus dolor*, *Med.* 155-6 *leuis est dolor, qui capere consilium potest / et clepere sese*. For the framing of the line, see on 17.

facit finem: similarly Pl. *As.* 605 *sermoni iam finem face tuo.*

787 parua: 'short in duration' (*OLD* s.v. 3b), cf. e.g. Liv. 7.12.11 *parua ... mora*, Lucr. 3.553 *in paruo ... tempore.*

788 paucas: Zwierlein's defence, (1966) 194-196, of the E reading against A's *paruos*, preferred by Herrmann and Carlsson, on the whole has found acceptance. The German scholar thought it most unlikely that a copyist should have altered an original *paruos* into *paucas*, whereas an original *paucas* easily might have suffered from the framing by *parua* (787) and *paruus* (789); besides, the two-fold repetition of the word in three lines would be very unusual. Thirdly, in that way *oculos* would have two modifying words (*paruos*, *uiuentis*); the emphasis, that should fall completely on the rhetorically effective image *condere oculos uiuentis*, would be weakened at the cost of the pursued pathos-effect, because it would partly pass to the tender and sensitive phrase 'the dear little eyes'.

Carlsson (1929) 5 ff., in his plea for *paruos* as an expression of the same maternal tenderness that was heard at 775 *non arma tenera parua tractabis manu,* had tried to soften the harshness of the double repetition of *paruus* by noting that its use in 787 is in a completely different area than in the two following lines; moreover, between the occurrences in 788 and 789 there is some distance too. Caviglia agrees, adding that to him the triple use of *paruus* is acceptable because of the strong pause between 789a and 789b. But just as significant as the adjective is in 775, so little characteristic, in my opinion, is the smallness of a child's eyes; on the contrary, one might say.

Of the many suggestions for altering the text, Carlsson mentions Heinsius' *pauidos, patulos* and *apertos,* and Peiper's *opacos.* Caviglia adds *glaucos* (Madvig), *patrios* (Bothe), *caros* (Cornelissen), and "più interessante, e credibile" *patiens* (Richter). Moricca records *paucis* (Baden) and *partus* (Damsté).

condam: 'close' (as part of the ritual of burial, *OLD* s.v. 7c), cf. Prop. 4.11.64 *condita sunt uestro lumina nostra sinu,* Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.43-4 *nec cum clamore supremo / labentes oculos condet amica manus,* Apul. *Met.* 2.28 *in aeternum conditis oculis.* For the custom, see also on 373.

789 uiuentis: Marx p. 62 properly considers it a fine example of Seneca's skill to express briefly a pathetic detail: Andromache will not be present at his actual death and funeral. The contrast *condam - uiuentis* may recall Hom. *Il.* 6.500, where Andromache after her emotional taking leave of Hector has returned to her house and with her tears moves all her handmaids, so 'they bewailed Hector while still alive in his own house' (I owe this suggestion to Prof. Ruurd Nauta).

paruus ... / sed iam timendus: cf. *Phoen.* 245-7 (Oedipus) *uideram nondum diem / uterique nondum solueram clausi moras, / et iam timebar,* Aus. *Epit.* 16.2 *paruulus, Argiuis sed iam de patre timendus* (see on 784-5), Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 14-5 (Iesus) *paruus, infelix, miser / iam dignus hostis rege Iudaeo fui.*

791 liber: 'in freedom', see on 146. The scribe of E seems to have taken it as the sing. of *liberi,* replacing it with the metrically incorrect *puer.*

liber liberos: other instances of adjectival polyptoton in Sen. trag.: *H.F.* 487 *nec unus una Geryon uictus manu, Phae.* 237 *castosque ritus Venere non casta exuet?, Oed.* 829 *magnum esse magna mole quod petitur scias, Ag.* 62 *alia ex aliis cura fatigat,* 607 *qui Styga tristem non tristis uidet, Thy.* 30-2 *semper oriatur nouum* (sc. *crimen*) / *nec unum in uno ... / crescat* [on this type of polyptoton, much more frequent in Greek poetry than in most Latin poets (Lucretius and Ovid are the exceptions), see Wills pp. 222 ff.].

liberos Troas: "apud inferos, qui bello mortem oppetierunt nec in servitutem redacti" (Farnabius).

uide: "Scaliger ad animum Senecae melius fore putavit: *uise Troas liberos:* atque ita se fuisse scripturum, si foret auctor Tragoediae. Mihi & numero & verbo illud τραγικώτερον videtur" (Gronovius).

Both the alliteration, emphatically present already in the preceding lines, now in combination with the chiastic wordorder and paronomasia *uade liber, liberos ... uide*, and the *i*-assonance give a fine ring to her words of farewell; cf. Regenbogen (1961) 433: "... dem Schmerzensabschied mit seinen monumentalen Sätzen *Troia ... uide*".

792 miserere, mater: D.F. Sutton, *Seneca on the stage*, Leiden 1986, 35 thinks it most likely that the words were spoken by an offstage actor.

Peiper-Richter in their first edition interpreted the words *miserere, mater* as spoken by Andromache as a sigh to herself. Ter Haar Romeny (1897) 83 f. also thought it unlikely that they were spoken by Astyanax ("miror enim Astyanactem, de quo per totam tragoediam agitur, non nisi duo verba loqui eaque tam parvi momenti"), but preferred to conjecture: *i, uade liber, liberos Troas uide / liberque patrem. quid ...* Seidensticker p. 140, n. 190 cites Astyanax' words with Iason's plea *unus est poenae satis* (*Med.* 1008) as instances where Seneca, like Sophocles, on special culminating-points of the dialogue uses single antilabai for their pathetical effect.

quid meos retines sinus: Eur. *Tro.* 750 (Andromache to her son; transl. Barlow) 'why are you clutching and clinging to my dress?', *Heraclid.* 48-9 (Iolaos) 'o children, children, come here, seize my dress'. Cf. Polygnotus' (now lost) painting of the Sack of Troy in Delphi, described by Pausanias 10.25.9: 'Andromache is in the painting and near her stands her boy grasping her breast'.

793 occupas: 'grasp' (*OLD* s.v. 1), cf. Verg. *Geo.* 4.439-40 *cum clamore ruit magno manicisque iacentem / occupat*, Ov. *Met.* 11.238-9 *illic te Peleus ... / occupat*. As for the punctuation, Gronovius places the question mark behind *matris*, Cornelissen after *manusque*.

794 fremitu leonis: cf. e.g. *Oed.* 150 *irati fremitus leonis*, 457 *Idaeus prora fremuit leo*, *Dial.* 3.1.6 *leones fremunt*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.673 (*leo*) *it fremitu gaudens*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.341 (*leo*) *fremit ore cruento*. The placing of these two words in the introduction of the following simile paves the way for the sudden shift at 796.

qualis: below 1093-7 Astyanax again will be compared to a young animal. Other animal similes in Sen. trag., as a rule introduced with *qualis*, are: *Med.* 863-5 (the Corus describing Medea) *ut tigris orba natis / cursu furente lustrat / Gangeticum nemus*, *Phae.* 1029-30 (the highest peak of the cliffs, alternately foaming and spewing back the flood, is compared to a cavernous whale), *Oed.* 903-5 (Daedalus awaiting his son - a bird, fleeing the threats of a hawk and gathering her scattered and frightened brood), 919-20 (Oedipus - a lion), *Ag.* 776-7 (Cassandra - a bull), 892-4 (Agamemnon - a boar), *Thy.* 707-11 (Atreus - a tigress), 732-6 (Atreus - a lion) [Canter p. 103; Liebermann pp. 85-110. The latter notes (p. 99 f.) the 'Sonderstellung' of this simile: "Hier wird nämlich innerhalb des Bildes eine Konsequenz entwickelt, die sich auf die Direkt-Darstellung auswirkt."].

Criticism on the use of such a long simile here - Eur. *Tro.* 751 has the succinct metaphor 'like a young bird, seeking shelter under my wings' - has again (see above 672 ff.) been worded by Zwierlein (1966) 118 f. His conclusion is: "Seneca hat also das Bild nach seinem Geschmacke ausgeweitet und durch die geradezu homerische Länge des Vergleiches das Drängende des Geschehens zerstört." Likewise Rosenmeyer p. 191: "The art of the simile in Seneca derives from the epic. [...] This Olympian expansiveness, making Andromache into an epic poet rather than a frantic mother, is characteristic of the medium."

Primmer pp. 224-226, on the other hand, stresses its connection with the preceding (672-6) and following (1093-6) similes. Astyanax, absent from the first simile, here a *tener* and *timidus iuuencus*, will at the end (1102 *sponte desiluit*) seek the freedom of death, just mentioned by his mother (791). Andromache, as a counterpoint, spirited in the first simile, now a pushed aside mother (796 *matre summota*), absent from the last comparison, will remain in the misery of the living. The simile was also praised by Amoroso p. 177, reacting to critical remarks made by Martinazolli and Mazzoli (1961) 62.

tener: see on 775; similarly of animals, e.g. Ov. *Ep.* 4.21 *teneros laedunt prima iuga iuuencos*, Cic. *Amic.* 67 *equis uetulis teneros anteponere solemus*, Col. 6.2.1 *uitulos oportet, cum adhuc teneri sunt, consuescere manu tractari*, Verg. *Ecl.* 1.21 *ouium teneros ... fetus.*

795 timidum ... latus: for this framing of the line see on 17 *omnis ... domus.*

iuuencus: 'bull-calf'; cf. Var. *R.R.* 2.5.6 *primum in bubulo genere aetatis gradus dicuntur quattuor, prima uitulorum, secunda iuuencorum, tertia bouum nouellorum, quarta uetulorum, discernuntur in prima uitulus et uitula, in secunda iuuencus et iuuenca.*

applicat: 'to bring into contact (with)' (*OLD* s.v. 1), cf. Plin. *Nat.* 10.38 *quoniam ... oua posteriorem partem corporum fouendam matri applicent*, Petr. 126.13 *dominam producit e latebris laterique meo applicat.*

796 at ille ... leo: the simile Astyanax - bull-calf is not worked out; instead there is a shift to the Ulysses - lion simile, already found at Hom. *Od.* 6.130. For the use of *at*, "to introduce a change of subject" (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. e.g. below 949 *at misera ... mater*, *H.F.* 57, *Thy.* 757, *H.O.* 510, 808 *at ille*, *H.F.* 1008 *at misera* (1009 *Megara*), *Oed.* 282 *at una* (sc. *uia*), Verg. *Aen.* 5.779 *at Venus*; for the similar use of *ille*, see e.g. Harrison's note on Verg. *Aen.* 10.717 *ille autem.*

leo: Heinsius, comparing *Med.* 927-8 *ira discessit loco / materque tota coniuge expulsa redit*, and Richter preferred *loco*. Damsté (1919) 63 f., "voc. *leo* ... pueriliter repetitum est", suggested *nece*, comparing *Phoen.* 106-7 *ensem parenti trade, sed notum nece / ensem paterna*, 260 *genitorem adortus impia straui nece.*

797 morsibus: either 'bites', as below 1096, or meton. 'teeth, jaws' (*OLD* 1c; cf. *ThLL* VIII 1509.56 ff.), as at Stat. *Theb.* 5.169 *elusos audit concurrere morsus.*

premens: the reading of A has been defended by Baden with a reference to Lucr. 3.662-3 *ipsam seque retro partem petere ore priorem, / uolneris ardenti ut morsu premat icta dolore* (sc. *serpens*), Sil. 7.717-9 *ceu stimulante fame rapuit cum Martius agnum / auerso pastore lupus, fetumque trementem / ore tenet presso*). Zwierlein (1986) 100 added the alliteration as a second argument. The E reading *tenens* was preferred by Leo and the Italian editors with the exception of Amoroso.

798 frangit: 'to kill by breaking, crush to death' (*OLD* 2c), in poetry the technical term for the lion's method of fighting since Homer, e.g. *Il.* 5.161-2 (Leaf's note *ad loc.* contains a quote from *Big Game Shooting*, proving the correctness of the observation); cf. also *H.F.* 951-2 *uerni petet / frangetque tauri colla*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.23.10, Mart. 1.22.2, Stat. *Theb.* 11.28, Claud. 22.21.

frangit uehitque: according to Moricca's *app. crit.*, Heinsius suggested *frangitque agitque*. For such a combination of verbs at the beginning of the trimeter, cf. *Med.* 541 *potest soletque*, *Phae.* 402 *coegit emisitque*, 727 *instat premitque*.

talis: refers to *leo*, of course, not to *qualis*.

e nostro sinu / te rapiet: cf. *Phoen.* 573 *matres ... ab ipso coniugum raptas sinu*, *Med.* 949 *iam iam meo rapientur auulsi e sinu*, *Ag.* 187 *nec rapere puduit e sinu auulsam uiri*, Ov. *Met.* 13.450 *rapta sinu matris.*

799 rapiet: on the 'Buchstabenmetathese' in the MSS (E here has *pariet*), see Zwierlein (1984) 13.

oscula: *osculum* is the only word for 'kiss' in Sen. trag., found again below 809, 959, *Phoen.* 486, *Med.* 289, 950 (plural), *Thy.* 145 (sing.). In all instances, it concerns a mother/father and her/his child (or children), often a farewell; cf. Donatus on Ter. *Eun.* 456: *oscula officiorum sunt*, Servius on *Aen.* 1.256 *oscula libauit natae*: *sciendum osculum religionis esse, sauium uoluptatis, quamuis quidam osculum filiis dari, uxori basium, scorto sauium dicant.* For the usage of *oscula* at a farewell, cf. e.g. *Med.* 289-90 *extrema natis mater infigo oscula, / fortasse moriens*, Ov. *Met.* 6.278 *oscula dispensat natos suprema per omnes*, 13.424, *Tr.* 3.5.16, Prop. 2.13.29 *oscula ... in gelidis pones suprema labellis*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.46. The original sense of the word, a diminutive from *os*, 'mouth, lips' (*OLD* 2), is clearly present in *Aen.* 1.256, *Geo.* 2.523 *dulces pendent circum oscula nati*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.14-5 *dulcia barbare / laedentem oscula*; it may perhaps be felt at *Thy.* 145. Modern languages and dialects show the same pattern; cf. Peter Flury, '*Osculum* und *osculari*, Beobachtungen zum Vokabular des Kusses im Lateinischen', in: *Scire litteras*, NF 99, München 1988, 151: "In der galanten Dichtung des Rokoko, etwa beim jungen Goethe, finden wir öfters das Deminutivum 'Mäulchen' für 'Kuß', und in manchen Mundarten, z.B. im Berndeutschen ist 'Müntschi' (Mündchen) der übliche Ausdruck für den Kuß"; cf. also van Dale, *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal*, Utrecht-Antwerpen [12]1992, s.v. *mondje*: '1 kleine mond; 2 zoen', and Frisian 'tútsje'.

Of the three substantives for 'kiss', *osculum* is found in Old Latin as well as in the latest authors, and by far most frequently; exceptions to the rule are Plautus, Catull and Martial. *Sauium* is a favourite in the Old Comedy (esp. Plautus), occurs rarely in other authors, was revived by Apuleius (9x), then disappeared. Catullus seems to have been the first to use *basium* (*basiatio, basiare*); he was followed by Martial and Juvenal. In the vulgar form *uasia*, it was also found as a graffito in Pompeji. As the popular words, they now survive in the Romance languages [Ph. Moreau, 'osculum, basium, suauium', *Rev. de Phil.* 52 (1978) 87-97].

oscula et fletus: cf. Eur. *Andr.* 416-8 (Andromache to her son Molossus; transl. Kovacs) 'kiss your father and embrace him and tell him in tears what I have done'.

800 laceros: see on 99 *lacerum*. *ThLL* VII 2.821.59 records this instance as *'lacerando demptus'* with e.g. Luc. 9.57, Stat. *Silu.* 3.3.133. For the offering of hair to the dead, cf. e.g. *Phae.* 1181-2 (Phaedra) *placemus umbras: capitis exuuias cape / laceraeque frontis accipe abscisam comam*, Ov. *Met.* 13.427-8 *Hectoris in tumulo canum de uertice crinem, / inferias inopes, crinem lacrimasque reliquit* (sc. *Hecuba*).

excipe: 'accept, receive' (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. *Oct.* 75 *excipe nostras lacrimas, nutrix.*

plenus mei: this is the sole occurrence of the genit. with *plenus* in Sen. trag. The more usual abl. is found in *H.F.* 969 *plena Centauris iuga*, *Phae.* 163 *animusque culpa plenus*, *Oed.* 157 *non plena suo uitis Iaccho*, *Ag.* 26-7 *liberis plenus tribus / in me sepultis* (see on 100 *libera nodo* for the same variation of *liber*).

Regenbogen (1961) 433 praises "... den schmerzlich süßen Lauten von Gatten- und Mutterleidenschaft" in 799-801a and below 806-12.

801 maternae: see on 556. For its combination with *querelae*, cf. *Phoen.* 500 *preces ... maternas*, Sen. *Contr.* 6.6 *materna uerba*, V. Max. 1.84 *maternas preces.*

802 perfer: 'to deliver (a message)' (*OLD* 2). For the idea of the newly dead bringing information to the underworld, cf. *Ag.* 1005-6 (Cassandra) *perferre prima nuntium Phrygibus meis / propero*, *H.F.* 639-40 (Hercules) *nuntiet Diti Lycus / me iam redisse*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.547-8 (Pyrrhus to Priam) *referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis / Pelidae genitori.*

si manes habent / curas priores: cf. *Dial.* 10.18.5 *si quis inferis sensus est*, 11.5.2 *si quis defunctis sensus est*, *Oct.* 13 *si quis remanet sensus in umbris*, V. Max. 4.6.3 *si quis ... extinctis sensus inest.*

803 curas: 'solicitude, concern' (esp. on the part of a lover, *OLD* s.v. 5), cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 4.1 *at regina graui iamdudum saucia cura* (with Pease's instances of the frequent use of the word in the plural). In *Oct.* 137-9, the Nutrix says to Octavia *frustra parentis inuocas manes tui, / miseranda, frustra, nulla cui prolis suae / manet inter umbras cura*. Var. *L.L.* 6.46 offers the derivation *cura, quod cor urat* [Töchterle on *Oed.* 981 mentions M. Hauser, *Der römische Begriff cura*, Diss. Basel 1950 (1954)].

nec perit flammis amor: since 'love' is often pictured as a 'fire', in Sen. trag. e.g. *Phae.* 131 *extingue flammas,* 165 *compesce amoris impii flammas,* 173 *nefandis uerte naturam ignibus,* in Vergil *Aen.* 4.2 *caeco carpitur igni,* one feels the words intended as a paradox.

805 crudelis: the same reproach is uttered by Dido to Aeneas (Verg. *Aen.* 4.311), by Euryalus' mother to her son (*Aen.* 9.483), in both instances likewise at the beginning of the line and followed by a heavy pause, and by Ariadne to Theseus, Catul. 64.136-7 *nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis / consilium?*

lentus: see on 253. This use of the adj. is often found in love poetry, e.g. Prop. 1.15.4 *tu tamen in nostro lenta timore uenis,* 2.14.14 *nec mihi ploranti lenta sedere potest,* 3.8.20 *hostibus eueniat lenta puella meis,* Ov. *Amor.* 3.6.59-60 *ille habet et silices et uiuum in pectore ferrum, / qui tenero lacrimas lentus in ore uidet, Ep.* 2.23 *at tu lentus abes.* At *H.F.* 298, Megara, longing for Hercules' return from the underworld, complains of his *reditus ... lentos* (Fitch's note refers to R. Pichon, *De Sermone Amatorio,* Paris 1902, 186).

segnis: a similar use of the adj. is found in Hercules' question, *H.F.* 1188 *quisquamne segnis tanta tolerauit mala?* For the combination with *iaces,* cf. above 320.

806 redit: perf., see on 50. A has *rediit* here, and a similar uncontracted perf. form before a vowel at *H.F.* 244 *petiit* and 321 *abiit.*

sume: for the anaphora, see on 117. It is similarly found with imperatives e.g. below 1004-5 *maculate ... maculate, Thy.* 1069-71 *audite maria, uos quoque audite hoc scelus, / quocumque, di, fugistis. audite inferi, / audite terrae.*

iterum: Kingery's note "now, over our son, as formerly at your death" is wrong; *iterum* simply refers to 799-800 *oscula ... excipe.* It is Astyanax who is addressed.

807 quidquid: for this loose connection with the preceding plurals, cf. *Phae.* 1160-3 *in me monstra caerulei maris / emitte, quidquid intimo Tethys sinu / extrema gestat, quidquid Oceanus uagis / complexus undis ultimo fluctu tegit,* 1204-5 *monstra ... quodcumque.*

808 funere relictum: see on 167 *effare, reduces.*

809 solacio: the word occurs only here in Sen. trag., but 70 times in his prose works; *solamen* (see on 704), on the other hand, is found five times in his plays, but is absent from his prose. In dactylic poetry, however, the use of *solacium* prevails: Vergil 5 : 3, Ovid 25 : 1, Lucan 8 : 1, Val. Flaccus 0 : 3, Statius 13 : 4, Silius 3 : 5.

810 meus: see on 414.

811 si quid: in support of the E-reading, Zwierlein refers to *Med.* 1012 *in matre si quod pignus etiamnunc latet,* followed by *scrutabor ense uiscera.*

812 scrutabor: 'probe for (something hidden), search out' (*OLD* 3), cf. *Dial.* 5.33.1 *ut aurum argentumque in cinere urbium scrutentur.*

nullus ... modus: for the problem of moderation in lamenting losses, cf. *Ag.* 691-2 (Chorus) *non est lacrimis, Cassandra, modus, / quia quae patimur uicere modum*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.1-2 *quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus / tam cari capitis?*; of other emotions, e.g. *Med.* 397-8 *si quaeris odio, misera, quem statuas modum, / imitare amorem*, *Phae.* 359 *saeuis ecquis est flammis modus?*, *Thy.* 26 *irarum modus*, Prop. 2.15.30 *uerus amor nullum nouit habere modum.*

813 abripite: the same verb will be used of Polyxena below 1003.

propere: its use with an imperative is already found in Plautus, e.g. *Bac.* 368 *pandite atque aperite propere ianuam hanc Orci*, *Men.* 946 *propere quidquid facturu's face*; in Sen. trag. again *H.F.* 1242, *Oed.* 334, 823, *Ag.* 300.

classis Argolicae: cf. *H.F.* 7 *classes ... Argolicas*, Ov. *Met.* 13.659 *Argolicam ... classem*, *Tr.* 1.1.83 *Argolica de classe.*

moram: by the use of this key-word (see on 124) at the end, the ring structure of this and the preceding act, starting with 164 *o longa Danais semper in portu mora*, is underlined. For this characteristic of Astyanax, cf. also Calchas' words (365-6) *non tamen nostras tenet / haec una puppes causa.*

THIRD CHORAL ODE (814-860).

Without any reaction of the chorus to the impressive preceding scene, the drawing of lots for the captive women, mentioned by Hecuba in the prologue (57-62), is picked up in this ode. Wondering about their impending destination, the Trojan women enumerate some thirty-four places all over Greece, most of them epithetized by a geographical or mythological characteristic.

Catalogues are a familiar feature in ancient literature, beginning with Homer; most famous is the inserted catalogue of ships, *Il.* 2.494-785. Aeschylus makes a conspicuous use of it in the *Persae*: apart from Darius' list of rulers over Persia (765-82), there is the chorus summing up the cities and islands conquered by Darius (864-99), and the chorus questioning Xerxes on the fate of his lieutenants (956-61, 966-71, 979-85, 993-1002). Vergil follows Homer's example in his list of Italian leaders, *Aen.* 7.647-817 (even in the introductory lines 641-6, with an invocation of the Muses, Homer's influence is clearly visible).

Seneca's fondness of enumerations has already been noted on 8-9. Rosenmeyer p. 162 contrasts his use of them with the earlier traditions, in which the catalogue had been incidental, or at least isolated enough to be accepted as a move of retardation or climaxing. "In Seneca no such specialization is in evidence. Senecan dramatic language realizes itself most fully in the catalogue. One might go so far as to say that the catalogue is the principal building material of the drama." In Chapter 7, 'The Rage to Embrace Nature', he places it in the context of Stoic research (Chrysippus, Posidonius) in the various domains of the natural world, initiating a scientific tradition in which the Roman encyclopedists worked. It provides an explanation for the display of erudition - not only in geographical matters, but also in mythology and other fields - with which these catalogues abound: see the comparable geographical list at *Thy.* 122-31 *Argos de superis si quis Achaicum / Pisaeasque domos curribus inclitas, / Isthmi si quis amat regna Corinthii, / et portus geminos et mare dissidens, / si quis Taygeti conspicuas niues, / quas cum Sarmaticus tempore frigido / in summis Boreas compo-suit iugis, / aestas ueliferis soluit Etesiis, / quem tangit gelido flumine lucidus / Alpheos, stadio notus Olympico*, *Med.* 583-90 (*Auster ... Hister ... Rhodanus ... Haemus*), 607-69 (a list of the Argonauts and their fates), 684-730 (a catalogue of deadly snakes and poisons in the Nurse's description of Medea preparing a new extraordinary poison), 740 ff. (Medea's invocation of the infernal powers), *Oed.* 403-508 (a praise of Bacchus), 530 ff. (a description of eight kinds of trees in a *lucus ilicibus niger*), 586 ff., 609 ff. (a list of personified abstracts and shades in the underworld), *Ag.* 808-66 (the labours of Hercules), *Thy.* 844-74 (an enumeration of constellations and major stars).

Tarrant, 'Greek and Roman in Seneca's tragedies', *HSCPh* 97 (1995) 228 f. mentions 'the global background' as a third respect - after 'a fascination with characters who wield arbitrary and tyrannical power' and 'a focus on the pathology of the emotions and their external effects' - in which Seneca's plays reflect their historical context: this ode and *Phae.* 1-53 "... have a panoramic quality not found in Greek poetry".

The 'destination' theme of this ode was well known to Seneca from Euripides' choral odes (*Tro.* 197-234, 1091-1117, *Hec.* 444-83), as well as from his dialogues (e.g. *Tro.* 185, 187-9, 241-2), but he makes some important changes:

1. He drastically increases the number of places mentioned (34, against 6 and 4 in Eur. *Tro.* 197-234 and *Hec.* 444-83 respectively), being much more specific than the Greek tragedian. Homer's Catalogue was a rich source for this; in fact, only four places in the Senecan ode are not mentioned there: 815 *Tempe*, 842 *Peparethos*, 843 *Eleusin*, 849 *Pisae*.

2. Athens, however, prominently mentioned by Euripides (*Tro.* 208-9, 218-9, *Hec.* 466 ff.), is left out.

3. This ode does not contain the strong contrast Asia-Europe, that is found at Eur. *Hec.* 479-83 (transl. Kovacs) 'I shall leave Asia behind and in a strange land bear the name of slave, exchanging the chamber of the grave for the dwelling places of Europe', but at 851-7 the chorus words a special abhorrence of the homes of Helen, Agamemnon and Ulysses.

4. The learned qualifications illustrate Seneca's geographical and mythological knowledge, not the sad mood of the captive women. It is a striking fact, for instance, that nowhere in the ode a first person form is used (see my note on 814 *captas*).

5. As a consequence (?), references to their present or future activities are left out, whereas to the Euripidean lines they often lend a personal touch, e.g. at *Tro.* 199-200, 203, 205-6. Therefore, Marx p. 11, n. 6 styles it "vielleicht das eklatanteste Beispiel für die Personenlosigkeit der Senecachöre".

With its enumeration of learned references, the ode has met severe criticism. Jasper Heywood for his translation of the play even wrote an ode to replace it: "For as much as nothing is therein but a heaped number of farre and straunge Countries, considerynge with my selfe, that the names of so manye unknowen Countreyes, Mountaynes, Desertes, and Woodes shoulde have no grace in the Englishe tounge, but bee a straunge and unpleasant thinge to the Readers (excepte I should expound the Historyes of each one, which would be farre to tedious,) I have in the place therof made another ..." (Davis p. 242). Cf. Rosenmeyer p. 166: "Thirty-three destinations, the Senecan count, constitute a series long enough to try anyone's patience, and the form, an insistent cannnonade of questions (is this where they are going to take us?) underlines the artificiality of the exercise. Here the challenge of flagging the totality of the Greek world, starting in the northeast and ending with the southwest, appears to have proved irresistible to Seneca."

The text

The first stanza (814-25) of this ode confronts us with two conspicuous problems:

a) the mentioning of Crete (820) in a list of Thessalian places;

b) Mothone (822), far from Mt. Oeta, as antecedent of *quae ... arcus* (823-5).

Although a reference to Seneca's geographical inaccuracy (see the note on 8-9 *frigidum ... Tanain*) might suffice to keep the lines in their transmitted order, as has been done by most editors, I think this is too small an excuse for the latter anomaly.

Therefore, I have preferred Richter's transposition of lines 816-8 after 822, in order to make the concluding relative clause *quae ... arcus* (823-5) dependent from *Trachin* instead of *Mothone* [cf. Zwierlein (1977) 156-158; (1986) 100-102]. The resulting combination of 815.819 *Thessali montes et opaca Tempe, an maris uasti domitrix Iolcos?* gets some support from *Med.* 457 (*Medea*) *patruamne Iolcon, Thessala an Tempte petam?*

Of the older editors, Bernardinus read *Meliboea* (Philoctetes' home town) for *Methone*; Delrius suggested *ruscis Meliboea lentis*. Gronovius proposed a question mark at the end of this line, taking *quae ... arcus* as a reference to Meliboea. But the omission of *an*, for which he refers to lines 826-7, would be much harsher here, and the omission of the proper name an akward disturbance of the enumeration. Besides, it is also far from Mt. Oeta.

However, I have left line 820 in its place. Despite the attractiveness of either its deletion (Richter, Fantham) or its transposition after 841 (Zwierlein) - also in view of the ensuing symmetry of 815.819 with 821.822 *parua Gyrtone sterilisque Tricce, an frequens riuis leuibus Mothone?* –, I have given more weight to a possible intertextual play with *Phae.* 85 *o magna uasti Creta dominatrix freti*, and the contrast *spatiosa* - *parua*.

Other major problems are found in line 844: not only the sudden transition from nominatives to accusatives, but also the reading *ueri* (if one thinks it a corruption of a verbal form like *uisam* or *pergam*, the first problem is solved simultaneously; see the commentary *ad loc.*).

The metre

As noted in the Introduction, the ode is written in an irregular arrangement of sapphic hendecasyllables and adonii.

[W.F. Marx (1932) 11-17; E. Fantham (1982) 323-332; Th.G. Rosenmeyer (1989) 160-166; P.J. Davis (1993) 242-248]

814 quae ... captas?: the ode down to 851 consists of eleven questions, interrupted only by the parenthetical lines 830b-5 *hic ... canendo*; for this device, one may compare the questions and speculations of the chorus in *Thy*. 789-814.

uocat: for the use of the verb with an inanimate subject, see on 106 *uocant*.

habitanda: whereas Horace in his *Carm*. 1.22 likes to place the characteristic adjectives at the end of the line (5 *aestuosas*, 6 *inhospitalem*, 7 *fabulosus*), Seneca in the first part of this ode has a preference for using a quadrisyllabic epithet in the penultimate position.

captas: the omission of *nos* is in a striking contrast with the beginning of the comparable Greek odes. Cf. e.g. Eur. *Hec*. 447-8 '(breeze, breeze of the sea) where will you take me in my misery?'

815 Thessali montes: most famous Olympus, Ossa and Pelion; cf. e.g. Catul. 64.280-1 *Thessala magnis / montibus ora*.

opaca: 'shady' (*OLD* 1), e.g. *Phoen*. 16 *siluam opacae uallis*; cf. Luc. 8.1 *nemorosa ... Tempe*, and Pliny's description, *Nat*. 4.31 *in eo cursu Tempe uocant ... ultra uisum hominis attollentibus se dextra laeuaque conuexis iugis, intus silua late uiridante*.

Tempe: neut. pl. (Τέμπη), the fertile wooded valley between Olympus and Ossa in the north of Thessaly through which the Peneus flows eastward to the sea. It is not mentioned in Homer's Catalogue, but is found, for instance, at Hdt. 7.173, Theocr. 1.67, Eur. *Tro*. 214.

The valley occurs often in Roman poetry, for example Catul. 64.285-6 *confestim Penios adest, uiridantia Tempe, / Tempe, quae siluae cingunt super impendentes*, Verg. *Geo*. 4.317 *Peneia Tempe*, Hor. *Carm*. 1.7.4 (*laudabunt alii*) *Thessala Tempe*, 1.21.9, Ov. *Met*. 1.568-9 *est nemus Haemoniae, praerupta quod undique claudit / silua; uocant Tempe*; in Sen. trag. it is mentioned again *Med*. 457, *H.F*. 286, 980. Its beauty was so famous that the word became a common noun: Verg. *Geo*. 2.469 *speluncae uiuique lacus et frigida tempe*, *Culex* 94-5 *o gratissima tempe / fontis Hamadryadum*, Cic. *Att*. 4.15.5 *Reatini me ad sua τέμπη duxerunt*.

819 uasti: see on 114 and 650. For its use with *mare*, cf. below 930, *Phae*. 85 *o magna uasti Creta dominatrix freti*, 1007 *uastum tonuit ex alto mare*, 1204 *nunc adeste, saeua ponti monstra, nunc uasti maris*, *Oed*. 1015.

domitrix: originally an epithet of goddesses, subduing animals, for instance Grat. 19 *domitrix ... Idaea leonum mater*, *CIL* 6.124.3 *FERARVM DOMITRICEM DIANAM*. The first occurrence of the noun in extant Latin literature is Verg. *Geo*. 3.44 *domitrixque Epidaurus equorum*; it is also found in Ovid (*Ep*. 9.117). Seneca uses it only here (the male form e.g. *Med*. 617 *domitor profundi* of Tiphys, the helmsman of the Argo). Some later occurrences of the word in a transferred sense: Augustinus, *Contra Iuliani Imperf. Opus* 4.57 *omnium sensuum domitrix animi magnitudo*, Grotius, *Carmen Paschale* 14 *domitrix ... legis* (of the *gratia Christi*) [see Grotius, *Sacra in quibus Adamus Exul*, ed. B.L. Meulenbroek, I. A., (1970) 269; id. I. B., (1971) 176].

Other rare words on *-trix*, some coined by Seneca himself, are *machinatrix* (*Med.* 266), *miratrix* (*Phae.* 742), and in his prose *contemptrix* (*Ben.* 4.2.4, *Ep.* 88.29), *exprobratix* (*Ben.* 7.22.2).

Iolcos: a seaport in Thessaly at the head of the Pagasaean gulf from which the Argonauts began their voyage.

820 urbibus centum: cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.649, Verg. *Aen.* 3.106 *centum urbes habitant magnas*, Hor. *Epod.* 9.29 *centum nobilem Cretam urbibus*, *Carm.* 3.27.33-4 *centum ... potentem / oppidis Creten*, Ov. *Ep.* 10.67 *Crete centum digesta per urbes*, *Met.* 7.481, 9.667, Sen. *H.F.* 230 *taurumque centum non leuem populis metum*, *Phae.* 149-50 *quid ille, lato maria qui regno premit / populisque reddit iura centenis, pater?* In Hom. *Od.* 19.174, Crete is said to contain ninety cities, a divergence on which the 'Chorizontes' founded one of their arguments (Leaf).

spatiosa: 'covering a wide area, extensive' (*OLD* s.v. 1). Peiper's *speciosa* rightly has found no following: *spatiosa* contrasts with the following *parua*, and is echoed in 831 *spatiosus*.

Crete: the Greek form, also found in Ovid (*Amor.* 3.10.37, *Ep.* 10.67, *Met.* 8.118) and Horace (*Carm.* 3.27.34 *Creten*). Vergil has only forms of *Creta*. Other occurrences in Sen. trag.: *Phae.* 85 *Creta* (Index *OCT* incorrectly *Crete*), 33, 815 *Cretes.*

821 parua: see on 221.

Gyrtone: a town in northern Thessaly, mentioned at Hom. *Il.* 2.738. Here it is an emendation made by Gronovius, considering the naming of one single Cretan city (*gortinis* E, *cortine* A, *Gortyne* Avantius) right after the island as a whole most unlikely.

sterilis: '(of land, soil) yielding no crops' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), cf. Verg. *Geo.* 1.84 *sterilis ... agros* (also *Aen.* 3.141), Ov. *Met.* 8.788-9 *est locus extremis Scythiae glacialis in oris, / triste solum, sterilis, sine fruge, sine arbore tellus.*

Tricce: a town in western Thessaly, Hom. *Il.* 2.729; at *Il.* 4.202 it is styled 'horse-pasturing' (or 'grazed by horses').

822 frequens riuis leuibus: for the use of *frequens* + abl. (*OLD* s.v. 2 'crowded or densely covered with, abounding in'), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 1233-4 *Lernaeis frequens / pharetra telis*, Liv. 1.9.9 *frequentem tectis urbem*, Ov. *Ep.* 15.54 *locus ... piceis ilicibusque frequens*, *Met.* 9.106 *uerticibus ... frequens ... amnis* [K-S 1.385 f.].

riuis leuibus: 'tiny rills'. Cf. the use of *leuis* in *Phae.* 13-5 *ubi per graciles leuis Ilisos / labitur agros piger et steriles / amne maligno radit harenas* (Coffey-Mayer: *leuis* 'scanty'), *Culex* 148-9 *his suberat gelidis manans e fontibus unda, / quae leuibus placidum riuis sonat acta liquorem.* The characterization *frequens riuis leuibus* can be applied to both Messenian Methone (cf. Eur. frg. 1083 v. 5 Nauck 'watered by numberless streams') and Thessalian Methone at the foot of Mt. Pelion [see Zwierlein (1986) 102 f., referring to Richter (1894) 26 and to Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, Leipzig 1862-72, I 102].

Mothone: at Hom. *Il.* 2.716, *Mēthonē* is mentioned as one of the towns ruled by Philoctetes in the SE of Thessaly. Strabo 9.5.16 has the form *Mĕthonē*. *Mothone* (E) is either a slip of the pen for *Methone* (A), or - more likely - an alternative form [cf. *RE* XV 2.1382.1 ff., 1384.64 ff.; Zwierlein (1986) 102].

816 dare: 'bring forth, produce' (*OLD* s.v. 23), cf. e.g. Lucr. 2.1152 *dedit ... ferarum ingentia corpora partu* (*tellus*), Catul. 61.67 *liberos dare*, Verg. *Geo.* 2.442 *dant alios aliae fetus*. The words *uiros ... aptior* are Seneca's version of βωτιάνειρα, at *Il.* 1.155 applied to Phthia. For the use of the inf. with *aptior*, cf. [Tib.]3.7.62 (*Circe*) *apta ... mutare figuras*, Ov. *Ep.* 9.115-6 *femina ... / ferre grauem lana uix satis apta colum*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.250 *aptus suadere*, *Silu.* 3.4.50-2 *tunc propior iam cura deae, quae forma capillis / optima, quae uestis roseos accendere uultus / apta*.

militares: the only other occurrence of the adj. in Sen. trag. is in *Ag.* 425 *ad militares remus aptatur manus*. In his prose, Seneca uses it 23x, in combination with *uir* three times (*Ben.* 3.33.2, *Dial.* 1.4.4, 4.2.6). It is found several times in Plautus, e.g. *Epid.* 15-6 (*ut tu es gradibus grandibus!*) *scio / te esse equidem hominem militarem*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.13-4 has *militaris / Daunias*.

817 aptior: '(of persons or active agents) efficient or good (at doing some-thing), fitted (for), able (to)' (*OLD* 7). For the use of the comparative in such a contrast, cf. *Med.* 88-9 *cedet Castore cum suo / Pollux caestibus aptior*, *H.F.* 905-6 *geminumque numen Phoebus et Phoebi soror / (soror sagittis aptior, Phoebus lyrae)*.

Pthie: the home of Achilles (Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.4 *Pthius Achilles*, Prop. 2.13.38 *Pthii ... uiri*) in the southern part of Thessaly; in Homer's Catalogue it occurs at 2.683. For the orthography (not *Phthie*, as is printed by most editors), Enk on Prop. 2.13.38 and Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 1.284 *Pthiam* refer to W. Schulze, Progr. Marburg 1891, *Orthographica* (repr. Rome, 1958) 49 ff., where it is shown that the double diphthong in such words was due to Italian renaissance scholars, and to Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* ii. 350 [= *JRS* 38 (1948) 136].

melior ... armenti: Fantham takes this as another qualification of *Pthie*, thinking it out of place with *lapidosa*; but cf. 821 *Tricce* (both 'horse-pasturing' and *sterilis*).

818 armenti: see on 537. Here, as at *H.F.* 227, probably of horses: cf. Plat. *Men.* 70a 'the Thessalians ... were admired for their horsemanship', Var. *R.R.* 2.7.6 *nobiles ... in Graecia Thessalici equi*, Luc. 6.397 *Thessalicus sonipes, bellis feralibus omen*.

lapidosa: 'abounding in stones, stony', in Sen. trag. only here; cf. *H.O.* 195 *aspera Trachin*, 1432 *rigenti ... Trachin iugo*. The use of the adj. here probably is a pun on τραχύς, 'rough, stony'. Other adjectives in *-osus* in this choral ode: *latebrosa* (823), *sinuosa* (828), *spatiosus* (831), *dolosus* (857). *Lapidosus* occurs for the first time at Var. *R.R.* 1.9 (see Ernout, p. 63).

Trachin: a town in Thessaly at the foot of Mt. Oeta, where the funeral pyre of Heracles was set up (see Soph. *Trach.* and [Sen.] *H.O.*); in the Catalogue it is mentioned at 2.682. On the *-in* ending, see Prisc. 6.5.28 S. 689 (II 219.7), cited by N-W I 244: "Sciendum quod omnia in *in* desinentia etiam in *is* productam finiuntur: *Arin* et *Aris*, *delphin* et *delphis*, *Eleusin* et *Eleusis*, *Trachin* et *Trachis*. Et notandum, quod auctores Graecorum in *is* magis terminatione sunt usi, nostri vero frequentius in *in*"; cf. below 843 *Eleusin.*

823 Oetaeis: Mt. Oeta, separating southern Thessaly from central Greece, got fame since Hercules burnt himself alive there (cf. e.g. *Med.* 777 *Oetaeus ... rogus*).

latebrosa: 'lurking in concealment, hidden' (*OLD* s.v. 2), in Sen. trag. also found in *Oed.* 152 *perdidit pestem latebrosa serpens.* The adj. occurs once in his prose: *Nat.* 3.19.3 *anguillae* ('eels') *latebrosis locis nascuntur.* Two instances from other poets: Verg. *Aen.* 8.713 *latebrosa ... flumina* (sc. *Nili*), Stat. *Silu.* 2.3.44 *haec durae latebrosa cubilia nymphae.*

824 Troiae: *OLD* s.v. supposes the scansion *Trŏïae* here and below 853, but *Ag.* 809 *Argos iratae carum nouercae* makes clear that Seneca sometimes substitutes a long syllable for the two short ones.

825 non semel: see on 133-4. Several translators combine the words with *misit*, but - like e.g. Delrius - I think them better taken with *infestos ... arcus*. Sen. trag. uses this litotes (cf. οὐχ ἅπαξ, Aesch. *Pr.* 209, Soph. *OT* 1275) again at *H.F.* 264, *Med.* 474, *Thy.* 410; it is also found in Horace (5x) and Ovid (7x), but not in Vergil [see H-Sz 778].

arcus: the Greek plural τόξα can denote either 'bow' (Hom. *Il.* 1.45), or 'bow and arrows' (LSJ s.v. τόξον II, e.g. *Il.* 21.502). The plural *arcus* in Sen. trag. clearly denotes only the bow at *H.F.* 1232 *tela ... arcus*, *Oed.* 469 *arcus ... sagittas*, *Ag.* 322 *arcus ... pharetras*. The second notion might be felt here, at *Phae.* 72 *arcus metuit, Diana, tuos*, 203 *arcus dei*, and in the comparable line *Ag.* 864 *arcus iterum timendos.*

826 Olenos: the town in southern Aetolia, mentioned in Hom. *Il.* 2.639, rather than the town of the same name in Elis, as Farnabius already noted.

tectis ... raris: "The town of Olenos is reported as uninhabited by Strabo (10.451); it was devastated subsequent to the Roman defeat of Aetolia in 189 B.C., so Seneca's epithet is anachronistic", Fantham. Calder (1970) 82 for the phrase refers to Verg. *Geo.* 3.340 *raris habitata mapalia tectis.*

827 uirgini ... diuae: the words refer to Diana by the figure of antonomasia (see above 326), 'a species of synecdoche, in which persons and places of mythological and historical association are referred to indirectly by a descriptive epithet or phrase', Canter p. 127 f. Cf. (of the same goddess) *Phae.* 54 *diua uirago*, 406 *regina nemorum*, *Oed.* 762-3 *ubi uirgineos fouerat artus / nimium saeui diua pudoris.*

Pleuron: also a town in the south of Aetolia, mentioned in Hom. *Il.* 2.639. Both Pleuron and Olenos appear in a list of Aetolian towns in Stat. *Theb.* 4.102-6 *sensit scopulosa Pylene / fletaque cognatis auibus Meleagria Pleuron / et praeceps Calydon, et quae Ioue prouocat Iden / Olenos, Ioniis et fluctibus hospita portu / Chalcis.*

inimica: probably with passive force 'regarded as an enemy, hateful' (*OLD* 1e). It seems likely that the adjective refers to the story, told by Hom. *Il.* 9.533 ff., that Diana sent a great wild boar to ravage the country when Oeneus, the king of Calydon (see on 845 below), had forgotten to sacrifice to her. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.415 *nondum toruae Calydon inuisa Dianae.*

828 sinuosa: '(of countries) having a winding coastline' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), Gk. κολπώδης. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.560 (of two towns near Troezen) 'lying down the deep gulf' (Lattimore). For this use of the adj., cf. V. Fl. 2.451-2 *litora blando / anfractu sinuosa*, Apul. *Mun.* 4 (*terra*) *sinuosis inflexa litoribus.*

Troezen: a town near the extremity of the Argolis peninsula, mentioned at Hom. *Il.* 2.561. Theseus was born there, hence *Theseia Troezen* (Stat. *Theb.* 4.81).

829 Pelion: a mountain in Thessalian Magnesia.

Prothoi: 'Prothous, son of Tenthredon, was commander of the Magnetes, who lived about the Peneios and wooded Pelion', Hom. *Il.* 2.756 ff.

830 tertius caelo gradus: 'third step to heaven', a reference to the legend of the Giants Otus and Ephialtes, who tried to storm heaven by heaping Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa (Hom. *Od.* 11.315-6; probably interpolated lines, since elsewhere in the *Odyssee* Olympus and not heaven is the dwelling-place of the gods). This Homeric version is also followed by the author of *H.O.* (1152-3 *nunc Thessalicam Pelion Ossam / premet*), Horace (*Carm.* 3.4.52), Propertius (2.1.19-20) and Statius (*Silu.* 3.2.64-6).

The reversed order is found in *H.F.* 971-3 *uideat sub Ossa Pelion Chiron suum, / in caelum Olympus tertio positus gradu / perueniet aut mittetur*, *Ag.* 335-9 *uel cum montes montibus altis / super impositi / struxere gradus trucibus monstris, / stetit imposita Pelion Ossa, / pinifer ambos pressit Olympus*, *Thy.* 812 *et Thessalicum Thressa premitur Pelion Ossa*; cf. Verg. *Geo.* 1.281-2 *ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam / scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum inuoluere Olympum.*

Like Seneca, Ovid wavers between the Homeric version (*Am.* 2.1.12-4, *Fast.* 1.307-8, 3.441-2) and the Vergilian sequence (*Met.* 1.154-5) [see on this subject R.G. Mayer, 'Doctus Seneca', *Mnemos.* 43 (1990) 398].

recumbens: 'to lie down, recline', in Sen. trag. again *Oed.* 730 (of a snake), *Thy.* 589 (of the sea). There may be an echo here of Verg. *Aen.* 6.417-8 *Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci / personat aduerso recubans immanis in antro.*

831 exesi: 'eaten out', 'hollowed', cf. *H.F.* 155 *exesis ... scopulis*, 460 *rupis exesae specu*, *Phoen.* 72 *partesque lapsi montis exesas*, 359 *rupis exesae cauo*, *Ag.* 764 *exesa ... ilia*, *Thy.* 75-6 *exeso ... antro*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.418-9 *Cyclopum exesa caminis / antra*, *Geo.* 4.419. Stat. *Ach.* 1.106-8 describes Chiron's abode as follows: *domus ardua montem / perforat et longo suspendit Pelion arcu; / pars exhausta manu, partem sua ruperat aetas.* On the genetivus appositivus/explicativus, see Hillen p. 24 f.

spatiosus: '(w. advl. force) with his great size' (*OLD* 1e). The adj. is first found in *Mor.* 35 (of Scybale's enormous feet) *spatiosa prodiga planta.* Ovid applies it to the dragon of Thebes, fought by Cadmus (*Met.* 3.56 *spatiosi corporis hostem*), but also to Andromache (*Ars* 2.645 *Andromache uisast spatiosior aequo*). Some occurrences in later poets: Stat. *Theb.* 4.173 *spatiosa ... pectora* (of Capaneus), V. Fl. 2.514 *spatiosa uolumina monstri* (of a sea monster), 4.244 *spatiosa ... pectoris ossa* (of Amycus). Cf. also Seneca's picture of Tityus, *Thy.* 9 *specu uasto patens.* Seneca uses the adj. in a temporal sense (*OLD* 2: 'lenghthy') at *Dial.* 10.11.2 (*uita*).

832 iam: '(then) already', cf. 834 *tunc quoque.*

trucis ... pueri: see on 252; cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.11-2 *Phillyrides puerum cithara perfecit Achillem; / atque animos molli contudit arte feros.*

Chiron: 'the most civilized' (δικαιότατος, Hom. *Il.* 11.832) among the Centaurs. He was a son of Kronos and Philyra (Apollod. 1.9), well versed in medicine (Hom. *Il.* 4.219, 11.832), music, and horse-riding, and became tutor of among others Achilles (*pueri*), Asclepius and Jason. Sen. trag. mentions him again at *H.F.* 971 (quoted on 830) and *Thy.* 861 (as the constellation Centaur).

magister: 'teacher, instructor' (*OLD* 9), cf. e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.1-2 *Mercuri* (*nam te docilis magistro / mouit Amphion lapides canendo*); at Verg. *Geo.* 3.549-50, the noun denotes him as 'expert, master' (*OLD* 7) in medicine.

833 tinnulas: 'emitting a ringing, jangling etc. sound'; the adj. is also used of cymbals (Ov. *Met.* 4.393 *tinnulaque aera*), the flute (Calp. *Ecl.* 4.74 *tinnula ... fistula*) and the human voice (Catul. 61.13 *uoce ... tinnula*). The noun *tinnitus* is found at *Phae.* 792 (*tinnitus dedimus*), *Dial.* 5.35.3 (*tinnitum aeris*), the verb *tinnio* at *Nat.* 2.29.1 (of cymbals).

plectro ... chordas: cf. above 321 *leui canoram uerberans plectro chelyn*, *Med.* 626 *cuius ad chordas modulante plectro.*

834 tunc quoque: "Μῆνιν Homericam respicit" (Farnabius).

acuebat: 'to stimulate, stir up, intensify' (*OLD* 4); cf. (of one's own rage) Verg. *Aen.* 9.464 *uariisque acuunt rumoribus iras*, 12.590 *magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras*, Liv. 9.9.18 *in haec ferrum, in haec iras acuant.* The *ira* may also be someone else's: Liv. 22.4.1 *quo magis iram hosti ad uindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat*, *Ciris* 138-9 *idem tum tristis acuebat paruulus iras / Iunonis magnae.* A variation is found in *Phae.* 1059 *hic se illa moles acuit atque iras parat.*

836 ferax: 'productive of', cf. *H.F.* 259 *ferax deorum terra*, 697 *estne aliqua tellus Cereris aut Bacchi ferax?*, *Dial.* 12.9.1 *terra frugiferarum aut laetarum arborum ferax*, Liv. 9.16.19 *illa aetate, qua nulla uirtutum feracior fuit*, Hor. *Epod.* 5.22, *Carm.* 4.4.58, Ov. *Met.* 7.470 [for the genit. with the adjectives in *-ax* ("in der Dichtersprache und seit Livius in der Prosa") see K-S 1.451].

uarii: 'having two or more contrasting colours, particoloured, variegated' (*OLD* s.v. 1), cf. e.g. *Dial.* 5.35.5 *uarium ... marmor*. The marble of Carystos was the so-called 'cipollino' marble, with parallel white (or pale grey) and green lines, like the head of an onion ('cipollino' = 'small onion'); to Statius, however, it was like sea water (*Silu.* 1.2.149-50 *concolor alto / uena mari*). See e.g. *RE* X 2 (1919) 2257; Antolín on [Tib.] 3.3.14. The reading *rari lapidis* in some younger MSS seems intended to avoid the resolution in the fourth syllable; this resolution, unknown to Catullus and Horace, also occurs below 1051, *Med.* 636 *sumere innumeras solitum figuras*, *Phae.* 286 *quaeque ad Hesperias iacet ora metas*, 288 *si qua Parrhasiae glacialis ursae*, *Ag.* 817 *tardius celeres agitare currus*, 832 *sensit Arcadii populator agri.*

Carystos: a very ancient town on the south coast of Euboea, famous for its marble, now Karysto or Castel Rosso (LS). It is styled *saxosa* (Luc. 5.232, Stat. *Theb.* 7.370), *undosa* (*Silu.* 1.5.34), *gaudens fluctus spectare* (or: *superare*) (*Silu.* 2.2.93). The Latin form *Carystus* is used by Livy, e.g. 32.16.8, 32.17.1.

837 premens litus: 'near the sea', e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.640 of Aetolian Chalcis. In Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.1-4, the phrase is used figuratively: *rectius uiues, Licini, neque altum / semper urguendo neque ... / ... nimium premendo / litus iniquum*. Metrically incorrect *lătus* (E) has found a rare defender in Bishop (1985) 280, n. 12: "*Litus* is beach, not sea. Chalcis is a promontory thrust out into the side (*latus*) of the Euripus so that the Euripus is there only 40 yards across, with a rocky pier in the middle which divides the sea into two channels, the one toward Boeotia being c. 35 feet wide, even pinched by that promontory. See any atlas."

838 Euripo: the narrow channel between Boeotia and Euboea, noted for its turmoil. The shift of tides, seven times each day, was thought to be the cause of it; cf. *H.F.* 377-8 (in a list of *adynata*) *priusque multo uicibus alternis fugax / Euripus unda stabit Euboica piger*, *H.O.* 779-80 *Euripus undas flectit instabilis uagas / septemque cursus uoluit et totidem refert*, Aesch. *Ag.* 191 'in the area of Aulis, roaring with ebb and flood'. Liv. 28.6.10 gives a more rational account: *et uenti ab utriusque terrae praealtis montibus subiti ac procellosi se deiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi non septiens die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statis reciprocat, sed temere in modum uenti nunc huc nunc illuc uerso mari uelut monte praecipiti deuolutus torrens rapitur.*

Chalcis: the chief city of Euboea, in Homer's Catalogue mentioned (2.537) shortly before Carystos.

839 Calydnae: a group of islands in the Aegean (*Il.* 2.677), near Kos according to Strab. 10.5.19.

840 Gonoessa: a town near Sikyon, *Il.* 2.573 'steep Gonoessa'.

841 formidat: 'to fear, dread', in Sen. trag. only here, 9x in his prose. For the trans. use, cf. e.g. Pl. *Per.* 364 *ego nunc quod non futurumst formido tamen*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.275 *formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.4.31. Arweiler p. 167 notes its conspicuous frequency in Statius (15x) and Alcimus Avitus (8x).

Borean: the usual form, e.g. *H.O.* 113, Verg. *Geo.* 3.278, Ov. *Met.* 15.471 [N-W I 88; Housman, *JP* (1910) 255 f.]; *Boream* is found e.g. Ov. *Met.* 13.727.

Enispe: a town in Arcadia, *Il.* 2.606 'windy Enispe'.

842 Attica: because Peparethos is at quite a distance from the coast of Attica, conjectures have been made like *arctica* (Delrius) and *ardua* (Bentley).

pendens: as a rule interpreted as indicating the (close) connection with the mainland, for instance 'lying close to' (Miller), 'off' (Watling, Ahl, Boyle). Thomann ('sich lehnend an') and Caviglia ('sospesa') do not add an explanatory note to their literal translation. Fantham suggests that the words *Attica pendens ora* ('hanging from the Attic shore') may be a reminiscence of 'Peparethos near the sea' in *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 32. But would not this be a strange metaphor? Firstly, the coast was properly considered as lying lower than the sea, and secondly there is no string at all.

Hillen p. 98, 106, under the heading 'Material-, Qualitätsangaben und Teilaspekte des Subjekts im abl. instr.' dealing with this passage (together with *H.F.* 1119 ff., 662-3, *Tro.* 370, *Ag.* 40-1), lists it under *OLD* 6b "of overhanging rocks, etc.; also of other natural formations"; he translates (p. 204): 'P. mit seiner überhängenden Steilküste'. In view of the amphitheatrical uphill situation of nowadays Skopelos (the main town of the synonymous island, see next note), I prefer to take *Attica ... ora* as an abl. separativus: 'P. hanging from (fixed to the slope of) the (uprising) coast'.

Peparethos: a small island near the Thessalian coast, now called Skopelos; like Scyros (339) and Scyathos it belongs to the (Boreioi) Sporades. It is absent from Homer, but at Soph. *Phil.* 548-9 the alleged merchant who on his return from Troy pays a visit to Philoctetes on Lemnos mentions it as his home-town. The scholion on that line, however, states that it is not only one of the Cyclades but also a deme in Attica. Seneca probably confused them: "videtur Senecae inexcusabilis error", Gronovius already noted. Cf. Calder (1970) 82: "Without Homer Seneca was liable to error". In Latin literature, the island is mentioned by Livy, e.g. 31.28.6 *Sciathum et Peparethum, haud ignobiles urbes*, and by Ovid, *Met.* 7.470 *nitidae ... ferax Peparethos oliuae*, in combination with islands of the Cyclades.

843 sacris ... tacitis: 'secret rites, mysteries' (*OLD* s.v. *sacrum* 3c), cf. *H.F.* 300-2 *tibi, frugum potens, / secreta reddam sacra; tibi muta fide / longas Eleusin tacita iactabit faces*, *Phae.* 107 *iactare tacitis conscias sacris faces*, *Med.* 6-7 *tacitisque praebens conscium sacris iubar / Hecate triformis*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.26-7 *Cereris sacrum / ... arcanae* [on the secrecy of the mysteries, see e.g. N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford 1974, 304-310].

gaudens: for the transferred use of the verb (see also on 1014 below), cf. e.g. Catul. 64.46 *tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza*, Ov. *Met.* 8.126-7 *gaudete malis, modo prodita, nostris / moenia*.

Eleusin: Eleusis, an ancient city of Attica (*H.O.* 599 *Attica ... Eleusin*), famous for its mysteries in honour of Demeter and Persephone, hence *H.F.* 302 *Eleusin tacita*, Ov. *Ep.* 4.67 *Cerealis Eleusin*. Seneca uses the nom. *Eleusin* both in his tragedies (a third time *Phae.* 838 *iam quarta Eleusin dona Triptolemi secat*), and in his prose (*Nat.* 7.30.6 *non semel quaedam sacra traduntur: Eleusin seruat quod ostendat reuisentibus*). For the *-in* ending, see on 818 *Trachin*.

844 Aiacis ... †ueri: Aiax, the son of Telamon, king of Salamis (Hom. *Il.* 2.557). During the absence of Achilles, he was the most brave of the Greek heroes (*Il.* 2.768). He has to be distinguished from Aiax, the son of Oileus, king of the Locri (*Il.* 2.527 ff.); therefore, the name of the respective fathers is often added, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 2.4.5 *Aiacem Telamone natum*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.41 *Aiacis Oilei*. Here *ueri* may have been used to mark his supremacy over the lesser Aiax, but such an appliance of the adjective would be most unusual, I think. Another possibility, preferred by Boyle, is that the epithet contrasts him with his brother Teucer, who founded a second Salamis on Cyprus (see on *ueri*). But why would Seneca without any metrical need exchange *ueram* for *ueri*?

Salamina: Salamis is an island in the Saronic gulf, a few miles west of Athens; in 480 B.C. the Greeks here defeated the Persians in a naval battle.

The sudden shift from nom. to acc. made Scaliger suggest the loss of two lines before 844, like:

quoue iactatae pelago feremur
exules? ad quae loca, quas ad urbes?

Axelson suggested that before or after 844 one line had fallen out. In his view, the line also began with *numquid* and contained one or two names of places and a verbal form like *cernam* or *pergam* [Zwierlein (1986) 103].

I rather take the acc. of direction - with a possible omission of the verb - as a variation like the use of apostrophe in enumerations (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 7.733), and the shift at Hom. *Il.* 3.146-8: after 'the men around Priam and so and so' (six accusatives in a row) suddenly two nominatives.

†ueri: this unanimous reading of the MSS, also obelized by Leo and Zwierlein, has been a target for various suggestions:

a) *ueram*, proposed by Scaliger, comparing Luc. 3.183 *tresque petunt ueram credi Salamina carinae*; he was followed by some older editors (Richter, Miller), but also by Viansino. Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.21 ff. relates Teucer's fleeing from Salamis, where his father Telamon had refused to receive him because he did not bring his brother back from Troy. Setting off for an unknown destination, he comforted his comrades with Apollo's promise, *ambiguam tellure noua Salamina futuram* (1.7.29; cf. *Carm.* 1.15.23-4 *Salaminius / Teucer*). The thought of such an allusion is strengthened by the resemblance of 851-2 *quolibet ... terrae* to Horace's line 25 *quo nos cunque feret melior fortuna parente.*

b) *diri* or *duri*, conjectured by Axelson, referring to below 855 *saeui Pelopis Mycenae*, and the clerical errors at *Phoen.* 297 and *H.O.* 1791.

c) a verb to account for the accusatives. Madvig (1873) 120-1: "Id *pergam* an *uisam* fuerit an aliud, non definio; nam aptissimum quod erat (*uehar*), versus excludit. Potest etiam perfectum positum fuisse verbi, quod significaret *sortita sum;* sed non reperio, quod litteris simile sit. (*Cepi*?)" His first suggestion, which gets support from *H.O.* 1030 (*pergam* A: *uerum* E), was taken over by Busche, Giardina and Fantham; *uisam*, proposed before by Jortin/Burmann, is found in Thomann's text. I think these corrections not very likely, both because of the singular (contrast 814 *captas*, 851 *miseras*) and the active form. Other proposals: *cernam* Grotius, *ducar* Habrucker, *habebo* Leo, *uertar* ("sensu nimirum passiuo") Brakman, *agere* Summa; *cepi* (= *sortita sum*) was revived by Wertis.

845 fera ... saeua: the wild boar, sent by Diana (see on 827).

fera notam: for the ablative expressing the source of fame, see on 224. With Meleager, many Greek heroes took part in hunting the beast, for instance Castor and Pollux, Jason, Theseus, Telamon, and Peleus; for a list of participants and a report of the hunt, see Ov. *Met.* 8.260-546.

Calydona: Calydon, a city of Aetolia, mentioned at Hom. *Il.* 2.640 after Pleuron (see above 827), Olenos (826), Pylene and Chalkis.

846 perfundit: '(of a river) to flow through; (of the sea, floods, etc.) to flow over, wash' (*OLD* 3), cf. *Thy.* 476-7 *aetherias prius / perfundet Arctos pontus*, *Nat.* 3.pr.5 *inundatio qua planum omne perfusum est.*

subiturus aequor: 'destined to flow beneath the sea' (on its return to the underworld). Westman p. 151 deals with this instance under the heading 'Bestimmtheit durch den regelmässigen Gang der Naturerscheinungen'; cf. e.g. *Nat.* 4a.2.19 *duraturas per totam aestatem niues.*

847 segnibus: 'slow-moving, sluggish', of water (*OLD* 4a), cf. *H.F.* 762-3 *ferale tardis imminet saxum uadis, / stupente ubi unda segne torpescit fretum*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.507 *segnesque lacus et stagna subibo* (both scenes in the underworld). Here the adj. may be an allusion to Homer's 'like oil' (*Il.* 2.754); in this respect, Westman refers to Lucr. 2.392 *tardum oliuum.*

Titaressos: a river of Thessaly, discharging itself into the Peneus without mingling with it, but floating on it like olive-oil. It was considered a branch of the Styx; see Hom. *Il.* 2.751 (Bentley's conjecture), Luc. 6.376-8 *defendit Titaressos aquas lapsusque superne / gurgite Penei pro siccis utitur aruis. / hunc fama est Stygiis manare paludibus amnem.*

848 Bessan et Scarphen: towns in Locris (central Greece), named together at Hom. *Il.* 2.532.

Pylon: Pylos in Messenia was the home of Nestor (Hom. *Il.* 2.77).

senilem: at *H.F.* 561 *Nestoream Pylon*; for the transferred use of the adj. from a person to his country, cf. below 857 *dolosis*. The E reading *Selinen* was upheld by Bishop (1985) 280, n. 12: "*Senilem* is without meaning for drama or code. But *Seline* as a heteroclite of Laconian Selinus fits in the pattern of places: Locris (Bessa), Locris (Scarphe), Elis (Pylos), Laconia (Seline), Laconia (Pharis), Elis (Pisae), Elis (Elis), only the last two with modifiers. For Selinus, see Paus. 3.22.8."

849 Pharin: Pharis was a town in Laconia to the south of Sparta, cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.582 'Pharis and Sparte'.

Pisas: Pisa(e), a district in Elis around Olympia; the plural form is also found at Mela 2.42. It usually occurs in the context of the Olympic games: cf. *Thy.* 123 *Pisaeasque domos curribus inclitas*, *Ag.* 938 *palma Pisaei Iouis*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.180-1 *Alphea rotis praelabi flumine Pisae / et Iouis in luco currus agitare uolantis*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.95 *Pisaea uinctus oliua*, Juv. 13.99 *Pisaeae ramus oliuae*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.421 *Pisaeo ... Tonanti.*

Iouis: Miller, Thomann, Watling, Ahl, Boyle, François-Garelli combine the word with *Pisas*, Fantham and Caviglia with *coronis*. The rhythm of the preceding line (and the caesura in general) makes me side with the latter view.

coronis: a wreath of wild olive was the special prize at the Olympic games in honour of Jupiter (Zeus).

850 Elida: a state in the north-west of the Peloponnese, mentioned in Homer's Catalogue 2.615.

claram: see on 479.

851 quolibet: 'to any place or in any direction whatever', only here in Sen. trag.; cf. Lucr. 4.904 (*nauem*) *gubernaclum contorquet quolibet unum*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.8.22 *ex his me iubeat quolibet ire locis*, *Pont.* 3.5.48 *gratus quod menti quolibet ire licet*, Sen. *Ep.* 87.17 (*uirtus*) *nihil ex istis quolibet incurrentibus bonum iudicat.*

tristis: '(of natural forces, etc.) harsh, grim, savage' (*OLD* s.v. 7); cf. *Dial.* 1.4.14 *perpetua illos hiemps, triste caelum premit*, Mart. 9.40.6 *dispersa rate tristibus procellis*, Ov. *Ep.* 17.143 *per freta tristia*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.787 (of Chimaera) *tristibus effera flammis.*

852 cuicumque: dissyllabic *cui* is found four times in Martial (1.104.22, 8.52.3, 11.72.2, 12.49.3), always in the second foot of the hendecasyllabic line, and twice in Juvenal (3.49, 7.211), in the thesis of the penultimate foot (see also Tarrant's note on *Ag.* 146 *cui ultima est fortuna, quid dubiam timet?*).

853 luem: 'pest, plague', cf. below 892, *Med.* 183-4 (Creo of Medea) *abolere propere pessimam ferro luem / equidem parabam*, *H.F.* 358-9 (Megara of Lycus) *quidnam iste, nostri generis exitium ac lues, / noui parat?*, *Phoen.* 131 (of the Sphinx) *saeua Thebarum lues*, *Oed.* 107-8 (likewise). This use occurs for the first time at Cic. *Har.* 24 of Clodius [*ThLL* VII 2.1797.21 ff.]; for an instance in Neo-Latin tragedy, see Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 1979 (Adam) *scelerate Sathan, gentis humanae lues*.

Troiae: for the scansion, see on 824.

Troiae atque Achiuis: cf. below 893 *utriusque populi*, 896 *Asiae ... Europae*, *Ag.* 274 *quae Europam et Asiam paribus afflixit malis*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.573 *Troiae et patriae communis Erinys*.

854 Sparte: Sen. trag. uses the Greek form again *Phoen.* 128 *Sparten*, *Thy.* 627 *Sparte* (at *Ag.* 281 only E has *Spartamne*); similarly *Oct.* 773 *Sparte* [on the orthography see Tarrant, *Agamemnon*, p. 365 (Appendix 1)]. It occurs frequently in Ovid (e.g. *Met.* 6.414, 10.170); Vergil uses only the form *Spartam* (*Aen.* 2.577, 10.92). In Homer's Catalogue, Sparta is mentioned with Pharis (see on 849).

absit, absit: adjacent gemination of verbal forms is rather common: cf. e.g. *H.F.* 523 *est, est sonitus Herculei gradus*, *Phoen.* 12 *ibo, ibo*, 40 *sequor, sequor*, *Thy.* 828 *trepidant, trepidant pectora* (Wills p. 103).

855 Argos ... Mycenae: see on 245. For the trias with Sparta, cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.52, Ov. *Met.* 6.414 *Argosque et Sparte Pelopeiadesque Mycenae*.

saeui Pelopis: the adj. probably refers to the fact that Pelops, the son of Tantalus and father of Atreus and Thyestes, was responsible for the death of both his father-in-law Oenomaus of Pisa and Oenomaus' charioteer Myrtilus; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.590-1 *saeuo puluere sordens / Oenomaus*, Ov. *Ep.* 16.209 (*Pelops*) *soceri de caede cruentus*. Bentley's *saeuae Pelopis Mycenae*, perhaps inspired by Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.8 *saeuam Pelopis domum*, seems less likely since Sen. trag. nowhere else applies such an epithet to either *Mycenae* or *Argos*.

856 Neritos: originally a mountain on Ithaca: Hom. *Od.* 9.21-2, *Il.* 2.632, Plin. *Nat.* 4.55 *Ithaca ... in qua mons Neritus*. Vergil thought of it as an island, *Aen.* 3.271 *Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis*, and in this was followed not only by Seneca but also by Pomponius Mela (2.110) and by Silius (15.305).

parua: with *Zacyntho*.

breuior: 'smaller' (*OLD* 1e: w. ref. to area).

Zacyntho: also an island under the sway of Ulixes, cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.634, *Od.* 1.246, and esp. 9.22-3, Verg. *Aen.* 3.270. Nowadays it is called Zante.

857 saxis: Ithaca was known for its rocky nature: cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.27 'rugged' 1.247 'rocky', Cic. *de Orat.* 1.196 *Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis tamquam nidulum adfixam*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.272 *scopulos Ithacae*, Sen. *Ep.* 66.26 *Vlixes ad Ithacae suae saxa sic properat, quemadmodum Agamemnon ad Mycenarum nobiles muros: nemo enim patriam quia magna est amat, sed quia sua est.*

dolosis: the epithet, like *nocens* and 848 *senilem* first of all referring to its master, may also allude to hidden rocks near the shore, of course.

With these lines 851-7, Seneca rounds off with a climax which at the same time forms a smooth transition to the next scene: Sparta of Helen, and the realm of Ulysses, Hecuba's new master, get two lines each.

Ithace: the Greek form is also found e.g. in Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.41, Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.67; at *Thy.* 587, Seneca uses the Latin abl. form.

858 manet: see on 621.

dominus ... quis: tragic irony.

te: the Chorus addresses Hecuba, probably now entering with Andromacha and Polyxena. Ahl, however, thinks them already present from 814 on.

859 quibus terris: either dat. auct. with *uidendam* or abl. loci with *ducet* (for the abl. without *in*, see below on 887 *solio*).

Hecabe: in view of the many Greek forms of places throughout this ode, Bothe's proposal *Hecabe,* based on *Ag.* 648 and later supported by Housman, *JPh* 31 (1910) 261, seems rightly accepted by Fantham, Zwierlein, Boyle and Chaumartin. A's hybrid form *Hecube,* also occurring at Ov. *Met.* 13.423, 549 (nominative), and 556 (vocative), can be found in Gronovius' text. E's *Hecuba* (note *Hecubā*) was preferred by several other editors.

uidendam: see on 155 *pompa.* For the use of the gerundive with a form of *ducere,* Risch p. 48 compares Cic. *Tusc.* 1.116 *Iphigenia Aulide duci se immolandam iubet.*

ACT IV (861-1055)

The offering of Polyxena, demanded by Achilles' ghost (195-6) and confirmed by Calchas in the second act, is now taken up. As the implementation of Calchas' first claim (361-5), this act forms a counterpart to the third act. Seneca has made this parallelism explicit in his wording of the final scenes: as Astyanax was dragged off at the end (813), so will Pyrrhus drag off Polyxena (1003).

At the same time, Seneca mirrors the situation: whereas in the third act Andromache did her utmost to mislead Ulysses, now it is the victors who try to deceive the opponent. By the delusion of a fake marriage to Pyrrhus, Polyxena has to be lured to Achilles' tomb, and it is Helen who has been charged with this commission. She will be thwarted by Andromache: just before unmasked in her own effort of tricking Ulysses, she now is the one to expose the deceit.

On the other hand, there is also a parallel with the second act. Just as Pyrrhus, claiming Polyxena on behalf of his father, got into a debate with Agamemnonon, Helen will have an *altercatio* with Andromache. It does not turn into the agitated stichomythic climax of the two men, though, nor does it deal with such general ethical issues; it is only Andromache who utters insults (892-3) and accusations (896), against which Helen defends herself.

But the act is not just a dispute between the two of them: Hecuba is back on the stage too. At the beginning of the play, we had witnessed her as (former) queen of Troy and widow of Priam; now, in a striking parallel with Andromache, she is there as a mother, soon to be bereft of her only remaining child. Moreover, there are silent parts for Polyxena (continually present) and Pyrrhus (just a flashing entrance and exit at the end) (as Leo already observed, these silent parts are not indicated here in the manuscripts, whereas E has such a clue at *Thy.* 404 *Plisthenes tacitus*, *Ag.* 910 *Orestes tacitus*). Therefore, the act shows a greater variety of characters than the preceding ones, which consisted of mere monologues and dialogues; especially noteworthy are the totally different reactions of Polyxena (945 *uide ut ingens laetus audierit necem*) and Hecuba (949-50 *at misera luctu mater audito stupet; / labefacta mens succubuit*) when Helen has revealed Polyxena's real fate. Comparable acts in this respect are *H.F.* IV (895-1053) with Hercules, Amphitryon, Megara and a silent Theseus, and *Ag.* V (867-1012) with Cassandra, Electra, Strophius, Clytemestra and Aegisthus; but, as Anliker notes, "eine so eigentümliche Zusammenstellung wie in unserem Akte, wo den drei Troerinnen Hekuba, Andromache und Polyxena, die selben unter sich verschieden sind, einerseits Helena, anderseits Pyrrhus gegenübertritt, ist sonst kaum zu finden." (p. 87)

Another theme of the play, the raffling of the captive women (57-8), returns in the second part of the act (974), thus encircling the related Polyxena-action, which in its turn surrounds the Astyanax scene (the *nucleus* of the play).

In his handling of this part of the Polyxena-theme, Seneca differs greatly from Euripides. In the latter's *Hecuba*, the queen dreams of Achilles' apparition and his claim on Polyxena (40). The chorus informs her that the Greeks have decided to comply with Achilles' demands (107-9), and that Odysseus will come soon to take her away (141). Hecuba bears the bad news to her daughter (188-90), and Odysseus addresses Hecuba with his message (218); later on (342) Polyxena also takes part in the dialogue, before leaving with Odysseus (437).

In his *Troades*, Euripides merely mentions her death at 260-70, 622-3. Other elements of this act, however, like Helen's self-defence (903-24) and the result of the raffling, are more fully developed in that play. At 235, Talthybius enters the stage to inform the Trojan women to whom they have been allotted; at 914-65, Helen attempts to justify her conduct in front of Menelaus and Hecuba.

The testimonia and fragments of Sophocles' *Polyxena* are too scanty to enable a good comparison; see Fantham (1982) 57-60, discussing Calder, 'A Reconstruction of Sophocles' *Polyxena*', *GRBS* 7 (1966) 31-56. Of their sources in the epic cycle, the *Iliou Persis* in Proclus' synopsis merely states that 'they then, having set fire to the city, sacrifice Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles', without telling why.

In Latin literature, she is found in Vergil's *Aeneid* only once (see the quotation on 969). In Ovid, *Met.* 13.439 ff., there are two lines bridging Achilles' demand and the actual offering, 449-50: *dixit et inmiti sociis parentibus umbrae / rapta sinu matris, quam iam prope sola fouebat.*

Friedrich notes the discrepancy between Talthybius' report and the apparent ignorance of the three Trojan women here; his criticism was repeated by Zwierlein. Logic requires that the news has reached them somehow. In my view, the harshness of the criticism is taken away when one thinks Talthybius' words addressed to a Greek chorus. Several times (432, 435, 806), Andromache has proven to be acquainted with his apparition; the fact that she only describes how Polyxena and her mother are impressed, seems to affirm her awareness on this matter. Steidle's view, taken over by Boyle, that she had heard of Achilles' appearance but not of his demand seems less likely to me. In my opinion, all three women must have heard of his claim, but offstage; their hopes that the Greek leaders would shrink back from such a deed (cf. Agamemnon's words 285-90) up to now have superseded their fears.

[L. Herrmann (1924) 38 f.; W.H. Friedrich (1933) 109; W. Steidle (1941) 282; K. Anliker (1960) 87-90; O. Zwierlein (1966) 89 f.; W. Steidle (1968) 56-62; W. Schetter (1972) 260 ff.; E. Fantham (1982) 332-338]

861-887 *Helen appears on the stage to lead Polyxena away, on the pretense that she will marry Pyrrhus.*

Probably escorted by one or two female attendants, carrying the festive clothes for Polyxena and equipment for dressing her hair, Helen enters; before addressing the princess (871), she mentions her own name (863) and her reason for coming (864-7) in an aside.

As already indicated in the Introduction, Seneca's choice of Helen as a messenger to Polyxena most likely partly results from his aiming at contrasts: her lack of heroism versus the mental strength of Polyxena and Andromache. Moreover, as the unchaste woman who by an unlawful *hymen* has been fatal to Troy, she is of the innocent princess the "polar opposite" (Fantham, for the antithesis referring to Eur. *Hec.* 264-6). In addition, there is the contrast between her and Andromache as the respective widdows of the brothers Paris and Hector.

The entrance monologue and the aside, two conventions of Senecan drama, are dealt with by R.J. Tarrant, 'Senecan Drama and Its Antecedents', *HSCP* 82 (1978) 231-245. He notes this passage, with *H.F.* 329 ff. (also discussed by Zwierlein [1966] 67 ff.), *Med.* 177 ff., 431 ff., *Thy.* 491 ff., as one in which references to the other characters on stage in the third person show the isolation of the speaker from his surroundings (231 f.). In Euripides, a precedent for the isolation and suspension of time observed in Senecan entrance monologues is hard to find, but the entrance of Polynices in *Phoen.* 261-77 "marks an important step in the direction of Senecan technique" (235 f.). As for Senecan monologues, Tarrant observes a closer connexion with comedians like Menander and Plautus than with the Greek tragedians.

861 quicumque: the act begins with the same generalizing word as the prologue; like there (4 *me uideat*), the opening sentence is rounded off by calling attention to the speaker (863). This line is quoted in a small treatise *De ultimis syllabis*, ascribed to Probus, but probably written by a namesake in the fourth century (from Numidia?) [see W. Trillitzsch, *Seneca im literarischen Urteil der Antike*, Amsterdam 1971, 198 f., 387].

hymen: 'marriage', also below 895; likewise *hymenaeus*, in Sen. trag. only occurring at *Phoen.* 262. Gaheis p. 46 offers the following statistics on the use of metonymy in this respect:

	fax	*taeda*	*hymenaeus*	*hymen*
Vergil	-	3	13	-
Ovid	2	16	-	-
Seneca	7	4	1	2

hymen funestus: this effective juxtapostition at the very beginning stresses the 'marriage-death' theme, so vital for the following scene and in many other tragedies. Most famous is Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*,

where Agamemnon summons Clytemestra and Iphigenia to Aulis under the pretext of the latter's marriage to Achilles [on this theme, see Rush Rehm, *Marriage to Death, The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*, Princeton 1994].

inlaetabilis: only here in Seneca. The adj. occurs for the first time in Vergil, *Aen.* 3.707 *inlaetabilis ora*, 12.619 *inlaetabile murmur*; it is also found Stat. *Theb.* 3.706 *graue et inlaetabile munus*, 5.633 *onus inlaetabile.*

Comparable impressive line-endings with a five-syllabic adjective are *Ag.* 660 *lamentabili*, *Thy.* 23 *detestabilis*, *Phoen.* 223 *exsecrabilis*, *Phae.* 229, 271 *intractabilem*, 580 *intractabilis*, *Oed.* 395 *implacabile*; with six-syllabic adjectives, *Phoen.* 133 *inextricabile*, 165 *inexpugnabilem.*

862 lamenta ... gemitus: for the asyndeton and the use of *gemitus* at the end, cf. 615 *maeret, illacrimat, gemit.*

For the wordorder, *gemitus* taking up *lamenta* after two words for bloodshed, B. Axelson, *Korruptelenkult*, Lund 1967, 56 compares *Ag.* 806-7 *pecore uotiuo libens / Arabumque donis supplice et fibra colam*, and *Phae.* 207-8 *non placent suetae dapes, / non texta sani moris aut uilis cibus.* "In questo raffinato chiasmo logico ... si mostra subito l'artificiosità del dire di Elena", Amoroso *ad loc.*

863 auspice: 'the person who witnessed the marriage contract, the reception of the marriage portion, took care that the marriage ceremonies were rightly performed, etc.' (LS s.v. 2); cf. e.g. Cic. *Diu.* 1.28 *nihil fere quondam maioris rei nisi auspicato ne priuatim quidem gerebatur, quod etiam nunc nuptiarum auspices declarant, qui re omissa nomen tantum tenent*, Pl. *Cas.* 86 *ultro ibit nuptum, non manebit auspices*, Luc. 2.370-1 *pignora nulla domus, nulli coiere propinqui: / iunguntur taciti contentique auspice Bruto*, Tac. *Ann.* 11.27 *illam audisse auspicum uerba*, 15.37, Juv. 10.336 *ueniet cum signatoribus auspex.* As Fantham notes on the Lucan passage, the *auspex* normally was a close friend or kinsman of the groom. Sen. trag. uses the word once more in an invocation to Hymen, *Med.* 67-8 *et tu, qui facibus legitimis ades, / noctem discutiens auspice dextera.*

Helena dignus: see on 308. For the ironic use of *dignus*, directed against the speaker him/herself, cf. *H.F.* 111-2 (Iuno) *quicquam ... / dignum nouerca*, *Phoen.* 333 (Oedipus) *exhortor, aliquid ut patre hoc dignum gerant*, *Oed.* 879 (idem) *aliquid aude sceleribus dignum tuis*, 977 (idem) *inuenta thalamis digna nox tandem meis*, *Phae.* 853 (Theseus) *hospitia digna prorsus inferno hospite*, *Ag.* 34 (Thyestes' ghost) *me patre dignum*; directed against someone else, *Thy.* 55-6 *dignus aduentu tuo / splendescat ignis*, in a combination, *Thy.* 271 *dignum est Thyeste facinus et dignum Atreo.* Tarrant (1976) 175 thinks this self-consciousness "perhaps a deliberate reversal of the ancient concern with acting rightly for the sake of one's *dignitas*"; he refers to e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 51.6 *magis quid se dignum foret quam quid in illos iure fieri posset quaerebant*, 55.6 *ita ille patricius ... dignum moribus factisque suis exitium uitae inuenit*, *Iug.* 31.18 *quod magis uos fecisse quam illis accidisse indignum est.*

euersis quoque: for the line-ending, see on 24 *afflictam quoque*; for the use of *euertere*, see on 6 *euersum*. Harmful as Helen was for the outbreak of the war, she is no less so at the end of it. For Seneca's liking to combine events of the present and the past, see e.g. on 164 *semper.*

864 nocere cogor: at the end of her soliloquy (871 *coacti*), she will repeat the fact that this task is forced upon her; cf. Ulysses' opening lines (524 ff.).

Note the careful structuring of Helen's lines: the parallel placing of the infinitives *nocere* and *narrare* at the beginning, the chiastic framing *ego ... Paridis soror*, the anaphora of *ego* in the fourth foot, the framework *narrare* - *dare*, the anadiplosis *mea / meaque*, the parallel placing of *falsos* and *fraude*, and the circle *iubeor* (865) - *iussa* (870) within *cogor* - *coacti.*

toros: 'a conjugal or other sexual union or relationship' (*OLD* s.v. 5b); cf. *H.F.* 349 *meos ... toros*, 413 *sociemus toros*, *Med.* 1003 (*per*) *torosque, quos non nostra uiolauit fides.* It is an Ovidian usage: *Met.* 7.91 *promisit ... torum*, *Fast.* 2.479 *semel iuncti rumpere uincla tori*, *Tr.* 2.346 *uetitos sollicitare toros.*

865 falsos: Helen immediately clarifies her sinister opening lines to the audience; again 867 *fraude*, 868 *fallatur* [on the use of *fallere* and its adj. verb. (orig. part. perf.) *falsus* in the context of a *dolus*, see ter Beek, pp. 57 ff.].

cultus ... Graios: in line with Calchas' order at 362-3.

866 habitus: see on 466. In my view, the word here most of all refers to her hair (and thus is not "superfluous", as Fantham notes): *cultus* will be worked out in 883 *depone cultus squalidos, festos cape*, and *habitus* in 884b-5 *deprime horrentis comas / crinemque docta patere distingui manu*; cf. also 946 *cultus decoros regiae uestis*, and 947 *admoueri crinibus patitur manum.* This aspect is not found in the various translations of *cultus habitusque*: 'dress, costume' (Kingery), 'fasto e abbigliamenti' (d'Alfonso), 'to dress' (Miller), 'Schmuck und Aufmachung' (Thomann), 'dressed and decorated' (Watling), 'ornament and clothing' (Fantham), 'vesti ed ornamenti' (Caviglia), 'clothes and jewelry' (Ahl), 'jewellery and dress' (Boyle).

arte: 'a crafty action, trick, wile, stratagem; craftiness, guile' (*OLD* s.v. 3); for other notions of the word see above 354, 583. For the combination with *capi*, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.294 *atque ita qua possint erudit arte capi.*

capietur: 'to take in, delude' (*OLD* s.v. 20a; cf. Dutch 'beetnemen'); comparable occurrences of the verb: *Thy.* 286 *quibus captus dolis*, 288-9 *non poterat capi, / nisi capere uellet*, Ov. *Ep.* 2.74 *hic est cuius amans hospita capta dolo est* [ter Beek, pp. 198 ff.].

mea / meaque: for the anadiplosis, involving a chiasmus, combined with the alliteration (*capietur ... concidet*), cf. e.g. *Phoen.* 23-4 *scelus fugiens nouum / nouumque faciens, dexteras matri date, / date dum piae sunt.*

867 fraude: for the use of the noun, as a synonym of *dolus*, see on 482 *fraudi*.

concidet: the verb will be repeated below 1167 *concidit uirgo ac puer*; for *fraude concidet*, cf. *Ag.* 631-2 *ut ipsi / fraude sua caderent Pelasgi.*

Paridis soror: the periphrasis for Polyxena underlines Helen's dilemma.

868 equidem: the particle contributes to make Helen's words sound like Agamemnon's (276, 310, 349); no other character in *Tro.* uses it.

reor: with Laelius' *effari* (see on 167 *effare*), *proles* and *suboles*, Cic. *de Orat.* 3.153 cites Catulus' *non rebar.* Lebek p. 31, referring to A. Yon, *Ratio et les mots de la famille de reor*, Paris 1933, 23 ff., notes the decreasing use of the verb in spoken Latin from Plautus' time up to Cicero; in poetry, however, it held ground: Lucretius, for example, uses it 19x (always present tense) [see also W. Kroll, *Glotta* 24 (1936), 105; H. Heusch, *Das Archaische in der Sprache Catulls*, Bonn 1954, 79 f.]. Sen. trag. uses *reor* another 10x, always at the end of the trimeter (with *equidem* also at *H.F.* 348, *Phae.* 525, 1119); other forms: *rere* (2x), *retur* (1x), *rentur* (below 1127), *rebor* (1x), *rear* (2x), and forms of *ratus* (5x).

869 For the form of the line, including the same *m* alliteration, cf. *Ag.* 202 *mors misera non est commori cum quo uelis*, *H.O.* 111 *numquam est ille miser cui facile est mori.* For the polyptoton *mors* ... *mortis*, cf. *H.F.* 706 *ipsaque morte peior est mortis locus.* Bonner p. 165 cites this line as in anstance of *sententiae* that are "markedly rhetorical in form, deriving their effect from anaphora, antithesis, or paradox"; cf. *Med.* 163 *qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil*, *Phae.* 215 *quod non potest uult posse qui nimium potest.* At *Ep.* 101.10, fear of death is styled *miserrimus ac miserrima omnia efficiens*; cf. also *Ben.* 3.31.1 *quanto leuius mori ante mortis metum.* So a sudden death (Farnabius: "*optanda*: repentina et subita mors, *quae et Iulio Caesari optata contigit*") is desirable.

870 quid ... cessas: self-exhortations are a common feature in Senecan drama: cf. *H.F.* 1283 *ignaue, cessas*, *Phoen.* 91-2 *dextra quid cessas iners / exigere poenas?*, *Med.* 895 *quid, anime, cessas?* As Tarrant notes on *Ag.* 198 *quid, misera, cessas?*, the motif is already found in Euripides (e.g. *Med.* 1242-3) and in Republican drama (Enn. 193-4 J), and may have descended to Seneca through Ovid. For the use of the inf. with *cessare* (H-Sz 347), cf. *Phoen.* 91-2, *Ag.* 986-7, *Oct.* 73.

iussa: with Kingery, comparing *Med.* 669 *parcite iusso* (the chorus' final prayer for Jason, pleading that he was only obeying orders), I feel that it can best be looked at as a nom. sing. As a rule, it is taken as an acc. plur.; more usual, though, is *iussa facere* (Verg. *Aen.* 1.302, Ov. *Met.* 2.798, 3.154), *efficere* (Sal. *Jug.* 24.1), *exsequi* (Verg. *Aen.* 4.396), or *peragere* (Ov. *Met.* 2.119).

auctorem: the E reading seems to deserve preference over A's *auctores* ("duces Graecos", Farnabius) in view of *H.F.* 735-6 *auctorem scelus / repetit*, *Oed.* 706 *metus in auctorem redit*, *Thy.* 311 *saepe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua.* A comparable wording (but with the

plural form) is found regarding *mala exempla*: *Ep.* 7.5 *mala exempla in eos redundare qui faciunt*, 81.19 *sicut mala exempla recidunt in auctores.* The phrase recalls Agamemnon's *in me culpa cunctorum redit* (290). For a later occurrence of the theme, see Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 404 (Pilatus) *redit ad auctorem malum.*

871 Dardaniae ... / ... uirgo: beginning with a solemn periphrasis, Helen now turns to Polyxena, who will not utter a word throughout the act. Schetter p. 262, n. 40, with a reference to J. Kaffenberger, *Das Dreischauspielergesetz in der griechischen Tragödie*, Diss. Gießen 1911, compares this passage to Eur. *Or.* 1591-2, where Orestes for Pylades answers Menelaos' question. He concludes that auditors or spectators in antiquity would not have wondered at this distribution of roles in *Troades*. At *Ag.* 782-807, there is a comparable situtation with Clytemestra. For more comments on Polyxena's silence, see the Introduction.

Dardaniae domus: see on 27. The same line-ending is found at *Ag.* 223; cf. also *Ag.* 863 *Dardanidae domus*, *H.F.* 351 *Herculeam domum*, 631 *Herculeae domus.*

872 generosa: 'high-born', in Sen. trag. likewise in an address at *Med.* 110 *candida thyrsigeri proles generosa Lyaei*, *Oed.* 110 *Cadmi generosa proles.* In Ov. *Met.* 13.457, Polyxena proudly uses the adjective of her blood when Neoptolemus is about to kill her: *utere iamdudum generoso sanguine.*

melior: 'kinder, more gracious' (*OLD* s.v. 3), used predicatively as in *Phae.* 821-2 *te melior deus / tutum praetereat.*

873 respicere: 'to have regard for (a person, his welfare, etc.), show concern for, (esp. of deities)' (*OLD* s.v. 8b), cf. *Thy.* 489-90 *respiciet deus / bene cogitata*, *Ag.* 386-7 (an address to Iuppiter) *abauus ... tuam non degenerem / respice prolem* (with Tarrant's note). This use of the verb is familiar from the Old Comedy: Pl. *Rud.* 1316 *di homines respiciunt: bene ego hinc praedatus ibo*, Ter. *An.* 642 *nisi quid di respiciunt*, *Hec.* 772 *nec pol istae metuont deos neque eas respicere deos opinor*, *Ph.* 817 *di nos respiciunt*; two other occurrences: Cic. *Att.* 1.16.6 *nisi quis nos deus respexerit*, *CIL* 11.6307 *Fortunae respicienti sacrum* [on this verb, see e.g. Guiraud (1964) 16].

felici ... / ... thalamo: 'with a fortunate marriage'; cf. *Phoen.* 596 *thalami ... felicis*, where the words have a different meaning, though: 'of a rich bride'.

874 dotare: 'to dower', in Seneca only here; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.523 *funeribus dotabere, regia uirgo* (some MSS have *donabere*), Verg. *Aen.* 7.318 *sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, uirgo.*

875 non ipsa: = *ne ... quidem*, cf. *Med.* 546 *non ipse memet cogat et rex et socer*, *Phae.* 717 *non ipse toto magnus Oceano pater*, *Phoen.* 186-7 *iras, temporum haut ipsa mora / fractas*, *H.O.* 1366 *non ipse ... Oceanus*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.444 *curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt* [H-Sz 448; Hillen p. 56, n. 170; Axelson (1945) 92].

sospes: 'safe and sound, unscathed' (*OLD* 1), an archaic word (Fest. 388 *saluum significat*), first found in Ennius (*Ann.* 598 Sk = 590 V²). The adj. also occurs, for instance, in Plautus (*Capt.* 872-4 *filium / tuom ... uiuom, saluom et sospitem / uidi*, *Rud.* 631), twice in the *Aeneid* (8.470, 11.56), ten times in Sen. trag., in his prose only at *Dial.* 6.23.3.

non ... non: note the shift of accent in the anaphora.

876 Pelasgae ... decus: in view of 864 clearly a periphrasis of Pyrrhus, but at Ov. *Met.* 12.612-3 his father, who now is to be the real groom for Polyxena, is styled *decus et tutela Pelasgi / nominis*.

Pelasgae ... gentis: cf. 628 *Pelasgi nominis*; for *Pelasgus*, see on 353.

877 lecti ... legitimi: 'lawful marriage', cf. *Med.* 67 *facibus legitimis*, Luc. 2.356 *legitimae ... faces*, Ov. *Ep.* 15.287 *legitimi ... iura tori*.

iura: '(esp. w. gen.) the obligations, bonds, or claims (or one of them) arising out of a given (social, etc.) relationship' (*OLD* s.v. 9), cf. Cic. *Fam.* 13.14.1 *iura summae necessitudinis*, Ov. *Met.* 6.536 *coniugialia iura*, 7.715 *iura iugalia*.

878 cui: Swoboda's proposal of transposing 877 and 878, in order to put the specifying relative clause right after the indefinite *Pelasgae maximum gentis decus*, has met the approval of several editors, including Zwierlein. Although that order of lines is a more logical one, and though the error could be easily explained by the resemblance of the last words of the lines (*petit, patent*), the transmitted order does not cause a real problem, in my opinion.

regna ... lata: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.199 *latis ... regnis*.

patent: for the confusion *patent - iacent*, cf. *Thy.* 650 *arcana in imo regio secessu iacet* (E, *patet* A, *latet* Richter); see also on 120.

879 te: the sollemn character of the following lines, evoked by the anaphora of the pronoun (see on 117), is strengthened by the immediate (*te magna Tethys*) mentioning of her impending divine relatives, and the assonance (880 *placidumque numen ... tumidi, aequoris ... Thetis,* 881 *suam ... datam*); the message is rounded off with the "balanced sound play" (Fantham) of line 882.

Liedloff p. 3 to this passage compares Ov. *Ep.* 3.73-4 *digna nurus socero, Iouis Aeginaeque nepote, / cuique senex Nereus prosocer esse uelit.*

magna: (of deities) 'mighty' (*OLD* 12b), cf. above 140.

Tethys: daughter of Gaea and Ouranos (Hes. *Th.* 136), sister and wife of Oceanus; cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.201, 302 'Okeanos, the origin of the gods, and Tethys our mother', Hes. *Th.* 337-70 with a list of their children, Catul. 64.28-30 (*Peleu*) *tene Thetis tenuit pulcherrima Nereine? / Tene suam Tethys concessit ducere neptem / Oceanusque, mari totum qui amplectitur orbem?*, Ov. *Fast.* 5.81 *duxerat Oceanus quondam Titanida Tethyn.* Hes. *Th.* 244 lists Thetis as one of the children of Nereus and Doris, daughter of Oceanus, so Tethys is the grandmother of Thetis. Elsewhere in Sen. trag. (*H.F.* 887, 1328, *Med.* 378, *Phae.* 571, 1161) *Tethys* by metonymy denotes 'ocean' or 'sea'.

tot pelagi deae: both the daughters of Oceanus, of which Hes. *Th.* 364 - after an enumeration of the forty oldest ones - states that 'there another three thousand daughters of Okeanos with long taper ankles', and those of Nereus, a total of fifty (Hes. *Th.* 240-64).

880 As for the omission of the line in E, Leo (1878) 35 f. on the one hand thought an interpolation most likely ("ab eo nimirum qui desiderasset Thetidis mentionem: et post tot pelagi deas male claudicat Thetis superingesta"), but on the other hand noticed the resemblance to Catul. 64.28-30 quoted above; "nec negari potest, ut hi quidem versus inter dulcissimos omnium / sunt, ita Senecae quoque locum sono non ingrato aures tangere." In his Addenda et Corrigenda, he explains his reasons for keeping the line in the text: "et necessaria est Thetidis mentio et consulto componuntur Peleus et Nereus cum Thetide et Tethye" [on 'Versausfall', see Zwierlein (1979) 181 ff.].

placidum: for the notions 'tranquil' and 'kindly', see above on 201 and 694 respectively. As in 741 *nullas habet spes Troia, si tales habet*, the contrasted adjectives are placed in the first and fifth foot of the trimeter. Sen. trag. combines *placidum* with *numen* again at *Thy.* 132.

tumidi: 'swollen', of the sea again *H.F.* 955 *tumida ... freta*, *Oed.* 450 *tumidum ... mare*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.142 *tumida aequora*; cf. *Med.* 765 *tumuit insanum mare*, *Ag.* 469 *agitata uentis unda ... tumet*, *Thy.* 577, 960.

881 socer: the word continues the ambiguity of Helen's words. As bride of Achilles, Polyxena will have Peleus as father-in-law; as bride of Pyrrhus, she would have him as *socer* (*magnus*), grandfather of her husband. For the omission of *magnus*, *OLD* s.v. c quotes Clem. *dig.* 50.16.146 *'soceri' ... appellatione auum quoque ... uxoris uel mariti contineri respondetur* (in the preceding lines of *OLD*, the addition: "*sc.* Andromachen" is an error and should be replaced by: "*sc.* Polyxenen").

882 Peleus ... Nereus: cf. Stat. *Ach.* 2.224-5 (Achilles to Lycomedes boasting of his twofold divine origin) *Peleus te nato socerum et Thetis hospita iungunt, / adlegantque suos utroque a sanguine diuos.* Peleus was the son of Aeacus and grandson of Jupiter (Hom. *Il.* 21.188-9); Nereus was the oldest son of Pontos (Hes. *Th.* 233-4), and grandson of Gaea (Hes. *Th.* 131-2).

nurum: as the complement of *socer*, *nurus* is also sometimes applied to the wife of one's grandson (or great-grandson) (*OLD* s.v. 1b); cf. Paul. *dig.* 23.2.14.4 *nurus ... appellatione non tantum filii uxor, sed et nepotis et pronepotis continetur*, Ulp. *dig.* 50.16.50.

883 depone ... cape: for the framing of the line, see on 64.

depone cultus: for the exchange of clothes, in the tragedies often a prelude to disaster, cf. *Ag.* 881-3 (Cassandra describing what happens inside the palace) *detrahere cultus uxor hostiles iubet, / induere potius coniugis fidae manu / textos amictus*, *Thy.* 524-6 (Atreus to Thyestes) *squalidam uestem exue, / oculisque nostris parce, et ornatus cape / pares meis*, Eur. *Ba.* 912-70.

festos: Sen. trag. uses the adjective quite often in contrast to the underlying tragic situation: cf. *Med.* 985-6 (Medea on the wedding of Jason and Creusa) *o festum diem, o nuptialem!*, *Ag.* 791 (Agamemnon returning home) *festus dies est.* (Cassandra) *festus et Troiae fuit*, *Thy.* 918-9 (Atreus describing Thyestes) *ecce, iam cantus ciet / festasque uoces.*

cape: the verb is used in a comparable context in *H.O.* 571 (Deianira handing over the fatal robe to Lichas) *cape hos amictus, nostra quos neuit manus*, *Thy.* 525 (quoted on *depone cultus*).

884 dedisce captam: 'unlearn the rôle of captive', Kingery, comparing 715 *gere captiuum*; cf. also 214 *fassus est armis uirum.* The concise expression returns in Luc. 1.131 *dedidicit iam pace ducem* (both Caviglia and Boyle incorrectly *dedisc**e**rat*).

horrentis: 'bristling', cf. *H.F.* 468 *horrentes comae*, *Oed.* 230 *incipit Letoa uates spargere horrentes comas*, Ov. *Fast.* 2.502 *horrueruntque comae*, *Met.* 8.285 (the boar of Calydon) *et saetae similes rigidis hastilibus horrent.*

885 docta ... manu: perhaps a reminiscence of Ovid's Nape, *Am.* 1.11.1-2 *colligere incertos et in ordine ponere crines / docta* (Fantham *ad loc.*), but cf. also Ov. *Met.* 3.168-70 *nam doctior illis / Ismenis Crocale sparsos per colla capillos / colligit in nodum.* The adj. is found in the same context Mart. 6.52.3-4 *uix tangente uagos ferro resecare capillos / doctus.*

distingui: 'to divide up (a whole into parts), mark out' (*OLD* 1b), 'to arrange' (LS), similarly of hair Apul. *Met.* 2.9 *tanta denique est capillamenti dignitas, ut quamuis auro ueste gemmis omnique cetero mundo exornata mulier incedat, tamen, nisi capillum distinxerit, ornata non possit audire*; cf. Juv. 6.490 *disponit crinem laceratis ipsa capillis.* Seneca may have had in mind the Roman marriage ritual of parting the bride's hear with a bent spear (Ov. *Fast.* 2.560 *comat uirgineas hasta recurua comas*) into six plaits: cf. Fest. p. 339 M (Lindsay 454.23-5) *senis crinibus nubentes ornantur, quod [h]is ornatus vetustissimus fuit.*

886 casus excelso magis: note the effective juxtaposition of antithetical words.

excelso: for this characteristic, cf. e.g. *Phae.* 216 *alto ... solio*, *Oed.* 271 *alto ... in solio.*

887 solio: for the simple abl. without *in*, cf. *Phae.* 590 *reponit animo*, Enn. *Ann.* 512 Sk *multa foro ponet* (492 V^2 *multa foro ponit*), Verg. *Aen.* 8.333-5 *me ... / Fortuna ... et ... fatum / his posuere locis.*

reponet: Graglia's suggestion, pp. 149-156, of a deliberate parallelism between 886-7 and 498-9 seems far-fetched to me.

profuit multis capi: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 3.54 (Briseis to Achilles) *utile dicebas ipse fuisse capi*, Ov. *Met.* 8.56-7 (Scylla) *quamuis saepe utile uinci / uictoris placidi fecit clementia multis*, Claud. 8.116 *profuit hoc uincente capi*, Rut. Nam. 1.64 *profuit iniustis te dominante capi* [L. Alfonsi, 'Nota a Rutilio Namaziano', *Aevum* 41 (1967) 156]. For the use of *multis*, see on 489 *multos.*

888-954 *Andromache reacts bitterly to the news and to the messenger herself; Helen in reply pleads that her own fate is even worse and that others are more to blame. When Helen (almost) starts to cry, Andromache wrings the truth out of her. Polyxena is glad to hear this news, Hecuba however faints.*

Bonner p. 165 calls attention to the more than usual rhetorical colouring of Andromache's reply, adding: "a situation in which Helen, of all people, at such a time, counselled marriage with a Greek, offered great rhetorical, rather than truly dramatic, possibilities".

888 hoc derat unum: a favourite device of Sen. trag., sometimes without *unum*, cf. *H.F.* 832-3 *derat hoc solum numero laborum, / tertiae regem spoliare sortis*, *Phoen.* 369-70 *derat aerumnis meis, / ut et hostem amarem*, *Med.* 992-3 *derat hoc unum mihi, / spectator iste*, *Phae.* 1186; comparable passages are *Med.* 37-8 *hoc restat unum, pronubam thalamo feram / ut ipsa pinum*, 498-9 *restat hoc unum insuper, / tuis ut etiam sceleribus fiam nocens*, *Oed.* 1033 *restat hoc operi ultimum* (*OLD* s.v. *resto* 5d: "of a finishing touch, often in iron. context").

It is also found in his prose, e.g. *Dial.* 12.2.5 *intra uicesimum diem quam filium meum in manibus et in osculis tuis mortuum funeraueras, raptum me audisti: hoc adhuc defuerat tibi, lugere uiuos*, and in other authors: cf. Sen. *con.* 1.3.1 *hoc expectastis, ut capite demisso uerecundia se ipsa antequam impelleretur, deiceret? id enim deerat ut modestior in saxo esset quam in sacrario fuerat*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.643 *id rebus defuit unum*, Ov. *Met.* 3.268 *id deerat*, 2.471 *scilicet hoc etiam restabat* [see Werner p. 34 f. n. 1; Hirschberg on *Phoen.* 367 ff.]. Grotius also makes use of it: *Chr. Pat.* 490-1 (Chorus Iudaearum mulierum) *deerat nostris hoc nempe malis / iuga cognatos diuersa pati.*

On this use of *hoc*, see e.g. K-S 1.625: "Namentlich die Neutra *hoc, id, illud* (wie auch *ita, sic*), werden oft so gebraucht, dass sie auf einen folgenden Begriff oder Gedanken vorbereiten."

Phrygibus euersis: since Helen's opening lines were spoken as an aside, Andromache's words cannot be a deliberate repetition of her words at 863-4, but the similarity is noteworthy; again 891b-92a and 861-3, 902 and 862-3.

889 gaudere: for the oxymoron after *malum*, cf. *lugere uiuos* in *Dial.* 12.2.5 quoted above, and Tac. *Hist.* 1.47 *exacto per scelera die nouissimum malorum fuit laetitia*. Sen. trag. twice (*Phae.* 134, *Ag.* 589) uses the oxymoron *dulce malum* [Lausberg § 807: "Das *oxymoron* ist die gerafft-enge syntaktische Verbindung widersprechender Begriffe zu einer Einheit, die dadurch eine starke Widerspruchsspannung erhält"]. For the accentuation of the word by the following pause, see on 476 *uiuamus*. A similar contrast is found in Luc. 2.40-2 *nunc flere potestas / dum pendet fortuna ducum. cum uicerit alter / gaudendum est.*

flagrant strata: cf. above 480 *strata sunt flamma omnia.*

890 o coniugale tempus!: spoken with the same sarcasm as Medea's *o festum diem, / o nuptialem!* (*Med.* 985-6). Sen. trag. uses the adj. two more times (*Med.* 1, *Thy.* 1102-3), for the gods of marriage. It is absent from his prose, and mostly found in post-Augustan authors, e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 11.4 *coniugalem amorem*, 11.27 *licentia coniugali*, Apul. *Met.* 5.8 *coniugale illud praeceptum*.

an quisquam: the combination is also found e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.79 *an quicquam est secundum naturam, quod fit repugnante natura* [K-S 1.638], *Mil.* 8 *an est quisquam qui hoc ignoret?*, Verg. *Ecl.* 5.53 *an quicquam nobis tali sit munere maius?*

quisquam ... / ... quisquam: for the two-fold rhetorical question, cf. *H.F.* 1188-90 (Herc.) *quisquamne segnis tanta tolerauit mala?* / (Amph.) *maiora quisquis timuit.* (Herc.) *his etiam, pater, / quicquam timeri maius aut grauius potest?*

892 Helena suadet: cf. 863 *auspice Helena.*

pestis exitium lues / utriusque populi: cf. the description of Paris in Ennius' *Alexander*, quoted above on 36, *eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo*, Eur. *Tro.* 771 'a doom for many barbarians and Greeks', and see above on 853 *luem*. The use of *pestis* as a term of abuse applied to a person (*OLD* s.v. 5b), is found e.g. Pl. *Ps.* 204 *quin una omnes peste hac populum hunc liberant?*, Ter. *Ad.* 188-9 *leno sum, fateor, pernicies communis adulescentium, / periuru', pesti'*, Cic. *Phil.* 8.9 *omnes Cafones, omnes Saxae ceteraeque pestes quae sequuntur Antonium*, Juv. 4.84 *clade et peste sub illa* (sc. Domitianus) *saeuitiam damnare.*

The noun *exitium* is used similarly at *H.F.* 358 (quoted on 853), *Oed.* 876 (Oedipus in his self-description) *odium deorum, iuris exitium sacri*, *Dial.* 6.17.5 *erit Dionysius illic tyrannus, libertatis iustitiae legum exitium*, Pl. *As.* 133 *perlecebrae, permities, adulescentum exitium*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.21-2 *Laërtiaden, exitium tuae / genti*, Ov. *Met.* 13.500 (Achilles) *exitium Troiae.* On these and other taunts, like *calamitas, facinus, malum*, see H-Sz 746 ('Abstractum pro concreto'); Opelt (1965) quotes this line on p. 52.

893 utriusque: always scanned *ŭtriusque*, in Sen. trag. again *Thy.* 709, 1088 (also in the first foot); cf. Pl. *Truc.* 420 *conueniunt adhuc utriusque uerba*, Lucr. 4.503 *reddere mendose causas utriusque figurae*, Catul. 68.39 *quod tibi non utriusque petenti copia posta est*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.8.5 *docte sermones utriusque linguae.*

hos tumulos: though the use of the demonstrative strictly speaking would require the presence of the tombs on the stage, the pronoun seems mainly intended for the listener (and the reader!) "to give *enargeia* - immediacy to the sentiments" (Fantham); similarly below 930-1 *has ... rupes.*

894 nuda: 'unburied' (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5.871 *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*, Luc. 9.64-5 *o bene nudi / Crassorum cineres.*

totis: note the parallel placing and the disjunction with *campis.* Viansino's *latis* unnecessarily weakens the text.

895 inhumata: note the parallel placing with *et nuda*. For the fate of the unburied, cf. the words of the Sibyl to Aeneas, Verg. *Aen.* 6.325-30:

> haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est;
> portitor ille Charon; hi, quos uehit unda, sepulti.
> nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta
> transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
> centum errant annos uolitantque haec litora circum;
> tum demum admissi stagna exoptata reuisunt.

Contrast the philosopher Theodorus' answer to the tyrant threatening him with *mortem et quidem insepultam*: '... *quod ad sepulturam pertinet, o te ineptum, si putas mea interesse supra terram an infra putrescam*' (Sen. *Dial.* 9.14.3).

896 Asiae ... Europae: cf. *Ag.* 274 *quae Europam et Asiam paribus afflixit malis*, Catul. 68.89 *Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.90-1 *quae causa fuit, consurgere in arma / Europamque Asiamque*, Prop. 2.3.35-6 *olim mirabar, quod tanti ad Pergama belli / Europae atque Asiae causa puella fuit*, Ov. *Am.* 2.12.17-8 *nisi rapta fuisset / Tyndaris, Europae pax Asiaeque foret*, V. Fl. 8.396 (of Medea) *Europam atque Asiam prima haec committat Erinys.*

897 dimicantes: the verb occurs only here in Sen. trag., once in Silius, 3x in Ovid's elegiac verses of [Axelson (1945) 69]. In Senecan prose, only in *Ben.* 3.19.2 *aliquem pro salute domini sui sine respectu sui dimicantem.*

lenta: see on 253. As Carlsson (1929) 8 remarks: "nicht der Begriff 'froh' (E *laeta*), sondern nur 'unberührt', 'gleichgültig' ... lässt sich mit dem folgenden *incerta uoti* psychologisch recht gut vereinen". With Düring-Hoffa, he quotes Ov. *Met.* 13.800 *lentior et salicis uirgis et uitibus albis*, with Heinsius (ad Ov. *Ep.* 19.81 and *Rem.* 774), Ov. *Am.* 3.6.59-60 *ille habet et silices et uiuum in pectore ferrum, / qui tenero lacrimas lentus in ore uidet*, *Tr.* 2.514 *scaenica uidisti lentus adulteria.* Fantham, referring to unresponsive *fortuna* and the gods (*Ag.* 403 *si propitios attamen lentos deos*), thinks *lenta* "more subtly appropriate, continuing the picture of Helen languidly receiving homage as if from worshippers". I would rather refer to the use of the adjective in love poetry (see on 805); cf. Zwierlein (1986) 104, referring to Siegmund p. 26 and *Tro.* 253.

Andromache's reproach is not in line with Homer's picture. There 'a sweet desire after her former husband, city and parents' had been thrown in her heart by Iris, when she announced the forthcoming duel of Menelaus and Paris to her (*Il.* 3.139-40). And in her outburst against Aphrodite (3.399 ff.), in which she styles herself 'loathsome' (3.404), she is not *lenta* either.

prospiceres: see on 12 *prospiciens*. Here it is a reference to her view of the fighting from the walls of Troy, described in the third book of Homer's *Iliad.*

uiros: 'husbands' (*OLD* s.v. 2a).

898 incerta uoti: Fantham properly compares Hecuba's denunciation of Helen, Eur. *Tro.* 1004-7 (transl. Way):

If tidings of his prowess came to thee,
Menelaus wouldst thou praise, to vex my son
Who in his love such mighty rival had;
But if the Trojans prospered, naught was he.

perge: for the ironical command (Farnabius already noted it as such), cf. for example below 1002, *Phae.* 173 *perge et nefandis uerte naturam ignibus.*

899 taedis: 'pine-torches', cf. e.g. Catul. 61.15 *pineam quate taedam.* When the bride was conducted from her father's to her husband's house (*deductio*), she was escorted by a torch-light procession of relatives and friends since the event took place in the evening at the rising of the star Hesperus. Torches and the like seem to have been used in antiquity instead of lamps. In common use was the δαΐς ('pine-splinter'), e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18.492, *Od.* 1.428, 7.101; they were cut on Mount Ida and other wooded regions [on this and other types of torches, see R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* VI, Leiden 1958, 128]. The noun *taeda* is a loanword from (the accusative of) that Greek substantive through Etruscan.

sollemni face: 'the ritual firebrand', cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.49 *te face sollemni iunget sibi* (sc. *Iason*), Sen. *Med.* 112 *excute sollemnem digitis marcentibus ignem.* Ffor the use of *faces* "at marriages and the subsequent *deductio*", see *OLD* s.v. 2a.

900 praelucet: 'to shine a light in front of, light the way for' (*OLD* s.v. 3), in Sen. trag. only here, not in his prose; cf. Sal. *Hist.* 4.15 *praedatores facibus sibi praelucentes*, Phaed. 4.11.9 *ne ignis noster facinori praeluceat*, Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.88-9 *saepe natanti / praeluxi*, Apul. *Met.* 10.32 *et uelut nuptialis epulas obiturae dominae coruscis praelucebant facibus.* This line returns in Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 2012 (Eve seeing the forest in Paradise on fire) *haec digna thalamis taeda praelucet meis.*

nouis: 'of a kind not commonly known or met with, out of the ordinary, strange, unheard of or sim.' (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. *Med.* 743 *thalamos nouos*, 894 *nuptias ... nouas* (another marriage where the bride will meet a horrible death), below 1154 *nouum ... monstrum*, *Phae.* 170 *memorque matris metue concubitus nouos*, *Oed.* 943-4 *nouos / ... partus* (both instances of incest). Two earlier instances: Pl. *As.* 943 *neque nouom neque mirum fecit nec secus quam alii solent*, Cic. *S.Rosc.* 124 *haec ... causa noua profecto et singularis est.*

901 Pyrrhi, Troades: for this juxtaposition of proper names (Greece – Troy), cf. e.g. 70 *Phrygius Graias.*

Troades: cf. 95 *Troada turbam*; elsewhere in the play they are addressed as *Iliades* (144), *Phrygiae* (409), *captiuae* (63, 1178). The name *Troades* is also found at *Ag.* 621, 660.

conubia: 'the act or ceremony of marriage', *OLD* 2b, citing this passage with Verg. *Aen.* 4.167-8 *fulsere ignes et conscius aether / conubiis*, and Stat. *Theb.* 9.615-6 (*si*) *et post conubia ... / sic quoque uenatrix animumque innupta remansi.* Here the word has the usual prosody *cōnūbiă*, also found e.g. Catul. 62.27 *qui desponsa tua firmes conubia flamma* (cf. Williams on Stat. *Theb.* 10.62). Elsewhere it presents a problem: at *Phae.* 232 *conubia uitat: genus Amazonium scias*, and *Oed.* 800 *conubia matris Delphico monitu tremo*, one has to choose between *cōnŭbĭă* (the view of Monro on Lucr. 3.776 *denique conubia ad Veneris partusque ferarum*; Müller, *De Re Metrica*², 303; Leumann (1977) 115 with Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* 1280 ff.), and (with synizesis) *cōnūbja* (Maas, *ALL* 13.433 ff.; Bailey on Lucr. 3.776; Drexler (1967) 139) [see more fully Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 4.126, 1.73].

902 celebrate: for the anaphora of the verb, see on 806 *sume*. As Tarrant notes on *Thy.* 494-5 *uenit in nostras manus / tandem Thyestes, uenit et totus quidem*, the emphatic repetition conveys particularly strong emotion: there savage joy (also at *Ag.* 1011 *iam, iam iuuat uixisse post Troiam, iuuat*), deep bitterness here. For the ABAC structure, in which A is the repeated verb, cf. e.g. *Phoen.* 49-50 *discede a patre, / discede, uirgo*, *Thy.* 636-8 *ferte me insanae procul, / illo, procellae, ferte quo fertur dies / hinc raptus.*

celebrate digne: Tarrant calls attention to the pointed addition of *digne*, comparable to *totus* at *Thy.* 495.

digne ... gemitus: Andromache rounds off with a line that contains some elements of Helena's aside opening (862 *gemitus*, 863 *dignus*, *planctus – lamenta*).

sonet: for the use of the verb with a noise of any kind as subject (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. *H.F.* 522 *infernus imo sonuit e fundo fragor*, *Phae.* 1154 *quae uox ab altis flebilis tectis sonat*, *Oed.* 402 *populare Bacchi laudibus carmen sonet*, *H.O.* 1545 *planctus immensas resonet per urbes*, Ov. *Tr.* 1.3.21 *luctus gemitusque sonabant.* The use of the singular form of the verb with two subjects is not exceptional; cf. above 51 *potuit*, *Ag.* 507 *nil ratio et usus audet.* Viansino, however, prefers A's *sonent.*

903 ratione ... careat: 'lacks reason', cf. *Dial.* 6.12.1 *dolor tuus, si modo ulla illi ratio est*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.393 *nobis dolor haud rationis egebit.* In the previous act, Andromache had heard a similar statement from Ulixes: *est quidem iniustus dolor / rerum aestimator* (545-6).

flecti neget: for this aspect of (*magnus*) *dolor*, cf. *Thy.* 496 *uix dolor frenos capit*, *Dial.* 12.1.4 *licet omnis maeror contumax sit*, 12.17.1 *scio rem non esse in nostra potestate nec ullum adfectum seruire, minime uero eum qui ex dolore nascitur; ferox enim et aduersus omne remedium contumax est.* For *nego* with infinitive 'to refuse to', cf. e.g. *H.F.* 493 *sin copulari pertinax taedis negat*, *Phoen.* 281 *hic occupato cedere imperio negat*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.207-8 *negabunt / uerbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis*, Ov. *Ep.* 3.40 *quae dare debueras, accipere illa negas*, Claud. *Ruf.* 2.223 *secerni ... negant* [*OLD* s.v. 4; K-S 1.675].

904 magnus dolor: see on 786 *magnus ... dolor*. The thought was worded similarly by Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 1732-3 (Eve) *ratione quamuis careat, et flecti dolor / magnus recuset.*

socios: cf. *Ag.* 661-2 (Cassandra) *aerumnae meae / socium recusant*, *Med.* 568 (Medea) *tu, fida nutrix, socia maeroris mei.* Through the general statement one hears Helen's effort to come on a level with the Trojan women in their sorrow; cf. her words at Eur. *Tro.* 920-1 'the old King ruined Troy and me'.

nonnumquam: Seneca uses this adverb only here in his tragedies; it is found 29 times in his prose. The proverbial idea "company in distress makes sorrow less" will be the theme of the next choral song.

905 ipsos: 'even'.

causam: 'the case (including the interests) of one side in a legal or other dispute, plea, cause, side' (*OLD* s.v. 2). Walter (1975) 54 f. for this judicial sense of the word refers to *Oed.* 695 *incognita igitur ut nocens causa cadam?*, *Med.* 242 *fortuna causam quae uolet nostram premat*, 262-3 (see next note), *Phoen.* 378-9 *causa repetentis bona est, / mala sic petentis*, 384, *Thy.* 514, 1087-8 (add *H.F.* 401-2); cf. also Ov. *Met.* 13.190, cited on 906 *iudice infesto.*

906 tueri: '(esp. in legal context) to defend as an advocate, spokesman, or sim, speak or write in support of (a person, his cause, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 4b), cf. *Med.* 262-3 *potest Iason, si tuam causam amoues, / suam tueri*, Cic. *de Orat.* 1.169 *ut amicorum controuersias causasque tueatur*, Ov. *Pont.* 2.2.54 *non est confessi causa tuenda rei.*

iudice infesto: '(even) before a hostile judge', abl. absol. with a concessive sense. Her words may be an allusion to Andromache (so Kingery), or already to Menelaus (922-3). Helen's words recall Ov. *Met.* 13.190 (Ulysses) *difficilem tenui sub iniquo iudice causam.*

907 grauiora passa: "quam vos", Farnabius. In other passages, however, like Verg. *Aen.* 1.199 *o passi grauiora*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.30-1 *o fortes peioraque passi / mecum saepe uiri*, Ov. *Tr.* 5.11.7 *multo grauiora tulisti*, the comparative refers to experiences in the past. In the following lines Helen works out her statement:

a) she has to mourn Paris in secret (and no one else suffers that fate).
b) she has endured slavery and captivity for already ten years.
c) even worse than losing one's country is having to fear it.
d) she lacks companionship, both victor and vanquished rage at her.
e) she has had no chance of a lucky lot, but was immediately seized by her (enraged) former husband.

luget: 'mourns openly', in contrast with *occulte ... lugendus est*; similarly *Ag.* 669 *flere* 'angemessen beweinen', Zwierlein (1986) 282.

908 et Hecuba Priamum: for the double tribrach, see on 642 *quid agimus?* The mentioning of the names and their juxtaposition adds a sensitive touch to her argument, but also creates the atmosphere of the court.

occulte: Kingery compares Octavia's lament that she dares not show her grief for her father and brother, *Oct.* 65-9 *me crudeli sorte parentes / raptos prohibet lugere timor / fratrisque necem deflere uetat, / in quo fuerat spes una mihi / totque malorum breue solamen*, Tac. *Ann.* 13.16 *Octauia quoque* (like Agrippina), *quamuis rudibus annis, dolorem caritatem, omnis adfectus abscondere didicerat.*

Paris: according to the *Ilias Parua* (Proclus), he was killed by Philoctetes. There is a story that Oenone, a nymph of Mt. Ida, whom Paris had deserted for Helen, at first refused to cure him when she heard that he had been wounded by Philoctetes with one of Heracles' arrows; later on she relented and came to Troy. Finding him already dead, she hanged herself and leapt upon his funeral pyre [*OCD* s.v. Oenone; Apollodorus 3.154-5; Parthenius 4; Quint. Smyrn. 10.259 ff.].

909 durum: for the easy confusion with *dirum* (E), cf. *H.F.* 56, *Phae.* 567, *Thy.* 712, *H.O.* 1732, Prop. 3.23.20, Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.2.

inuisum et graue: cf. *Ben.* 3.19.4 *cum fere inuisa imperia sint et omnis necessitas grauis*, Aesch. *Ag.* 953, Eur. *Hec.* 332 (Kunz, p. 7). Note the four elisions in this line.

910 seruitia: the plural (only here in Sen. trag.) is metrically convenient, cf. 917 *bellorum*, 924 *arbitria*; it is found again V. Fl. 2.180-1 *mene ille nouis, me destinat amens / seruitiis?*, Sil. 13.884, 13.889. More usual (*OLD* s.v. 3b) is the concrete use of the plural in prose for 'slaves', e.g. Cic. *Catil.* 4.4 *sollicitantur Allobroges, seruitia excitantur.*

911 annis decem: for the use of the abl., see on 69.

prostratum Ilium est: the double elision at the end of the line is also found in *Med.* 25 *parta ultio est*, *Thy.* 718 *prima hostia est.*

912 uersi penates: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.264 *uersosque penates.*

penates: orig. 'the tutelary gods of the Roman larder', here 'the Penates of the State' (*OLD* s.v. 2). Following the advice of Hector, who appeared to him in a dream (Verg. *Aen.* 2.293), Aeneas was to bring them to Italy: *Aen.* 1.68 *Ilium in Italiam portans uictosque penatis*, 1.378-9 *sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste penatis / classe ueho mecum* [on *penates* in Sen. trag. (15 occurrences), see e.g. Walter (1975) 38-41; Töchterle on *Oed.* 23].

perdere est patriam graue: cf. *Dial.* 12.6.2 *carere patria intolerabile est*, Eur. *Med.* 650-1 (transl. Kovacs) 'of troubles none is greater than to be robbed of one's native land'.

graue, / grauius: such a comparative sequence occurs once more in Sen. trag., *Phae.* 603 *uis magna uocem mittit et maior tenet.* It is also found in other poets, for instance Ov. *Met.* 5.54-5 *ille quidem iaculo quamuis distantia misso / figere doctus erat, sed tendere doctior arcus*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.45-9 *non possidentem multa uocaueris / recte beatum; rectius occupat / nomen beati, qui deorum / muneribus sapienter uti / ... callet*, Prop. 1.8.37 *quamuis magna daret, quamuis maiora daturus* (Wills, pp. 231-236).

913 timere: sc. *patriam*; d'Alfonso, however, took the verb absolutely.

tanti mali / comitatus: 'companionship in such a great distress'. For this use of *comitatus*, cf. *ThLL* III 1796.8 ff. 'II actio, status comitandi'; in its other occurrence in Sen. trag., *Oed.* 653 *comitatus illo dignus*, the noun has its more usual concrete sense 'retinue' (Töchterle *ad loc.* incorrectly takes it as a subst. also in *Phoen.* 621-2 *quin ipse frater arma comitatus tua / tibi militabit*).

Zwierlein has revived Bentley's *tantus*, arguing that *comitatus* as a rule has a specifying word, e.g. *Ep.* 7.6 *impetum uitiorum tam magno comitatu uenientium*, *Nat.* 6.1.9 *cum magno comitatu populorum concadentium*, *Dial.* 7.13.5, 12.9.3 *hoc ... comitatu*, 6.10.4 *iste comitatus*. On the other hand, *mali* can do without such a word: *H.F.* 1239 *perfer hanc molem mali*, *Ag.* 667-8 *dura uirago / patiensque mali*. In my view, the use of *comitatus* here differs from the cited prose passages: the mere fact of companionship matters, not the number of companions.

The homoeoteleuton *tanti mali* is not a problem: although words with different endings are much more frequent (a dissylabic subst. and corresponding adj. e.g. at 921 and 985), and though in the only other instance of *tanti mali* in Sen. trag. the two words are not juxtaposed (*Oed.* 57 *quin ipsa tanti peruicax clades mali*), a homoeoteleuton is not unusual: cf. below 991, 1171, *Med.* 883 *facto malo*, and esp. *H.F.* 1179 *in tantis malis*, *Oct.* 634 *tantis malis* [see D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 'Homoeoteleuton in non-dactylic verse', *RFIC* 120 (1992) 67-71, with 26 instances from *H.F.* and 38 from *Oct.*]. The use of the genitive is analogous to *comes* + gen. (e.g. above 83), and clearly differs from the gen. in the cited prose passages; *ThLL* III 1796.1 ff. lists them indiscriminately as epexegetical.

914 in me ... furit: for the use of *in* (= *aduersus*) + acc. with *furere*, cf. *Dial.* 6.2.5 *oderat omnes matres et in Liuiam maxime furebat*, Luc. 5.319 *qui modo in absentem uultu dextraque furebas.*

uictor et uictus: this equivalent juxtaposition of conqueror and conquered is already found in Hom. *Il.* 11.83, of Zeus looking down on both the killers and those being killed; similarly 4.451, 8.65, of the cries of victory and despair of both groups. Some other occurrences: *Ag.* 752-4 *haec hodie ratis / Phlegethontis atri regias animas uehet, / uictamque uictricemque*, *Dial.* 5.43.2 *cum uicto uictorique finis et quidem maturus immineat*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.756-7 *caedebant pariter, pariterque ruebant / uictores uictique*, Liv. 25.31.15 *uictoribus uictisque pariter perniciosa fames instabat* (for more instances, see Wills p. 251 f.).

915 famulam: the usual word for 'female slave' in Sen. trag., cf. below 975, *H.F.* 100, *Phae.* 387, 611-2, 617, *Ag.* 255, 796. The noun *serua* is found only once, at *Phae.* 622; *ancilla* and *ministra* are completely absent. He shows a comparable preference for *famulus* (15x, not in *Tro.*) over *minister* (7x, e.g. above 524) and *seruus* (no occurrence). Epic poets likewise prefer the more elevated *famulus/-a* [Axelson (1945) 58; Watson (1985) 434-436]. In Senecan prose, however, there are no instances of *famula* or *famulus*.

incerto ... / casu: for the pleonastic combination, see on 236 *inclitas laudes*. The reference, of course, is to the drawing of lots, mentioned at 57-8.

916 pependit: '(of situations, events, etc.) to be undetermined or uncertain, "be in the air"' (*OLD* s.v. *pendeo* 11), cf. *Ben.* 3.4.2 *futura pendent et incerta sunt*, Luc. 2.41 *dum pendet fortuna ducum*.

statim: note the parallel placing with 915 *diu*.

917 sine sorte: for the explanatory addition to *statim*, see on 417 *sine sensu*.

causa bellorum: the actual accusation, cf. above 895-6. For this 'stock-characterization' of Helen, cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.10.2 *belli causa*, Prop. 2.3A.35-6 *olim mirabar, quod tanti ad Pergama belli / Europae atque Asiae causa puella fuit*, 40 *uel Priamo belli causa probanda fuit*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.107-8 *nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus taeterrima belli / causa*.

918 Teucris: the Trojans as descendants of Teucer, the ancestor of the Trojan kings, the father-in-law of Dardanus. Seneca uses the name only here; he prefers *Phryges* (see on 29; 15x in *Tro.*, 8x in *Ag.*) and *Troes* (see on 742: 4x in *Tro.*, 3x in *Ag.*). As Fantham p. 102 f. notes, his practice in this respect is rather different from Augustan epic: Vergil in the first two books of his *Aeneid* uses *Teucri* (20x) much more often than *Troes* (6x) and *Phryges* (3x); Ovid in *Met.* book 13 has five instances of *Troes*, against two of *Phryges* and two of *Teucri* (limited to association with the foundation myth of Teucer, 13.705 and 728).

919 puppis ... secuit: the E reading *puppe ... secui*, probably resulting from *fui* in the next line, is metrically intolerable (*Spartanā*).

920 sin rapta ... arbitria (924): 'but if I was carried off as plunder by Trojan oarsmen, and if the victorious goddess gave me as a gift to the judge, then foregive Paris: my case will have an angry judge, those judgements wait on Menelaus.'

In my view, Delrius has already offered the correct interpretation of this much debated passage:

> Sum, ait, innocens, quia non sponte Trojam veni, sed vi compulsa, quia non adulteri blandas persuasiones, sed Deae Veneris mandata secuta sum, illius pollicitationem nolui falsam reddere. Vtrumque argumentum a Gorgia Rhetore sumtum, qui in Oratione pro Helena, culpa vacuam docet; quia vel fortunae imperio, Deorum jussu et Necessitatis nutu fecit, ea quae fecit, vel vi rapta, vel persuasa verbis, vel amore capta; singula deinde discutit, priora duo potissimum, quae hic abutitur. Non (inquit) sponte Trojam veni, sed rapta a Paridis potius, quam meo peccato. Nec tamen illius, qui datum sibi a Dea munus jure suo vindicavit. Dignus ille, cui tu, soror, ignoscas. Sed esto. mea tota culpa, meum facinus, quid te judicem esse postulas? an vereris ne benevolo judice absolvar? non est quod metuas. idem mihi judex, qui laesus, maritus adulterio lacessitus, Menelaus. illi futurum curae, ne impune abeat.

Cf. Gorgias' conclusion, § 20 (translation MacDowell): 'Whether she did what she did because she was enamoured <by sight> or persuaded by speech or seized by force or compelled by divine necessity, in every case she escapes the accusation'.

921 dedit ... donum: cf. above 288 *donum detur*, *Phoen.* 595 *coniugi donum datus*; in Sen. trag. with a final dative only *Oed.* 814 *dono dedit.*

uictrix dea: Venus (see on 66 *iudicis diri*). For the adjectival use of *uictrix*, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 800 *uictrice ... dextera*, *Ag.* 936-7 *uictricem ... frondem*, *Apoc.* 2.1 *iamque suum uictrix augebat Cynthia regnum* [K-S 1.232].

922 Paridi: Leo (1878) 222 supposed that Seneca had written *ignosce praedae*: "nec accusant Paridem nec eius causam Helena agit sed suam: queritur autem se a Paride raptam, a Venere praedoni destinatam esse. dicit igitur: me belli causam fuisse verum esset si ultro ad vos profecta essem; sin invita a Troianis rapta sum, certe cum venia ero." On the same ground, Schrader [see W. Clausen, 'Schraderiana', *Mnemosyne* IV 8 (1955) 50] had proposed *ignosce raptae*; it was approved of by Richter. Peiper had conjectured *ignosce: pridem.*

Carlsson (1929) 22 ff. renewed the defence of the text, following the line of Delrius, Farnabius, and Düring-Hoffa ("*Paridi* im Text!"). He notes the contrasts *mea causa* - *Paridi* and *iratum iudicem* - *ignosce* (*tu, Andromache*). *Paridi* was also kept by e.g. Moricca, Giardina, Wertis, Boyle, and Chaumartin. On the other hand, Fantham and Amoroso preferred *praedae*, Viansino and Caviglia *raptae.*

Zwierlein (1986) 104-106 turned down Carlsson's arguments:

1. Paris is already dead for a long time (908 f.); therefore an exhortation to pardon him would be senseless, especially since - also during his life - he was not accused by the Trojan women of being the cause of the war.

2. The antithesis in this passage does not consist of *Paridi* - *mea causa*, but of *ignosce* - *iudicem iratum*; for the contrast, cf. *Dial.* 3.3.5 *irasci quidem non magis sciunt quam ignoscere*, 4.10.2 *ne singulis irascaris, uniuersis ignoscendum est.*

He supports his view that *ignosce* refers to Helen herself by quoting *Ag.* 273-4 *ignouit Helenae: iuncta Menelao redit / quae Europam et Asiam paribus afflixit malis*, and Eur. *Tro.* 950 'I should be forgiven'. But he doubts both *raptae* and *praedae*, because these two words are already found in line 920. And since *Paridi*, as a gloss on 921 *iudici*, may have sneaked into the text for any word (*captae* is also quite possible), he concludes: "Eine sichere Emendation ist somit kaum erreichbar".

Paridi can and should be kept, I think. The Trojans certainly blamed him no less than Helen for the outbreak of the war: cf. Hector's taunts at his address in Hom. *Il.* 3.39 ff, and in this play 66 *iudicis diri*, and 70-1 *ex quo tetigit Phrygius Graias / hospes Amyclas*. At Eur. *Tro.* 914 ff. Helen indirectly exculpates Paris by making responsible his mother (919-20), the old shepherd who had to dispose of him (920-1; according to another

interpretation: Priam), and Aphrodite (948), before asking forgiveness for herself (950). However, the situations are different. There she is defending herself in front of Menelaos and Hekabe; now she tries to come closer to the Trojan women by stressing her own misery. To me, that seems to be the reason why Helen, having settled the question of responsibility (920-1 *sin ... dea*) in line with Priam's remark to her: 'I am not blaming you: to me the gods are blameworthy' (*Il.* 3.164, transl. Lattimore), does not end with a plea for forgiveness for herself, but for Paris. Andromache, *iudex infestus* though she may be, should forgive Paris for what he did as a judge; another judge, enraged because of the personal insults inflicted upon him by his former wife, will handle Helen's case (note in 922 the juxtaposition of her two husbands, *Paridi* - *iudicem iratum*, and the identical position in 921-22 of *iudici* and *iudicem*). On the other hand, both *praedae* and *raptae* would involve an akward transition: 'forgive me — I shall have an enraged judge' [I have not yet seen the defence of *Paridi* by Gianna Petrone, 'Seneca, *Troad.* 922: *ignosce Paridi*: una perduta «acutezza» senecana', *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*, N.S. 48 (1994) 131-139].

mea: before the discovery of E, this reading was already suggested by Lipsius; A's *puta* probably has come from line 918.

923 habitura ... est: 'to have (a person acting in a particular capacity)' (*OLD* s.v. *habeo* 5). For this notion of the verb, cf. Sen. *Con.* 1.1.7 *causa mea habebit aduocatum patrem*; for the use of the part. fut., see Westman p. 59 'Bestimmtheit durch die Situation'.

ista ... / arbitria: 'those judgements', i.e. a judgement on those (919-21) matters. Since Helen could expect death as penalty for her conduct - cf. Eur. *Tro.* 874 (Menelaos) 'they have handed her over to me to kill' - Seneca may have had in mind Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.21-2 *cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos / fecerit arbitria.*

For the comparable use of *arbiter* = 'judge', see below on 984 *arbiter.* The difference between *arbiter* and *iudex* has been worded by Seneca in *Ben.* 3.7.5: *praeterea, quaecumque in cognitionem cadunt, comprendi possunt et non dare infinitam licentiam iudici; ideo melior uidetur condicio causae bonae, si ad iudicem quam si ad arbitrum mittitur, quia illum formula includit et certos quos non excedat terminos ponit, huius libera et nullis adstricta uinculis religio et detrahere aliquid potest et adicere et sententiam suam, non prout lex aut iustitia suadet sed prout humanitas aut misericordia impulit, regere.*

924 hanc: Polyxena; see also on 419 *hic.*

paulum: 'for a short while' (*OLD* s.v. 2c), again *Phae.* 599, 1100, *Ag.* 756.

925 omissis: see on 454 *omitte fletus.*

flecte: resumes 903 *flecti.*

uix ... / retinere: as noted in the Introduction, I interpret them as genuine tears for Polyxena's actual fate, not as crocodile tears.

926 quantum ... malum!: "Magnum certe aliquod imminet malum, quod Helenam malis induratam in lacrimas cogat" (Farnabius). For the change of speaker in the second foot of the line, see above on 680.

927 lacrimat: as usual, the repetition goes along with a shift of accent.

autem: only here in Sen. trag. In questions and exclamations the word expresses indignation or surprise (*OLD* s.v. 6); for its use with repetition of a word in the previous clause (*OLD* 6b), cf. *Ep.* 15.11 *quare potius a fortuna inpetrem ut det, quam a me ne petam? quare autem petam?*, Ov. *Met.* 6.283-4 *exsulta uictrixque inimica triumpha. / cur autem uictrix?*, Ter. *Ph.* 388-9 (Phormio) *temptatum aduenis.* / (Demipho) *ego autem tempto?*, Liv. 21.44.7 *in Africam transcendes. transcendes autem? transcendisse dico* [cf. H-Sz 490: "Ein speziell umgangssprachlicher Typus ist die verwunderte oder unwillige Wiederaufnahme eines Wortes des Gesprächspartners mit *autem* (...). Aus diesem Gebrauch des Dialogs stammt die rhetorische Figur der Selbstkorrektur (Epanorthosis) seit Cic."; K-S 2.94 f.]. Vergil does not use the word in the *Eclogues*, 7x in the *Georgics*, 28x in the *Aeneid*, esp. in the combinations *ille autem* (12x) and *ecce autem* (9x), 3x in a question: 2.101, 4.540, 6.809. Ovid mainly (but rarely) applies it in questions [Axelson (1945) 85 f.]. Andromache's question resembles Ulysses' reaction to her own nervous behaviour, 631 *quid respicis trepidasque?*

Ithacus: the events of the previous act automatically make her think of Ulysses as the schemer behind Helen's message. As Anliker notes (p. 88): "Die steigernde Vergleichung mit dem dritten Akt wird dann 927b ff. handgreiflich".

928 nectat: see on 523 *nectit.*

utrum ... / ... an: likewise in a direct question, *Oed.* 345-6 *utrum citatus uulnere angusto micat / an lentus altas irrigat plagas cruor?*; cf. *utrumne ... an* at *H.F.* 618-20, *Ag.* 579, *Thy.* 1032-3, *Oed.* 309-12, 1036-7.

Fitch on *H.F.* 618-9 calls attention to the comparatively high frequency of this construction in the dramatists, notably Plautus (13 times!); he thinks that it "suggests that it is appropriate to the liveliness of dialogue". To Billerbeck *ad loc.* the influence of (rhetorical) prose seems more likely: *utrumne ... an*, for instance, occurs 9 times in Seneca's prose (2x in a direct, 7x in an indirect question). In my view, they may both have a point. Of other poets, Lucretius and Catullus use *utrum ... an* 5x and 4x respectively; in Augustan poetry it is only found in Horace (6x, not in the *Carmina*) [Axelson (1945) 90; *ThLL* II 1.34 ff.].

929 iactanda: the gerundive is often found at the beginning of the trimeter, in this play at 361, 484, 869, 1109. For the conspicuous placing in three consecutive lines, cf. the placing of the verbs in 22-4.

arcis ... celsae: Hillen p. 25 f. deals with this passage under the heading 'Gen. appositivus/explicativus mit synonymen Attributen', of which he notes: "Diese pleonastische Ausdrucksform kann als Vorstufe zum 'Doppelpleonasmus von Substantiv und Adjektiv', der H-Sz 795[1] aber erst mit Apul. met. 5, 26, 2 *mutuis amplexibus alternae salutationis*

belegt wird, angesehen werden"; cf. e.g. *H.F.* 1056 *uaga ponti mobilis unda*, 1109 *latique patens unda profundi*, *Phae.* 762 *exigui donum breue temporis*, *Oed.* 495 *niueique lactis candidos fontes*, *Ag.* 436 *relicti sola Sigei loca*, *Thy.* 972 *solidamque pacis ... certae fidem.*

930 mittenda saxo: the use of the simple abl. with *mitto*, in prose confined to the phrase *seruum manu mitto* (K-S 1.367), is a common feature in poetry; cf. e.g. *Med.* 346-7 *palluit audax Tiphys et omnes / labente manu misit habenas*, Prop. 2.26.19 *iamque ego conabar summo me mittere saxo.* On the other hand, the verb is used with a preposition, for example, below 1063 *missus e muris puer*, *Thy.* 937 *ueterem ex animo mitte Thyesten.*

num: like *numquid* (above 566), rounding off a series of possibilities: the other forms of death are no less horrible, but this one may involve a lack of burial. Ccf. Manning on *Ad Marciam* 16.3: "The phrase *et insepultos* is further evidence of the importance Seneca would expect a Roman to attach to proper burial".

931 uoluenda: 'to cause to fall headlong, pitch over, roll over' (*OLD* s.v. 3).

rupes: 'a steep rocky cliff, crag' (*OLD*), cf. *Phoen.* 23 *Inoa rupes*, 67 *hic alta rupes arduo surgit iugo* (Hillen p. 127 'Kap, Felsenhalbinsel').

rupes ... quas ... leuat: under the heading 'Auffächerung in Subjekt und Akkusativobjekt', Hillen p. 51 deals with this passage as a characteristic example of the 'dynamischen Darstellungen statischer Erscheinungen': "Das «Pseudo-Objekt» tritt neben eine «Pseudo-Handlung»". Finding no parallel for this use of *leuare* at *ThLL* VII 2.1232.20 f. nor for the reflexive construction, he adds (p. 127): "Das Objekt ist sachlich identisch mit dem durch den Eigennamen angegebenen Landschaftsteil. Die transitive Gebrauchsweise - vgl. auch Thy 774 (*fumus*) *seque in excelsum leuat* mit Phoen 395 ff. *campus in caelum erigat / nebulas ... quas tellus ... / summittit* - scheint dichterisch und dient der Vermeidung der medialen oder reflexiven Ausdrucksweise."

latere ... scisso: abl. qual. The words may allude to the (probable) derivation of *rupes* from *rumpo*, I think.

932 altum: in my opinion, *altum* is best taken as an adj. with *Sigeon* (likewise Fantham). After *Idaeis iugis* (cf. 1049 *celsa ... Ide*) and *celsae edito* (929), this emphasis on the height of *Sigeon* and its *rupes* seems very logical. Moreover, Seneca likes to juxtapose (contrasting) adjectives (see on 221), and frequently uses the line-structure a b A C B (cf. above 11, 175, 187, 296, 441, 588, below 1081, 1124),

Gronovius, commenting "Mare potius speculatur quam sinus suos Sigeum", took it as a subst. (for *altum* = *mare*, cf. e.g. below 1046), and proposed *altum uadoso Sigeon spectans sinu*; he was followed by most editors. Zwierlein (1986) 106 supported Gronovius' emendation with a reference to *Ag.* 562-3 *arx imminet praerupta quae spectat mare / utrimque geminum.*

uadosos: 'full of shallows or shoals', in Sen. trag. only here; in his prose it is found twice, *Dial.* 7.27.3 *praebeo me non aliter quam rupes aliqua in uadoso mari destituta*, *Nat.* 5.18.7 *cum euaserimus tot scopulos latentes et insidias uadosi maris*. Gronovius comments: "quia Simois et Scamander concurrentes in campis multum terrae hauriunt, caecumque os et lacus marinos et paludem efficiunt circa Sigeum, teste Strabone lib. 13".

Sigeon: cf. Leo (1878) VII (Addenda et corrigenda) "adquiescendum in Gronovii emendatione: Σίγεον Quint. Smyrn. VII, 562. XIV, 649". Note *Sigĕon*, against 75 *Sigēis*, 141 *Sigēa*.

spectans: 'facing' (*OLD* s.v. 10b), cf. *Ag.* 562-3 (quoted on *altum*), *Phoen.* 67-8 *hic alta rupes arduo surgit iugo / spectatque longe spatia subiecti maris*, *H.O.* 103 (*ora*) *spectat Euboicum mare*, Ov. *Met.* 15.53 *pererratis, quae spectant litora, terris* (on this verb, see Guiraud p. 22).

sinus: Fitch (1989) 238 n. 8, who in his review of Zwierlein's text sides with Fantham on *altum* and also accepts the A reading, objects to the abl. *sinu* found in the *OCT*: "Significantly, neither Gronovius nor his followers explain the syntax of *uadoso* ... *sinu*; but whether abl. of place or abl. of description, it is awkward, and Seneca must turn in his grave at the thought that he would call the sea 'the deep' at the very point where he mentions its shallowness". This does not look like an argument to me: see Kingery's translation, 'as he looks forth from his shallow bay upon the deep'. The abl. *uadoso* ... *sinu* is also found in the text of both Miller and Thomann, but they translate, in a for me incomprehensible way, 'lofty Sigeum ... looking out on his shallow bay', 'das hohe Sigeon ... ausschauend auf seine untiefe Bucht'. For this use of the plural *sinus*, Fantham compares *H.F.* 780 *Stygiae paludis* ... *sinus* and *Ag.* 483 *Eoos sinus*. She also calls attention to the sigmatism of the A reading, suiting Andromache's fury.

933 subdolo: 'sly, deceitful, treacherous (of words, demeanour, etc.)' (*OLD* b), cf. *Ep.* 49.12 *subdola ista calliditas*, Caes. *Gal.* 7.31.2 *oratione subdola*, Tac. *Ann.* 6.20 (see below on *tegis*). The adj. is also used of a person or his character (*OLD* a; e.g. *Ag.* 635-6 *subdolo / ... Vlixi*, Pl. *Cas.* 823, *Epid.* 318, *Poen.* 1032), and of weapons, natural conditions, etc. (*OLD* c). Sen. trag. uses it only here and at *Ag.* 635. Tarrant thinks it was probably felt as an archaism; of persons it is found often (9x) in Plautus but not at all in Terence, three times in Sallust.

uultu: on the connection between facial expression and inside emotions, cf. above 522, below 1152 *truci uultu ferox*, *H.F.* 371 *quid truci uultu siles?*, *Ag.* 128 (= *Med.* 446) *totus in uultu est dolor*, *Phae.* 363 *proditur uultu furor*, 432-3 *turbidam frontem gerens / et maesta uultu*.

tegis: 'conceal' (*OLD* s.v. 6b), cf. e.g. *Oed.* 6-7 *quisquamne regno gaudet? o fallax bonum, / quantum malorum fronte quam blanda tegis!*, 215, *Dial.* 6.1.2 *non tamen hilari fronte texisti*, Tac. *Ann.* 6.20 (Gaius Caesar) *immanem animum subdola modestia tegens*, *Hist.* 4.11.

934 Priami gener: likewise of Agamemnon, *Ag.* 191 *captae maritus remeat et Priami gener.*

935 fare: for the third time within nine lines.

poenam: again an echo of the previous act (655, 657).

936 exprome: 'disclose, reveal' (*OLD* s.v. 3). Sen. trag. uses the verb always at the beginning of the line: *Ag.* 419-20 (a similar situation: Clytemestra to Eurybates, who is reluctant to utter the bitter news) *exprome: clades scire qui refugit suas / grauat timorem; dubia plus torquent mala*, *Phae.* 850-1 *quis fremitus aures flebilis pepulit meas? / expromat aliquis*, 868 *expromis*, *Oed.* 385, 510 *exprome*. He parodies it in *Apoc.* 7.2 *et quo terribilior esset* (sc. Hercules addressing Claudius), *tragicus fit et ait: 'exprome propere, sede qua genitus cluas'*. In the Old Comedy, the verb is used by both Plautus (*Mer.* 47) and Terentius (*Hau.* 574-5). In prose, it is found e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 3.53 *summam ... iniuriam uobis, iudices, non possum expromere*, Liv. 39.13.8 *originem sacrorum expromit.* It is absent from Senecan prose.

unum hoc ... / falli: cf. 888-9 *hoc ... unum ... / gaudere.* See on 598 *uerum hoc* for the elision of *-um* before a monosyllable.

937 paratas perpeti mortem: Andromacha had already said so of herself (418), Polyxena will soon actually prove it (1152), and Hecuba at the end will confess her longing for death (1175 *cupientem*).

938-944 In the *Iliad*, Helen on several occasions utters her wish that she could have died before: 3.173 (to Priam), 6.345 ff. (to Hector), 24.764 (at the mourning for Hector). Here, in a seven lines long sentence, framed by *iuberet ... iubet*, after an oblique *me quoque* proceeding with a specifying *fata comitantem tua, Polyxene miseranda*, her wish precedes the actual message, worded in the subordinate relative clause.

938 interpres deum: Calchas, see on 351.

939 abrumpere ... moras: cf. 681 *rumpe ... moras*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.631 quoted below on *inuisae*, 8.579 *nunc, o nunc liceat crudelem abrumpere uitam*, 9.497 *crudelem abrumpere uitam*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.872 *heia, abrumpe moras*, *Theb.* 11.201 *abrumpe moras, celeremus* (*OLD* s.v. *abrumpo* 5).

lucis: 'the light of the sun (as enjoyed by all living creatures), hence life' (*OLD* s.v. 6); cf. *H.F.* 1258-9 *cur animam in ista luce detineam amplius / morerque nihil est* (followed by 1262 *morte sanandum est scelus*), Ov. *Met.* 14.132 *lux aeterna mihi ... dabatur*, *Tr.* 4.10.116 *nec me sollicitae taedia lucis habent*, Luc. 2.524-5 *omnes / lucis rumpe moras.*

For the use of the gen. of definition, indicating the cause of the delay (*ThLL* VIII 1469.13 ff.), cf. *Dial.* 12.11.6 (*animus*) *quantum per moras membrorum ... licet ... celeri et uolucri cogitatione diuina perlustrat*, Caes. *Ciu.* 1.64.7 *magna ... fluminis mora interposita*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.143 *fossarum ... morae*, Alcimus Avitus, *carm.* 5.648 *moras tam lati gurgitis.* In 124 *mora fatorum*, there is a different use of the genitive with *mora.*

inuisae: 'hateful'; for the combination with *lux*, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.631 (Dido) *inuisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem*, 11.177 (Euander) *quod uitam moror inuisam.*

moras: another example of Seneca's noun-style, like *H.F.* 573 *praebuerat fluminibus moras*. Fitch *ad loc.* compares, as a contrast, Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.9 *morantem* and 3.11.14 *morari* in passages on the same subject; for *mora* used periphrastically, he refers to *H.F.* 1171 *nulla pugnandi mora est* for 'I am ready to fight', *Phoen.* 246 *uterique nondum solueram clausi moras* for 'I had not yet been born'.

940 busta: for the use of the plural, see on 663 *busta*.

furibunda manu: cf. above 94 *furibunda manus*.

941 comitantem: see the note on 904 *socios*.

942 miseranda: '(of persons) deserving or calling for compassion, pitiable' (*OLD* s.v. 1). Vergil, in the address *miserande puer*, applies it to ill-fated youths like Marcellus (*Aen.* 6.882), Lausus (10.825) and Pallas (11.42). Sen. trag. uses the adj. again below 1056 (of *fata*), *Phoen.* 182 (Antigone of herself), *Phae.* 1255 (Theseus to himself), *Oed.* 112 *miseranda Thebe*, *H.F.* 439 *miseranda coniunx Herculis magni*, 1003 *uoce miseranda*, *Med.* 207 *clade miseranda*. Ovid and Val. Flaccus have ten occurrences of it, Statius uses it 13x (van Dam on *Silu.* 2.4.4). It is not found in Seneca's prose.

943 ante: for the placing of the preposition after the noun (see H-Sz 216), cf. e.g. *Phae.* 1063 *et torua currus ante trepidantis stetit*, Tib. 2.5.66 *iactauit fusas et caput ante comas*. It here results in an echo of 940 *Achillis ante*.

944 campo ... Elysio: see on 158; the more usual plural is found at Verg. *Geo.* 1.38, Tib. 1.3.58, Ov. *Ib.* 171.

maritus ... sit: especially after Helen's turning to Polyxene (941-2), it may be felt as a surprise that her final line, containing the purpose of Achilles' order, is not directed to her ('so that you become his wife') but is worded from Achilles' point of interest.

945-54 In these ten lines, Andromache depicts the contrasting reactions of both mother and daughter on Helen's words. Polyxena is glad to die, and even reaches for the robes (946): death is marriage to her (948). Hecuba, however, is stunned when she hears the fate of her daughter and faints. In this contrast of a victorious versus a succumbing attitude towards death, the passage summarizes a Leitmotiv of the play and foreshadows the final act in which Astyanax must die and wishes to, whereas Hecuba looks for death and cannot meet him (1171 ff.). Anliker, p. 88 properly styles these lines "den Kardo des Aktes".

945 uide ut: for this introduction, when a person on the stage is described, cf. e.g. Pl. *Aul.* 46-7 *illuc sis uide, / ut incedit*, *Mer.* 169 *hoc sis uide, ut palpatur*; a variation is found in *Mil.* 200-1 *illuc sis uide, quem ad modum astitit*. For the use of the subjunctive (*audierit*), cf. *Phoen.* 394 *uide ut atra nubes puluere abscondat diem*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.1-2 *uides ut alta stet niue candidum / Soracte*.

For the use of the proceleusmatic in the first foot, see on 36; only here it is combined with synaloephe (Strzelecki, p. 75; cf. Auson. *Ep.* 19b.28 '*uale' et*).

Gronovius ("non patior hanc libertatem in secunda regione, quam excusat Gruterus") supposed that the text had been *uide ut animi ingens*. He compared Tac. *Ann.* 1.69 *sed femina ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies induit.*

animus: for the use of the noun as a substitute for a person (*OLD* s.v. 2a), cf. *Phoen.* 154-5 *dextra noster et nuda solet / bene animus uti*, Pl. *Bac.* 528 *nam illud animus meus miratur*, *Cist.* 554-5 *animus audire expetit / ut gesta res sit.*

ingens: 'lofty, proud' (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. *Nat.* 6.32.3 *ingenti itaque animo mors prouocanda est.* The more usual *magnus* (cf. *magnanimus*, *magnanimitas*), would have involved a spondee in the second foot and three *-us* endings in a row.

laetus: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.463 *mater obest minuitque necis mihi gaudia*, Eur. *Hec.* 347 'desiring to die', 548 'I die willingly'. For the predicative use of the adjective, cf. above 694 *placidus.*

946 regiae uestis: genetivus inhaerentiae (H-Sz 63, 794 f.; Hillen, p. 21), or genitive of definition (Williams on Verg. *Aen.* 3.256 *nostraeque iniuria caedis*). Note the wordorder A a b B with the effective juxtaposition of the adjectives.

petit: when one compares these lines to the description of Polyxena's heroic death in Eur. *Hec.* 542 ff. and Ov. *Met.* 13.449 ff., this significant detail of her reaching for the robes of her own accord seems to be an innovation by Seneca.

947 admoueri ... manum: see on 693 *admoueo.*

948 illud, hoc: the marriage with Pyrrhus (876 ff.) and the announcement of her death (942 ff.) respectively. This converging of the so different intentions of sacrificer and sacrifice is one of the heights of this act (cf. Schetter, p. 263).

949-51 Comparable fainting-scenes in Sen. trag. occur in *Ag.* 775-7 (the Chorus describing Cassandra) *iam peruagatus ipse se fregit furor, / caditque flexo qualis ante aras genu / ceruice taurus uulnus incertum gerens*, and *Phae.* 583-6 (the Nurse) *sed Phaedra praeceps graditur, impatiens morae. / quo se dabit fortuna? quo uerget furor? / terrae repente corpus exanimum accidit / et ora morti similis obduxit color*; cf. also the collapse of Hercules, *H.F.* 1042-6. In Euripidean tragedy, Hecuba herself announces her succumbing when Polyxena is taken away, *Hec.* 438 (transl. Kovacs) 'Ah, ah! I am faint! My limbs are unstrung!'; when Cassandra is led off, Hecuba's fainting is described by the Chorus (*Tro.* 462-5; transl. Way):

> Grey Hecuba's attendants, mark yet not
> Your mistress sinking speechless to the earth?
> Will ye not help her, heartless ones, but leave
> Her grey hairs prostrate? Bear ye up her frame.

949 mater ... stupet: cf. Ceres' reaction when she is told the abode of her daughter, Ov. *Met.* 5.509 *mater ad auditas stupuit ceu saxea uoces.*

950 labefacta: for the fig. use (*OLD* s.v. 2b), cf. *Ep.* 76.17 *nam cetera quae cupiditates nostras inritant deprimunt quoque animum et labefaciunt*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.395 *multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore*, Ov. *Met.* 10.375 *animus* (*OLD* incorrectly *animis*) *uario labefactus uulnere.*

succubuit: 'collapsed'. For the absol. use, cf. *H.F.* 1315 *succumbe* ('give in'), *uirtus*; with a dative, the verb is found *H.F.* 776, *Ag.* 993.

assurge: 'stand up', in Sen. trag. only here.

alleua / animum: 'lift up your heart'; only here in Sen. trag., three times in his prose, *Dial.* 3.13.4 *segnem alioqui animum et ignauum paulum adleuant*, *Ep.* 76.27 *nisi animum adleues*, 94.29 *ut plus ualeant animumque magis adleuent.*

951 animum ... cadentem: this transferred use of the verb is also found in Vergil, *Aen.* 3.260 *cecidere animi*, and Ovid, *Met.* 7.347 *cecidere illis animique manusque.*

firma: 'encourage, hearten' (*OLD* s.v. 7a); cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2.28 *firmandus animus ad dolorem ferendum*, Verg. *Geo.* 4.386 *firmans animum*, *Aen.* 3.611 *animum praesenti pignore firmat*, V. Fl. 5.358 *trepidam dictis firmans hortatur alumnam.*

952 quam: with *leui*, not with *tenuis*. For the tenor of the line, cf. *H.F.* 1308-10 (Amphitryon) *hanc animam leuem / fessamque senio nec minus fessam malis / in ore primo teneo*, *Ep.* 30.14 *non dubitare autem se quin senilis anima in primis labris esset nec magna ui distraheretur a corpore*, Ov. *Pont.* 4.3.35 *omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo* [see also Kunz, p. 23, n. 29].

uinculo: the 'bond of life', cf. Lucr. 3.598-9 *ubi iam trepidatur et omnis / extremum cupiunt uitae reprehendere uinclum*, V. Fl. 4.309-11 (with Korn's note).

953 minimum ... potest: a late echo is heard in Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 1247 (the snake to Eve, pointing at the apple) *minimum est, quod unum facere te magnam potest.*

954 reuixit: perf. of *reuiuiscere*, 'to come to life again (hyperb., of persons unconscious or apparantly dead)' (*OLD* s.v. 1b); Sen. trag. uses the verb once more, in its literal sense, in *Med.* 476 *membra non reuicturi senis.*

prima mors miseros fugit: this concluding *sententia*, for which Canter p. 86, n. 8 mentions Syr. 438 (Wölfflin's ed. 1869) as a possible model, is in my view an intertextual play with Verg. *Geo.* 3.66-8:

> optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aeui
> prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus
> et labor, et durae rapit inclementia mortis.

This view also provides an answer to the question, raised by D. & E. Henry p. 124, n. 12, "If death is <u>first</u> to shun the wretched, who or what follows death in doing so?" Seneca's high appreciation of the Vergilian passage is evident from his quoting *optima ... fugit* at *Dial.* 10.9.2 with the

introduction: *clamat ecce maximus uates et uelut diuino ore instinctus salutare carmen canit,* and followed by *'quid cunctaris?' inquit, 'quid cessas? nisi occupas, fugit.' et cum occupaueris, tamen fugiet; itaque cum celeritate temporis utendi uelocitate certandum est et uelut ex torrenti rapido nec semper ituro cito hauriendum. hoc quoque pulcherrime ad exprobrandam infinitam cunctationem, quod non optimam quamque 'aetatem' sed 'diem' dicit. quid securus et in tanta temporum fuga lentus menses tibi et annos in longam seriem, utcumque auiditati tuae uisum est, exporrigis? de die tecum loquitur et de hoc ipso fugiente. num dubium est ergo quin optima quaeque prima dies fugiat mortalibus miseris, id est occupatis?* Cf. also *Ep.* 108.24-9 [see my 'Three Notes on Seneca, *Troades*', *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998) 77].

mors ... fugit: cf. below 1171-75 *mors ... fugis, Phoen.* 258-9 *sed quem deus damnauit, abiecit pater, / mors quoque refugit, H.O.* 122 *felices sequeris, mors, miseros fugis,* 766 *mors refugit illum,* Luc. 2.75-6 *mors ipsa refugit / saepe uirum.*

955-998 *Hecuba mourns over Polyxena, who is her only comfort left. Helen announces the results of the lottery, which are bitterly commented on by Hecuba.*

955 adhuc ... uiuit: cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.592-3 (Neptunus to Apollo) *cum tamen ille ferox belloque cruentior ipso / uiuit adhuc, operis nostri populator, Achilles.*

in: 'so as to produce or result in' (*OLD* s.v. 20), cf. *H.O.* 1505 *natura me concepit in laudes Iouis,* Ov. *Tr.* 2.342 *in ... meas poenas ingeniosus eram.*

956 rebellat: 'renew the combat' (LS), cf. *Oed.* 106-7 (Oedipus on the Sphinx) *ille, ille dirus callidi monstri cinis / in nos rebellat,* Ov. *Met.* 9.81 *tauro mutatus membra rebello.* Sen. trag. uses the verb once more, of *pudor,* at *Ag.* 138; in his prose, the verb occurs only in *Ep.* 69.4 *cito rebellat adfectus.*

manum Paridis: see on 347.

leuem: 'lacking weight or force' (*OLD* 3). Sen. trag. uses the adj. once more of *manus* in *Phae.* 62 *ueloces figis dammas leuiore manu,* denoting that Diana shoots them with less effort than other animals.

957 cinis ipse: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.503-5 (Hecuba) *cinis ipse sepulti / in genus hoc saeuit; tumulo quoque sensimus hostem; / Aeacidae fecunda fui* (so already Fabricius). Seneca's father, criticizing Ovid that he could not be brief (*nescit quod bene cessit relinquere*), quotes these lines at *Con.* 9.5.17, with *pugnat* for *saeuit*; his son here obviously did not agree with him (see Fantham, p. 29 f.). The combination *cinis ipse* is also found in Verg. *Ecl.* 8.106-7 *aspice, corripuit tremulis altaria flammis / sponte sua, dum ferre moror, cinis ipse.*

sitit: 'to feel a thirst for' (*OLD* s.v. 1b). The verb is also applied to weapons, e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 12.595 *sitit meritos etiamnum haec hasta cruores*, 12.750-1 *transiit hasta duos, sitiebat uulnera nec non / tertia*, Claud. *Ruf.* 2.232 *sitientia pila cruores*. Cf. also below 1164 *saeuus ... totum sanguinem tumulus bibit*.

958 modo ... nunc (960): for the contrast, cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.483-5 *o modo regia coniunx, / regia dicta parens, Asiae florentis imago, / nunc etiam praedae mala sors*, 508-10 *modo maxima rerum, / tot generis gnatisque potens nuribusque uiroque, / nunc trahor exul, inops, tumulis auolsa meorum*. Quite different, of course, is the use of *modo ... nunc* as a variation of *modo .. modo* and *nunc ... nunc*, found in Ovid and in later prose, for example *Met.* 13.922-3 *modo ducebam ducentia retia pisces, / nunc in mole sedens moderabar harundine linum*, Tac. *Hist.* 2.51 *ad Verginium uersi, modo ut reciperet imperium, nunc ut legatione ... fungeretur* [K-S 2.72].

turba felix: cf. *Ag.* 701 (Cassandra) *quid illa felix turba fraterni gregis?* Above 32 Hecuba had used the phrase *magni greges*.

latera cingebat: cf. *Oed.* 777 (Oedipus questioning Iocasta on Laius) *frequensne turba regium cinxit latus?*, Ov. *Pont.* 4.9.17 *latus ... cingit ... turba*.

959 lassabar ... / diuidere: this use of the inf. with *lassari* is unparalleled, but one may compare *lassus* w. inf., e.g. Prop. 2.13.28 *nec fueris nomen lassa uocare meum*, 2.15.46 (*nec*) *lassa foret crines soluere Roma suos*, 2.33.26 *an nondum est talos mittere lassa manus?*, and *fessus* w. inf. (*Oed.* 170, 716). There is also the analogy of *defatigari* w. inf. (*OLD* s.v. 2b: Lent. 12.14.7 *non ... defatigabor permanere ... in studio libertatis*), instead of w. gerundive (Cic. *Marc.* 20 *noli ... in conseruandis uiris bonis defatigari*), or w. gerund (Fav. *orat.* 1 *ne edendo defatigentur*) [H-Sz 348].

in ... oscula ... gregem: for the ordinary use of the preposition with verbs of distributing (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. Pl. *Aul.* 108 *diuidere argenti dixit nummos in uiros* ('among'). For the transferred use here, cf. *OLD* 10 '(w. vbs. of spending or sim.) 'upon' (an object), and *OLD* 11 '(indicating person towards whom behaviour, feelings, etc., are directed) towards, to, for' (Hillen, p. 33, n. 98 refers to P. Numminen, *Das lateinische in mit Akk. bis zu Augustinus' Tod*, Helsinki 1938).

tantum: though transmitted *totum* gives good sense and finds some support in *Thy.* 101 *hunc, hunc furorem diuide in totam domum*, Zwierlein has good grounds for preferring Leo's *tantum*: *tātū* after *tot* could easily be read as *totum*, and *a/o* confusion is found more often, e.g. below 1163 *obduxit/ab-*, *H.O.* 994 *tantum* E: *totum* A.

For the combination *tot - tantus*, cf. above 229-30, *Oed.* 600-4 *tot ... tot ... tot ... tanta*, *Dial.* 1.2.1 *tot amnes, tantum superne deiectorum imbrium, tanta medicatorum uis fontium*, 11.12.1 *haec tot et tanta*, 11.15.3 *tot tantosque luctus*, *Ben.* 2.29.3 *tot tantorumque beneficiorum*, 7.3.3 *tot animalia, tantam copiam rerum*, *Ep.* 99.4 *tot annis, tanta coniunctione uitae*, *Oct.* 5 *tot tantis onerata malis*.

960 diuidere: the verb is used likewise, of one person dividing his attention, in *Thy.* 1023 (Atreus to Thyestes) *fruere, osculare, diuide amplexus tribus*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.588-9 *et partes pariter diuisus in omnes / hos obit atque illos.*

matrem: 'my motherly feelings' (*OLD* s.v. 1d; "affectus et officia materna", Fabricius); cf. 626 *matrem.*

sola: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.514-5 (Hecuba on Polyxena) *post ... tot amissos tu nunc, quae sola leuabas / maternos luctus, hostilia busta piasti*, 527-30 *superest ... nunc solus ... Polydorus.* As Farnabius remarks, Cassandra was also left over, but she was not a *comes* of her mother.

haec: Polyxena (cf. above 924). The repeated use of the demonstrative in this and the following lines (962 *haec ... hac*, 964 *hoc*) adds to the vividness of the scene, and - as Frank notes on *Phoen.* 118-22 - would give an actor or declaimer scope for dramatic gestures; cf. also *H.F.* 1193-4, *Phoen.* 67-73, 217-20.

est super: see on 490.

961 uotum: apart from 898 *incerta uoti*, the noun is used in two respects in this play. Andromache had applied the word to express her desire for death (577), and so will Hecuba (below 1171); the other occurrences are in the context of hopeful wishes/prayers of parents for their children: 475 *tam magna timeo uota*, 701 *uota uincens uestra*, 770 *uota destituit deus.* The singular is used in the same way in Ov. *Pont.* 4.13.47 *sic ualeant pueri, uotum commune deorum*, but sounds more bitter from the lips of Hecuba in view of all the children she has lost. At Eur. *Hec.* 280-1, Hecuba styles her daughter 'she is a consolation to me for many things, she is my city, my nurse, my staff, my guide upon the road' (tr. Kovacs).

leuamen: 'comfort', of a person also in *Phoen.* 1-2 *fessi unicum / patris leuamen* (Oedipus of Antigone), *Med.* 547-8 *hoc perusti pectoris / curis leuamen* (Jason of having his children with him), Verg. *Aen.* 3.709-10 *heu, genitorem, omnis curae casusque leuamen, / amitto Anchisen*, Prop. 4.11.63. A different use is found in *Ag.* 491-2 *nec hoc leuamen denique aerumnis datur, / uidere saltem et nosse quo pereant malo.* In his prose, Seneca does not use the noun *leuamen* but *leuamentum* (*Dial.* 5.16.1, 6.12.4, 11.9.1, *Ep.* 94.24), never applying it to a person.

afflictae: see on 426. Despite the ending of line 440, I would rather combine it with *leuamen* than with *quies.*

quies: applied to a person, also Mart. 11.26.1 *o mihi grata quies, o blanda, Telesphore, cura.* Cf. the use of *requies* (*OLD* s.v. 2) Verg. *Aen.* 9.481-2 *tune ille senectae / sera meae requies*, 12.57-8 *spes tu nunc una, senectae / tu requies miserae.*

962 Hecubae: see on 308 *Pyrrhus.*

fetus: 'offspring' (*OLD* s.v. 3b, sg. collect.); of human beings also at *Phae.* 557 *perimunt ... fetus impiae matres suos.* Below 1094 the word has the more common meaning 'young' of an animal. The words *totus ... fetus* are as sadly ironic as 507 *turba.*

uocor / ... uoce: Sen. trag. uses this *figura etymologica* once more in *Oed.* 304 *in uota superos uoce sollemni uoca.* See Wills p. 247 f., citing e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 49 Sk (= 50 V^2) *blanda uoce uocabam,* Lucr. 4.711 *auroram clara ... uoce uocare,* Verg. *Aen.* 10.873 *magna ter uoce uocauit,* Liv. 7.15.2 *clara uoce uocare ad proelium,* Hom. *Od.* 19.545.

In the first act, Hecuba had spoken as a queen, voicing her responsibility for the disaster of the city; with these lines, 958-63 *modo ... mater,* she comes on a par with the maternal sorrow of Andromache.

963 dura: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.516 (Hecuba) *quo ferrea resto?*

age: see on 509 *age.*

964 elabere: 'slip away'. In Sen. trag. the verb occurs only here, in his prose 13x, e.g. *Ep.* 1.1 *magna pars uitae elabitur male agentibus,* 77.10 *mollissime excessit et uita elapsus est,* 94.25 (*admonitio*) *memoriam continet nec patitur elabi.*

denique: 'at last', in Sen. trag. only here and at *Ag.* 491 (quoted on 961 *leuamen*), 65x in his prose. Cf. Mynors on Verg. *Geo.* 2.369: "A favourite Lucretian word (Munro on 1.17, 5.858), it is used ten times in V., and always conveys the sense that we are being given something that we have been waiting for."

965 remitte: 'to waive, remit (a debt, obligation, punishment, etc.)' (*OLD* 13), cf. *Ben.* 2.1.3 *qui hoc tormentum remittit,* 7.16.4 *redde illi quia repetit, huic quia remittit, Cl.* 2.3.2 *clementiam esse moderationem aliquid ex merita ac debita poena remittentem.* For the use of the accompanying "dat. of beneficiary" (*OLD* 13b) *mihi,* cf. e.g. Liv. 7.5.8 *patri ... remissa causae dictio est,* 8.34.4 *nec ei ... quicquam ex iusta poena remissurum.*

inrigat fletus genas / imberque uicto subitus e uultu cadit: does Hecuba describe Polyxena's tears or her own? Parallel passages show that both views are possible: cf. on the one hand, *Oed.* 952-3 (the Messenger describing Oedipus) *subitus en uultus grauat / profusus imber ac rigat fletu genas*; on the other, above 487 (Andromache describing herself) *sudor ... cadit, Thy.* 950 (Thyestes of himself) *imber uultu nolente cadit.* In my view, Farnabius and other old commentators were right in taking the words as a description of Polyxena, on whom the attention has been focused by Hecuba since 960 (note the anaphora *haec ... haec ... hac ... hoc*). This view was repeated by Damsté (1919) 64 f. and by Zwierlein (1966) 174-176. The latter properly calls attention to *uicto* and *subitus* (966), as being more appropriate of Polyxena than of Hecuba, and to the parallel passage 949-51: both times a description of someone in the 3rd. person form is followed by an immediate exhortation with two imperatives. In this way, there is a smooth transition to the following lines: Hecuba sees her daughter weeping and tries to cheer her up.

When one takes the tears as Hecuba's, as has been done by Friedrich, Steidle, Axelson, Anliker, and Fantham (but she translates 'Weeping floods her cheeks'), lines 967-8 seem out of place. Richter's transposition after 978, criticised by Madvig and Friedrich but taken over by Leo and Herrmann, has most recently been defended by Fantham (see on 967-8).

inrigat: Bentley's *en rigat* is attractive (cf. *Oed.* 952-3 quoted above), but not necessary. Despite his frequent use of *en* (see on 15), Seneca sometimes leaves it out where one might expect it; cf. *H.F.* 354 ff., *Med.* 186-7 (likewise a description of one and a half line after a monologue), *Ag.* 947 ff., *Thy.* 262 ff. [Zwierlein (1966) 68 ff.]. The compound is attested by *Phoen.* 441 *irrigat fletu genas*, *Phae.* 381-2 *assiduo genae / rore irrigantur*, *Oed.* 346 *lentus altas irrigat plagas cruor.*

966 imber: of tears (*OLD* s.v. 3a), e.g. *Oed.* 953 (quoted on 965), *Thy.* 950 *imber uultu nolente cadit.* The device is already found in Greek poetry, e.g. *AP* 5.145.3 and 5. The first instance in Latin literature seems to be Catul. 68.55-6 *maesta neque assiduo tabescere lumina fletu / cessarent tristique imbre madere genae.* It was applied frequently by Ovid, for instance Ars 1.532 *indigno teneras imbre rigante genas*, *Tr.* 1.3.18 *imbre per indignas usque cadente genas*, 4.1.98, and by Statius, e.g. *Theb.* 2.234-5 *tunc ora rigantur honestis / imbribus*, 3.122-3 *ceu nulla prius lamenta nec atri / manassent imbres*, 5.270, 6.236. The device is not found in Vergil, Horace, and Tibullus. For a later occurrence, see Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3.311 *largis nunc imbribus ora madescunt.* The word is also used of blood, e.g. Sen. *Oed.* 978 *rigat ora foedus imber.*

uicto: cf. *Thy.* 950 *nolente*, cited in the previous note. In my view, Polyxena's sign of human weakness, evoked by the realization what her death means to her mother, does not contradict her former attitude (945 ff.): it provides the necessary contrast with it, thus making effective the climax of her braveness at the final moment (1146). As such, there is a clear parallel with Astyanax' *miserere, mater* (792). Gaheis, p. 24 notes: "vultus cum lacrimis tamquam proelium committens cogitatione fingitur."

subitus: '(of persons or things) suddenly appearing' (*OLD* s.v. 1c). Sen. trag. uses the adj. 16 times (in this play also 304, 1156; cf. esp. *Oed.* 952, quoted above on *inrigat ... cadit*, *Thy.* 966-7 *subitos fundunt / oculi fletus*), and the adverb 11 times. For the use of the adj., where an adverb might be expected, cf. for example Verg. *Aen.* 2.680 *cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum*, 3.225-6 *at subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt / Harpyiae*, Luc. 3.60 *subitis ... undis*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.1.137-8 *subitas inimica leuauit / Parca manus*; a prose instance: Tac. *Hist.* 3.47 *subitus inrupit.* Apart from metrical convenience, the wish to provide both substantives with an adjective or participle may have been of influence too in this line and elsewhere. For this use of *subitus*, see e.g. Löfstedt (1933) 368 ff.; H-Sz 172 f.; Marouzeau (1946) 138.

As noted above, in my view the adjective is here more in place of Polyxena than of Hecuba.

uultu: 'eyes', cf. e.g. below 1092 *uultus ... acres*, *Thy.* 635-6 *haeret in uultu trucis / imago facti*, 950 (cited on 966 *imber*), *Oed.* 326 *ipsos ... circa spissior uultus sedet* (sc. *fumus*), *H.O.* 1978-9 *fallor an uultus putat / uidisse natum?*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.320 *deiecit uultum* (as Fitch notes on *H.F.* 641, the meaning is not fully recognized in *OLD* s.v. 3a).

967-8 Richter's transposition of 967-8 after 978 was rightly criticised by Madvig (1873) 121, on the ground that there no one would still think of Polyxena. Madvig's own view, however, "hos versus apertum est ab Hecuba dici non posse, quae summo luctu Polyxenam prosequatur", leading him to attribute the lines to Andromache, with the substitution *grata* for *nata*, gives no improvement. Richter's transposition was revived by Fantham on two grounds:

(a) the lines 965-6 describe Hecuba herself, not Polyxena (whose *animus* is already *laetus* at 945);

(b) they are needed after 978 to provide a response to 975-8: only after the fate of Andromache and Cassandra has been made known, Hecuba's words *quam uellet tuos / Cassandra thalamos, uellet Andromache tuos* make sense (similarly Steidle).

Although the second argument may seem to have some weight, it does not convince me. In my view, Hecuba does not have to know the exact fate of Cassandra and Andromache when, in cheering up Polyxena, she mentions her more famous sister and sister-in-law as envying her: she knows for sure that they will not find death by marrying Achilles nor find a grave in their native country. More important, however, is my objection to the words *laetare, gaude, nata* after 978. If the tears at 965-6 are not Polyxena's and her latest qualification (945) is *animus ... laetus*, such an address seems unjustified. Finally, in addition to Zwierlein's objection to the unpleasant interruption of the quick interchange of question and answer in the sequence 972-80 if 967-8 is inserted after 978, I would like to raise the question how this corruption of the text could be explained; I have not found a satisfying answer.

Therefore, I prefer to keep the lines in their transmitted place: Hecuba's words are a logical reaction to Polyxena's tears, and Andromache affirms them from a reverse angle [cf. Friedrich (1933) 111].

laetare, gaude: 'be delighted, rejoice'. Hecuba, noticing how much her self-pity has affected her daughter, tries to make amends by reviving Polyxena's initial gladness (945 *laetus*). The combination of verbs is found several times in the RA version of *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, in Kortekaas' edition (Groningen 1984) c.7, r.16; c. 14, r. 29; c. 24, r. 14; c. 24, r. 27). Cf. also Apul. *Met.* 7.13.21 *laeti et gaudentes*, 7.15 *gaudens laetusque*. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.66 makes the distinction: *ut cavere decet, timere non decet, sic gaudere decet, laetari non decet.*

In addition to Braun's comparison of the lines to Eur. *Hec.* 372 ff. and *Troad.* 679-80, Werner, p. 29 quotes Eur. *Troad.* 268 and 270, cited above on 142 *alio.*

969 nos, ... , nos, nos: for the emotional repetition of the pronoun see on 680 *me, me*. Geminated *nos* also occurs in Sil. 2.362 *nos, nos contra ibimus hostem*, V. Fl. 4.745-6 *nos quoque, nos Amycum, tanto procul orbe remoti, / sensimus*, Juv. 10.365-6 (=14.315-6) *nos te, / nos facimus, Fortuna, deam* (see Wills p. 82, citing from prose Cic. *Cat.* 1.3 *nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus*).

Werner, p. 30 and Friedrich (1933) 112 compare Eur. *Tro.* 628-31 (transl. Way)

> Hec. Woe's me, my child, for thine unhallowed slaughter!
> Woe yet again! How foully hast thou died!
> And. She has died — as she hath died: yet by a fate
> More blest than mine, who yet live, hath she died.

and *Tro.* 679-80 (transl. Way)

> And. Hath not the doom then of Polyxena,
> Whom thou lamenstest, lesser ills than mine?

As Friedrich and others remark, another source of inspiration for Seneca must have been Andromache's words at Verg. *Aen.* 3.321-7, "quoted by Quintilian (6.2.22) and Macrobius (*Sat.* 4.6.1) in illustration of the rhetorical term *pathos* or *affectus*" (Williams):

> o felix una ante alias Priameia uirgo,
> hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis
> iussa mori, quae sortitus non pertulit ullos
> nec uictoris heri tetigit captiua cubile!
> nos patria incensa diuersa per aequora uectae
> stirpis Achilleae fastus iuuenemque superbum
> seruitio enixae tulimus;

Hecuba ... Hecuba: for the emphatic repetition of the proper name, cf. *H.F.* 1177 (Hercules addressing his friend, when his father gives no answer to his question about the massacre of his wife and sons) *at tu ede, Theseu, sed tua, Theseu, fide.*

970 huc et huc: 'hither and thither'. This variation of *huc ... illuc* (458), *huc et illuc* (616), or *huc atque illuc* (*Ag.* 370), occurs again below 1092, *H.F.* 953, *Med.* 385, *Oed.* 343 (always after the penthemimeres). It is absent from Seneca's prose, and rare in Catull (61.34), Vergil (*Aen.* 11.601), and Horace (*Epod.* 4.9).

sparsas: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.325 (quoted above), Eur. *Tro.* 243 (Talthybius to Hecuba) 'you have been allotted each to a man, not together'.

971 tellus ... teget: the same combination is found in *H.F.* 197 *me mea tellus lare secreto tutoque tegat.* Hillen, pp. 215-217 compares the two passages.

patriis: by hypallage with *tellus* as well.

teget: see on 30.

As a horrible contrast to this line, cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.45-6 *sed sine funeribus caput hoc, sine honore sepulcri / indeploratum barbara terra teget!*

Note the carefully structured antitheses in this passage: *quas* (*nos*) - *hanc*, *mota classis* - *cara tellus*, *huc et huc sparsas* - *sedibus patriis*, *feret* - *teget.*

972-980 In the following 'Informations-Stichomythie' (Seidensticker, p. 156), Helen informs the other women of the result of the lottery. Like Hecuba in the prologue (29-31), she will use periphrases instead of names.

972 inuidebis: sc. *huic* (Polyxena).

si: for its almost temporal force here, cf. Pl. *As.* 228 *remeato audacter, mercedem si eris nactus*, Catul. 14.17 *si luxerit*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.64-5 *si nona diem mortalibus almum / Aurora extulerit*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.10 *quodsi bruma niuis Albanis inlinet agris* [H-Sz 663 f.]

sortem: picks up the thread of 57-8 and the choral ode 814-60.

973 meae ignota est mihi: H.W. Garrod, *CQ* 4 (1910) 122, unnecessarily proposed to read *mihi ignota est meae*, in order to eliminate the supposedly illegitimate elision of the last vowel of an iambic dissyllable. Such an elision in this position is also found in *Thy.* 463 *meae excluso Ioue*, and *Med.* 128 *tuae ignorent manus.*

974 uersata: the usual verb for the shaking of the urn (or a helmet) with the lots (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. *Ag.* 24 *quaesitor urna Gnosius uersat reos*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.3.25-7 *omnium / uersatur urna serius ocius / sors exitura*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.389-90 *et iam sortitus Prothous uersarat aena / casside.* In Eur. *Tro.* 230 ff., it is the herald Talthybius who announces the issue of the lottery to the captives.

975 ede: 'disclose, tell, relate' (*OLD* 7). In comparison with earlier poets, Sen. trag. makes a rather frequent use of this imperative: again below 1067, *H.F.* twice, *Phae.* and *Thy.* once, *Oed.* four times.

976 te ... tulit: Eur. *Tro.* 273 'Achilles' son took her as his special prize'.

Scyrius iuuenis: Pyrrhus (see above on 339 *Scyros*). For Euripides' 'Achilles' son', Seneca substitutes a more learned paraphrase: cf. 978 *regum ... rector* (Eur. *Tro.* 249 'king Agamemnon'), 980 *Ithaco* (Eur. *Tro.* 277 'Odysseus, lord of Ithaca').

977 furor: 'possession by a god, prophetic or poetic ecstasy' (*OLD* 1b), cf. Cic. *Diu.* 1.66 *furor appellatur cum a corpore animus abstractus diuino instinctu concitatur*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.102 *ut primum cessit furor.* d'Alfonso takes the words *furor ... Phoebusque* as a hendiadys: 'her gift of prophecy from Phoebus'.

eximit: 'to obtain immunity for, exempt (from a tax, duty, obligation, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 5b), cf. Stat. *Silu.* 2.2.126 *exemptus fatis.*

978 Eur. *Tro.* 249 'King Agamemnon took her as his special prize'.

regum ... maximus rector: Agamemnon, see on 303.

979 qui ... uelit: '(w. generic subj., indicating potentialities or type of antecedent) of the sort that, such as' (*OLD* 18a).

980 obtigisti: 'you fell (by lot) to'; Eur. *Tro.* 277 'Odysseus, lord of Ithaca, drew you to be his slave'. The contrast with 976 *tulit* and 978 *tenet* is parallelled by *Tro.* 249 (cited on 978) and 273 (cited on 976).

nolenti: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.485-6 *praedae mala sors, quam uictor Vlixes / esse suam nollet*, above 62 *mea sors timetur.*

breuis: '(of persons in a particular capacity, etc.) short-lived' (*OLD* 7b), cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.24 *breuem dominum*, Mart. 6.28.3 *cari deliciae breues patroni*.

981 impotens: 'violent, intemperate', see on 215.

durus: 'harsh', cf. e.g. *Thy.* 14 *durus umbrarum arbiter*. Gronovius and Richter (1894) 19 preferred *dirus*.

iniquae: 'not disposed to think or act fairly' (*OLD* 5), cf. *Dial.* 1.5.9 *quare tamen deus tam iniquus in distributione fati fuit ut bonis uiris paupertatem et uulnera et acerba funera adscriberet?*

982 sortitor: the noun is found only here, and as a conjecture at Cic. *Dom.* 50 *si etiam pluribus de rebus uno sortitore tulisti* (*legem*). For other substantives in *-tor* (*-sor*) in Sen. trag., see on 546 *aestimator*. The word may have been formed on the analogy of *quaesitor*: cf. *Ag.* 24 *quaesitor urna Gnosius uersat reos*, *H.F.* 731-2 *non unus alta sede quaesitor sedens / iudicia trepidis sera sortitur reis*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.432 *quaesitor Minos urnam mouet*.

regibus: "nonnullis placet lectio *haud regibus*" (Farnabius).

regibus reges: see on 327 *regis ... regi*.

reges: 'royal persons'; see on 54. For the appliance of the word to both men and women, cf. *Med.* 56 *ad regum thalamos*; likewise below 1002 *soceros*. In Greek tragedy, we even find the masc. plur. form of a participle when women speak of themselves, e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 237, 670.

d'Alfonso calls attention to the equivocal character of the words *regibus reges dedit*: "perchè i re non dovevano essere estratti a sorte come un prigoniero qualunque? o perchè Ecuba avrebbe preferito rimaner schiava d'un semplice guerriero, che forse avrebbe avuto riguardo alla sventura di lei?"

983 sinister: 'adverse' (*OLD* s.v. 4), e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 11.347 *moresque sinistros*, Tac. *Agr.* 5.4 *sinistra erga eminentis interpretatio*, *Hist.* 1.51 *sinistra ... fama*. For the Greeks, the left side was the unlucky one, which they euphemistically called 'better' or 'of good name' (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 20.242); δεξιός and *dexter* likewise denote 'favourable' (LSJ s.v. II; *OLD* s.v. 2). In Sen. trag. the adj. *sinister* occurs only here, whereas *laeuus* is found 18x; in his prose, however, the respective figures are 13 and 3.

984 arbiter: 'judge' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 582 (of Pluto) *mortis ... arbiter*, 731 *quis iste ueri rector atque aequi arbiter*, *Thy.* 14 *durus umbrarum arbiter*, *Ag.* 730-1 *fatalis sedet / inter potentes arbiter pastor deas*, Prop. 3.19.27 *Minos sedet arbiter Orci*. In *Phae.* 528-9 *nullus in campo sacer / diuisit agros arbiter populis lapis*, Seneca applies the noun to a boundary mark (*OLD* s.v. 2a). For the distinction *arbiter* - *iudex*, see *Ben.* 3.7.5, quoted on 924 *arbitria*.

grauis: '(of persons) relentless, stern, harsh, unsparing' (*OLD* s.v. 11), cf. e.g. *Oed.* 667 *falsusne senior an deus Thebis grauis?*, *Ag.* 249 (Aegisthus on Agamemnon) *grauis ille sociis stante adhuc Troia fuit*, Acc. 198 D (523 R^2) *grauis Dardaniis gentibus ultor*.

985-6 saeua ... / ... quis: Peiper's deletion of these words was taken over by Leo and Richter, but discarded by Moricca, Viansino and Giardina. Fantham again excised the 'vague and repetitious' phrase: "*Miseris* is repeated from 984, *iniqua fata* picks up the epithet of *iniquae urnae*, and uses *fata* of lot in life, in contrast with the predestined *fata* of 994; even *dat* has been anticipated by *dedit* in 982". She thought it difficult to explain the present form of the text (as in the similar interpolated half-lines at 990-91): "perhaps the first stage was the intrusion of an extra *quis* in 986, then to avoid the improper lenghthening of *nescit* in the fourth foot a makeshift line was inserted."

In my opinion, Zwierlein (1986) 107 defends the transmitted text convincingly, accepting the apparent 'Abundanz' not unlike *H.F.* 1162 (deleted by Leo) and *Phae.* 688 (deleted by Bothe); he puts forth the additional argument that the interpolated line would not, as usual in other instances, run from caesura to caesura.

matrem Hectoris: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.487 *dominum matri uix repperit Hector.*

986 dat ... fata: cf. *H.F.* 497 *nunc solita nostro fata coniugio date.*

987 armis Achilles: after Achilles had been killed, Ulysses got hold of his weapons by defeating Ajax in a debate (Ov. *Met.* 13.1-383). For the contrast *Hectoris ... Achillis*, cf. Pyrrhus' words, Racine, *Andromaque* II.5.662-3: 'Elle est veuve d'Hector, et je suis fils d'Achille; / trop de haine sépare Andromaque et Pyrrhus.'

miscet: 'unites', cf. *Med.* 510-2 (Medea) *ne ueniat umquam tam malus miseris dies, / qui prole foeda misceat prolem inclitam, / Phoebi nepotes Sisyphi nepotibus.* There may be an allusion here, I think, to the sexual meaning of the verb (*OLD* 4c): cf. *Ag.* 36 *gnatis nepotes miscui, Phae.* 171 *miscere thalamos patris et gnati apparas* (both of incestuous relations), Cic. *Diu.* 1.60 *cum matre corpus miscere*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.661 *mixta deo mulier*, Luc. 10.69 *miscuit incestam ducibus Ptolemaida nostris* (see Holmes' note).

Vlixem: here and below 1099, E has *Vlixen.*

988 nunc ... nunc ... nunc: for the anaphora see on 613-4. There is an echo of this line in *H.O.* 757 *nunc uidua, nunc expulsa, nunc ferar obruta*; the difference is worded by W.H. Friedrich, 'Sprache und Stil des Herc. Oet.', in Lefèvre, *Senecas Tragödien*, (1972) 526: "Hecuba, bereits von allem erdenklichen Unglück heimgesucht, wird erst jetzt der ganzen Schrecklichkeit ihres Schicksals inne. Deianira hingegen war keineswegs vorher schon *uidua, expulsa* und *obruta*, sondern nur von bösen Ahnungen gepeinigt."

nunc captiua: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.407-8 *Priami uos filia regis, / nunc captiua rogat*, Eur. *Hec.* 357 'now I am a slave'.

cunctis ... / ... cladibus: for this conspicuous 'Sperrung' in the third and longest part of the tricolon, cf. *H.F.* 317-8 *demersus ac defossus et toto insuper / oppressus orbe.*

mihi / obsessa uideor: cf. Megara's reaction to Lycus' marriage proposal, *H.F.* 415-8 *haut equidem horrui, / cum pace rupta bellicus muros fragor / circumsonaret, pertuli intrepide omnia: / thalamos tremesco; capta nunc uideor mihi.*

989 domini pudet / non seruitutis: 'This is my shame - / Not slavery itself, but to be slave / To *him*' (Watling). A comparable contrast is worded by the Chorus on Hercules in *H.O.* 1209 *pudet auctoris, non morte dolet* (*auctoris* resuming 1177-8 *femina Herculeae necis / auctor feretur!*). The words *domini pudet* need not imply Hecuba's moral contempt for Ulysses, as voiced by her in Eur. *Tro.* 282-7 when she hears that she has been assigned to him. Here it rather seems to be the shame that the mighty (former) queen of Asia feels for the king of a tiny, rocky island (with Schetter p. 264, n. 46). Walter (1975) 22 f., referring to Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, Bern ²1963, 396, n. 1, supposes that the difference goes back to the fact that the Euripidean picture of Odysseus, an 'enemy of justice', 'lawless monster', twisting everything 'with a double tongue' (*Tro.* 286), reflects his criticism of his contemporary Sophists.

990 Hectoris spolium: the phrase was explained in various ways by the old commentators. Farnabius: "me matrem Hectoris. spolium autem proprie vestis corpori detracta dicitur". Gruterus: "Quia gessit in utero Hectorem, inquiunt alii. Ego simplicius, quia parens et filius reputantur unum et idem, neque possit triumphari mater, nisi dehonestetur in matre etiam natus". Gronovius records the view of a 'vir doctissimus' that the words refer to Hector's shield, in which Andromache had asked Hecuba to bury Astyanax' body (Eur. *Tro.* 1133-42); like Farnabius he concludes: "*Hectoris spolium* ... est ... ipsa mater Hecuba".

Leo's deletion of 990b-91a was followed by Richter, Zwierlein, and Fantham; the two half-lines were upheld by Bannier and Anliker. The criticism is clear: the words merely repeat 986b-87a, and Hecuba and *Hectoris spolium* cannot be identical. Nevertheless, I side with those who keep them in the text. The association of the two superior heroes on either side must have been a fascinating thought to Seneca. Therefore, after having used it to rebuke the *deus/arbiter* responsible for the outcome of the lottery, he repeats it in a sharpened form, combining *matrem ... armis* into *spolium*, in order to word Hecuba's contempt. Cf. Anliker: "Soll derselbe (verachtenswürdige) Ulixes, der sich die Rüstung Achills angeeignet hat, nun auch noch den Hektor berauben, indem er seine Mutter in die Sklaverei führt?"

With the words *Hectoris spolium*, Seneca expresses the same as Ov. *Met.* 13.486-7 (*quam uictor Vlixes / esse suam nollet*) *nisi quod tamen Hectora partu / ediderat.* For this use of the genitive with the (rare) sing. *spolium*, cf. e.g. *Phoen.* 364-5 *spolium tulit / cruenta nati maenas in partes dati*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.93-4 *hastam, / Actoris Aurunci spolium*, Ov. *Met.* 4.614-5 *at alter / uiperei referens spolium memorabile monstri* (Medusa's head).

991 sterilis: see on 857 *saxis*; cf. also *Thy.* 586-7 *pauper / ... Laertes*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.41-2 *non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis / porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae.*

saeuis: '(of physical forces, conditions, etc.) violent, fierce' (*OLD* s.v. 5), of the sea again e.g. *Phoen.* 114 *saeuum ... mare*, *Med.* 412 *pontusue coro saeuus*, *Thy.* 361 *saeuo ... freto*, Pl. *Mer.* 197 *saeuis fluctibus*, Lucr. 5.222 *saeuis ... undis* (Liebermann p. 104, n. 70 deals with *saeuus*). Cf. also below 995 *saeuiet.*

992 inclusa: cf. above 340 *inclusa fluctu* and the note on 339 *Scyros.* Caviglia aptly compares the description of Corsica, Seneca's place of exile 41-49 A.D., in *Anthol. Lat.* 237 Riese (= Sen. *Epigr.* 3 Prato) 1 *barbara praeruptis inclusa est Corsica saxis.*

non capit: 'cannot hold'; cf. above 27 *non capiunt*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.644 (Apollo to Ascanius) *nec te Troia capit*, Juv. 10.148 (of Hannibal's ashes) *hic est quem non capit Africa*, Plut. *Alex.* 6 (Philippus to Alexander) 'o son, find yourself a fitting kingdom, for Macedonia cannot hold you'. Consequently, I take the words as a taunt instead of a prophecy (the usual interpretation since Gronovius) alluding to her transformation into a dog and her dying at Cynossema in Thrace (Eur. *Hec.* 1265-73, Ov. *Met.* 13.565-71), or at Troy (*Ag.* 706-8). Henry, wondering why Seneca here does not make a more definite allusion to that transformation, suggests that it would interfere with the idea unfolded in 994-5 and 1005-8 of (ever)lasting plagues brought upon the Greeks by Hecuba as an "agent of fate" (E. Henry, 'Seneca's Hecuba', in: *Vir bonus discendi peritus*, London 1988, 49).

tumulos meos: Fantham, comparing Ov. *Met.* 13.510 *tumulis auulsa meorum*, thinks the words equivalent to *tumulos meorum* and translates 'my family tombs'. I rather take them as a poetic plural, 'my tomb'; as Boyle *ad loc.* notes, Fantham's view "would lessen the line's dramatic point and force".

993 duc, duc: in Sen. trag. the immediate repetition of the imperative is also found above 191, 627 *ite, ite*, *Med.* 32 *da, da*; in other poets e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 6.11 *caue, caue*, Verg. *Ecl.* 3.79 *uale, uale*. It occurs more frequently in Plautus (even a triplet at *Cur.* 276, *Pers.* 766a), Terence (e.g. *Ad.* 620) and Cicero (e.g. *Ver.* 5.128).

nil moror: both literally 'I don't delay (you)', and transferred 'I make no objection, I don't mind' (*OLD* s.v. *moror* 4c); cf. *Ag.* 304-5 (Aegisthus to Clytemestra) *nil moror tuo / aperire ferro pectus aerumnis graue.*

dominum: note the use of the hated word, probably spoken with disdain, instead of *te.*

sequor; / ... sequentur: for the repetition of verbs, connecting lines, cf. 995 *ueniet* - 997 *ueniant*, 1005 *precer* - *precor* - 1008 *precabor*, 1006-7 *accidat.*

994 me ... fata: Zwierlein (1986) 108 rightly paraphrases: "Wer mich, das Unglücksweib, auf seinem Schiff mit sich führt, dem werde ich (das für mich charakteristische) Unglück bringen." For the phrase, cf. Verg. *Cat.* 11.3-4 *sua quemque sequuntur / fata*, Ov. *Tr.* 4.1.62 *huc quoque sunt nostras fata secuta uias*, Prop. 2.22.19 *me licet et Thamyrae cantoris fata sequantur.*

(non ... / ... mare): the parenthesizing of these words makes Leo's suggestion that something like *sociosque merget, obruent reducem quoque* has fallen out, superfluous; in this way, *sequentur* can be combined with the substantives in 996. For the use of a parenthesis, cf. above 746. Herrmann had tried to mend the passage by reading: *me mea sequentur fata: non pelago quies / tranquilla ueniet, saeuient uenti, mare / et bella et ignes et mea et Priami mala.* The terrible storm that befell the Greek fleet on its way home, here prophesied by Hecuba, is described in *Ag.* 460-578.

quies / tranquilla: the pleonasm occurs again *H.F.* 159-60 *uitae / tranquilla quies*, Luc. 1.250 *tranquilla quies*; cf. *Med.* 158 *tacita ... quies*, *Ag.* 60 *placidam ... quietem* (= Verg. *Aen.* 4.5), Verg. *Geo.* 2.467 *secura quies*, Ov. *Met.* 7.184 *muta silentia.*

quies / ... ueniet, saeuiet ... mare: chiasmus, cf. e.g. *Oed.* 5 *stragemque quam nox fecit ostendet dies*

996 et ... et ... et ... et: for the polysyndeton cf. e.g. *Med.* 166-7 (Medea) *Medea superest: hic mare et terras uides / ferrumque et ignes et deos et fulmina.*

997 dum ... ueniant: 'until such time as' (*OLD* s.v. *dum* 4b: with subj. usually indicating an expected, possible, etc., event).

interim: 'meanwhile' (*OLD* s.v. 1) or 'for the time being, for the present' (*OLD* 2). In Sen. trag. the adverb occurs only here and *Phae.* 1274 *interim haec ignes ferant.* Denoting 'sometimes' (*OLD* 5), it is found twice in the *corpus*, *H.O.* 481 *interim scelus est fides*, 930-1 *interim poena est mori, / sed saepe donum.* On its use here, cf. Summers' note at the end of *Ep.* 78 (§ 29) *interim hoc tene, hoc morde*: "'for the present', of action that serves as a temporary substitute for something that is to be done in the future: a Silver use of which Sen. is extremely fond. I have noted some twenty exx. in the Letters".

998 occupaui: besides other meanings, e.g. 'grasp' at 793, the verb can also denote 'forestall' (*OLD* s.v. 11), 'act so as to anticipate others' (*OLD* 12b); cf. *Ag.* 193 (= *H.O.* 435) *scelus occupandum est*, *Thy.* 201-4 (Atreus) *proinde antequam se firmat aut uires parat, / petatur ultro, ne quiescentem petat. / aut perdet aut peribit: in medio est scelus / positum occupanti*, *Phoen.* 416 (Antigona) *scelus in propinquo est: occupa, mater, preces*, *Ep.* 29.5 *omnia quae dicturus sum occupabit*, and esp. *H.O.* 882-4 (Deianira) *laus tibi erepta incluta est, / ingens triumphus: aemuli, Iuno, tui / mortem occupaui.* Hecuba seized his lot before someone else could. Like 994 *me mea sequentur fata*, her wording implies control of the *fata.*

999-1008 *Pyrrhus hurries on the stage to drag off Polyxena. Hecuba utters a curse on the Greek fleet.*

Pyrrhus' entry offers a strong contrast to Ulysses' entrance in the previous Act: no hesitation, no *captatio beneuolentiae*, no explanation for his coming, no word at all. The reactions are in line: not a word from Polyxena, no pleading from Hecuba on behalf of her daughter but only an incitement to Pyrrhus to kill herself, and a two-words (*abreptam trahit*) description of the rapid action (for some critical remarks on the conspicuous reticence here and in *Ag.* 778 ff., see Zwierlein [1966] 58 f.). The scene also contrasts strongly with Euripides' handling of this matter. At *Hec.* 218 ff. it is Odysseus who comes to take Polyxena away; there Polyxena reacts to his message and words a moving farewell to her mother (409 ff.) before being killed by Pyrrhus (523 ff.).

999 sed: the conjunction is often used to introduce a new actor or the chorus, cf. e.g. *H.F.* 202-3 *sed maesta uenit ... / Megara*, 827-8 *densa sed laeto uenit / clamore turba*, *Phae.* 583; combined with *ecce*, it occurs at *H.F.* 329, *Ag.* 388, 586.

incitato: Peiper's *en citato* may be right, cf. *Phae.* 384 *sed en, patescunt regiae fastigia*, 989, 1062 *citato ... gradu*, 1001 *citatis passibus*, *Med.* 891 *citatum ... gradum*, but in view of the previous note not necessarily so. In Sen. trag. *incitatus* occurs again *Phae.* 1236 *incitatis ... turbinibus* (of the rapid gyrations of Ixion's wheel), and *Phoen.* 161 *incitatis ictibus* (of Oedipus' blows on his neck). Prud. *Peristephanon* 12.59 reads *gressu properemus incitato*, Sen. *Phoen.* 28 *cursu incito*. Most editors have accepted Peiper's alteration. Boyle also prints it in his text, but in his commentary and in Appendix II he makes clear that he sides with Zwierlein in keeping the transmitted text.

gradu uultuque: see on 522-3 *dubio gradu / uultuque*.

1000 uultuque toruo: see on 467. Garrod (1911) 215 without further explanation comments "malim *toruos* (*-us*)".

quid cessas?: like 678 *cessatis ...?*, and *Ag.* 986-7 (Clytemestra) *Aegisthe, cessas impium ferro caput / demetere?*, it here is a question used to stimulate another person wavering before the very moment of decisive action; it is more often found in a self-exhortation (see on 870). For the two pauses in the line, within the third and after the fifth foot, cf. below 1005, *H.F.* 1026-7 *abest nec usquam est. cernere hoc audes, nimis / uiuax senectus? si piget luctus, habes.*

1001 reclude: 'lay open' (*OLD* s.v. 3b), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10.601 *tum, latebras animae, pectus mucrone recludit*, 4.63-4 *pecudumque reclusis / pectoribus*, Hor. *Epod.* 17.71 *ense pectus ... recludere*, Ov. *Met.* 7.285-6 *stricto Medea recludit / ense senis iugulum*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.252-3 *reclusis / pectoribus*; likewise *Ag.* 305 *aperire ferro pectus*, *Oct.* 367 *reserat dominae pectora ferro*. Sen. trag. uses the verb once more, *Thy.* 374-5 *qui Caspia fortibus / recludunt iuga Sarmatis.*

1002 soceros: 'a father-in-law and his wife' (*OLD* s.v. *socer* b), cf. *Med.* 106 *soceris ... uolentibus*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.455-7 *qua se ... / saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat / ad soceros*, Ov. *Met.* 3.132-3 *soceri tibi Marsque Venusque / contigerant.*

mactator: the only occurrence of the noun in extant Latin literature. For other Senecan coinages in *-tor*, see on 546 *aestimator*; for his use of *mactare*, see on 196.

senum: for the rhetoric generalizing plural, referring only to the murder of Priam (44-50, 310-3), cf. 569 *uicimus matrum dolos* (only Thetis'), and the use of *semper* (164), *solita* (249), *solent* (360). For such a plural in Greek tragedy, see e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 340-1 (Hecuba to Polyxena) 'for he (sc. Odysseus) has children too', *Herc.* 455 (cited on 507 *turba*).

1003 hic: Farnabius' interpretation "meus senilis hic cruor" has been generally accepted by the commentators and translators. Steidle (1968) 59, n. 90, however, thinks that Hecuba at 1002 has finished the theme of her own death. In his view, she clutches her daughter and points at her with the words *hic sanguis*; his interpretation met the approval of Hiltbrunner (1985) 1010. Although it in a way would ease the sentence (*hic sanguis* and *abreptam* referring to the same person, *trahe* rounding off *perge*), I prefer the traditional view.

decet: the verb is used similarly in the context of crimes in *Med.* 49-50 (Medea) *haec uirgo feci; grauior exurgat dolor: / maiora iam me scelera post partus decent*, *Ag.* 51-2 (the shade of Thyestes to Aegisthus) *quid ipse temet consulis torques rogas, / an deceat hoc te? respice ad patrem: decet*, 124 (Clytemestra to herself) *te decet maius nefas.*

abreptam: cf. 813 *abripite* of the dragging away of Astyanax. The use of the participle without a noun or personal pronoun (*eam*) recalls above 814 *captas* (sc. *nos*); cf. also *Phae.* 95 *reuulsam.*

trahit: most editors prefer E's *trahe*; however, in the series of imperatives the A reading is an apparent *lectio difficilior*. For the combination *abreptam trahit*, cf. *Ag.* 997 *abripite* - 1003 *trahite*. Thomann associates *trahit* with Achilles' dragging Hector (189 *trahens*).

1004 maculate: 'pollute', often with blood, e.g. *Ag.* 218-9 *hunc domi reducem paras / mactare et aras caede maculare impia?*, 948 *et signa caedis ueste maculata gerit*, *Oed.* 140-1 *nec cruor, ferrum maculauit atra / turpis e plaga sanies profusa*, Ov. *Met.* 7.315 *exiguo maculauit sanguine ferrum.* With the transferred sense 'disgrace' a good name, it is found e.g. in *Phae.* 252 *haud te, fama, maculari sinam*, *Ag.* 28 *nec hactenus Fortuna maculauit patrem*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.851 *tuum maculaui crimine nomen*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.60 *donec egregiam laudem fine turpi macularent.* As for the plural form, Hecuba proceeds to address the Greeks in general when Pyrrhus goes off with Polyxena.

caede funesta: the combination is found again *Phae.* 1275 *patefacite acerbam caede funesta domum.* For the placing of *funesta*, cf. also the line-endings *Phoen.* 635 *clade funesta iacens*, *Thy.* 189 *clade funesta occidat*, 691 *ipse funesta prece*, *Oed.* 648 *funesto gradu.*

1005 maculate: for the anaphora of the verb, cf. above 806-8 *sume*, 902-3 *celebrate*.

manes: especially the shade of Achilles. The combination *superos – manes*, is also found in Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.138 *carmine di superi placantur, carmine manes*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.34 (*responsa*) *quae superi manesque dabant.*

1006 his digna sacris aequora: Eurybates' report (*Ag.* 460 ff.) of the horrible storm that did befall the Greek fleet during the night on the homeward-voyage ends with the lines (577-8) *postquam litatum est Ilio, Phoebus redit / et damna noctis tristis ostendit dies.*

sacris: cf. above 634-5 *lustrale ... debitum muris ... / sacrum*, of the killing of Astyanax, and below 1102 *sacra*.

classi ... / ... Pelasgae: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.268 *pro classe Pelasga*, *Culex* 309 *in classes ... Pelasgas*.

1008 meae ... rati: the contorted wordorder (for: *quidquid meae rati precabor cum uehar*) adds to the suspense that is created by Hecuba's prayer/curse. A similar ending of a scene is found in *H.F.* 520-3 *cur subito labant / agitata motu templa? cur mugit solum? / infernus imo sonuit e fundo fragor. / audimur! est est sonitus Herculei gradus*, after which a choral song (524-91) bridges the time until the actual entrance of Hercules at 592.

FOURTH CHORAL ODE (1009-1055)

As in previous odes, the chorus does not react to what has happened. One might certainly have expected some feeling of compassion here with Polyxena's fate, some comment on her being led away. Nevertheless, there is a connection in the taking up (1009-12, 1024-33) of Helen's words *uos leuat tanti mali / comitatus* (913-4) and the conversion of Hecuba's ominous closing words (1007 *ratibus ... mille*) into one of the illustrative images (1030 *mille ... carinas*). A summary of the contents:

1009-17 A like-minded company makes grief easier to bear.
1018-23 Misery is only felt by comparison.
1024-33 In a shipwreck common suffering is comforting.
1034-41 Two more illustrations from mythology.
1042-55 They will soon split up, and only smoke will be left of Troy.

This fourth ode has much in common with the third choral song: metre (sapphic hendecasyllables), length (47 lines), and theme: the future of captivity. Since it is exceptional for Seneca to write two consecutive choruses in the same metre, the formal affinities of these odes suggest that he intended them as a complementary pair: the composite of arrival (ode 3) and departure (ode 4) representing the voyage to a new life.

On the other hand, there is also a relation to the second ode. They share Lucretian echoes, since in this ode "the imagery of stormy seas, the subject of pleasure in the presence of distress, the contrast between the one and the many, and the rhetorical structure of the Latin all recall the opening of Lucretius' second Book" (Wilson). In addition, in both odes a "more universal" subject is found than in the first and the third. As the second ode was concerned with the end of human life when the spirit passes away *ut ... fumus* (392), so this song deals with the end of Troy, marked by smoke (1053-5).

As in other odes, e.g. *Oed.* 980-94, *Ag.* 87-107, Seneca enhances its general character with the use of quite a few *sententiae*.

In his *Consolationes*, Seneca utters comparable thoughts, e.g. *Dial.* 11.1.4 *maximum ergo solacium est cogitare id sibi accidisse quod omnes ante se passi sunt omnesque passuri; et ideo mihi uidetur rerum natura quod grauissimum fecerat commune fecisse, ut crudelitatem fati consoletur aequalitas*, 11.12.2 *est autem hoc ipsum solacii loco, inter multos dolorem suum diuidere*; in his *Ad Marciam*, however, he rejects this line of comfort (*Dial.* 6.12.5): *maliuolum solacii genus est turba miserorum.*

[F. Marx (1932) 14, 24-26; C.G. van Leijenhorst (1980) 159-166; G. Lawall (1981) 249; E. Fantham (1982) 356-358; M. Wilson (1983) 53; P.J. Davis (1993) 143-146]

1009-17 Marx in his analysis of this ode calls attention to the balanced structure of this first part: 1009-10 two parallel main clauses (anaphora of *dulce*), 1011-2 one sentence, containing a subordinate clause (note the strong *lenius*), 1013 a single independent line, both concluding and anticipating, 1014-5 two closely connected main clauses, 1016-7 one sentence, again containing a subordinate clause.

1009 dulce: cf. the advice that is given by the chorus of Trojan women to Hecuba and Andromache in Eur. *Tro.* 608-9 (transl. Way)

> How sweet unto afflicted souls are tears,
> Lamentings, and the chant with sorrow fraught!

For the use of the neut. as subst. (*OLD* s.v. 5b: 'a source of enjoyment, delight'), cf. e.g. Pl. *Ps.* 63 *dulce amarumque una nunc misces mihi*, Verg. *Ecl.* 3.82-3 *dulce satis umor ... / ... mihi solus Amyntas* (after 3.80 *triste* ...), Hor. *Ep.* 1.11.23 *neu dulcia differ in annum.*

Zwierlein (1984) 174 f., dealing with the early vestiges of Seneca's tragedies in France, compares these lines and *Ag.* 664 *lacrimas lacrimis miscere iuuat* to Johannes de Hauvilla (12. cent.), *Architrenius* 4.252-5:

> dulce uirum luctus lugere, dolere dolores
> et lacrimis lacrimas planctu rescribere planctum,
> dulcius est oculo dulci decurrere casus
> Fortunaeque uices.

maerenti: for the dative with *dulce*, cf. e.g. *Ep.* 104.4 *si scias alicui id tuorum esse dulce, utile, optabile*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.236 *ita dulce Ioui*; the subst. use of the participle is found again below 1024 *posito.*

populus: 'multitude' (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. *H.F.* 838 *quantus incedit populus per urbes*, *Oed.* 396 *populus infernae Stygis*, *Dial.* 7.2.4 *quam magnus mirantium tam magnus inuidentium populus est*, 10.2.4 *circumfusus clientium populus*, *Nat.* 1.5.5 *specula ... quibus si unum ostenderis hominem, populus apparet*, Ov. *Met.* 12.499 *populus superamur ab uno.* In the following lines, the noun will be varied by *gentes* (1010), *turba* (1012), *multos* (1014); at the end (1016-7), in the same final position as *gentes* (1010), it is replaced by *omnes*, conspicuously juxtaposed with *nemo.*

dolentum: the usual gen. plur. ending of adjectives and participles in *-ns* is *-ium*, e.g. Ter. *And.* 555 *amantium irae amoris integratiost*, Sen. *Dial.* 9.1.7 *dominorum elegantium.* As Servius notes on Verg. *Aen.* 11.866 *defendentum ... ruentum*, the *-um* ending may also be used when it *ad masculinum* (*defendentes*) *redit* (the same is true for fem.); the neutr. *defendentia* does require a – no shorter – gen. *defendentium.* The *-um* ending is often found in poetry, e.g. Pl. *Most.* 171 *amantum*, Enn. *Ann.* 186 V^2 *balantum* (= Lucr. 2.369, Verg. *Geo.* 1.272, *Aen.* 7.538), Hor. *Carm.* 3.18.1 *nympharum fugientum*, but also in prose: Tac. *Ann.* 4.12 *habitum ac uoces dolentum*, 11.22 *in coetu salutantum principem.*

Sen. trag. likes to apply it, cf. *Phae.* 1109 *dolentum sedulus ... labor, H.F.* 93 *nocentum exilia, Med.* 740 *uulgus silentum*; at *Dial.* 11.14.1, *sapientum* is found in some of the MSS.

1010 dulce: cf. Lucr. 2.1-7 *suaue ... suaue ... nil dulcius est ... quam.* The anaphora clinches the two lines with their different constructions: from a noun-subject to a noun-clause as subject. In a quite different context, this anaphora of *dulce* is found at Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.23-4 *dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo / dulce loquentem.*

resonare: for the use of the verb of living creatures (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. e.g. *Oed.* 382 *nec usquam territi resonant greges*, combined with an abl. instr. *Med.* 357-8 *Pieria resonans cithara / Thracius Orpheus*; of the musical instrument itself, e.g. *Ag.* 326 *resonetque manu pulsa citata uocale chelys*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.3-4 *testudo resonare septem / callida neruis.* It is more often applied to the place resounding (*OLD* s.v. 3), like *sonare* above 65, 108, e.g. *H.F.* 1108 *resonet maesto clamore chaos*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.668 *resonat magnis plangoribus aether.*

1011 lenius ... / ... frequentat: the idea is now phrased from a negative point of view.

lenius: the E reading generally has been preferred over A's *lentius*, which was defended only by Brugnoli. See Zwierlein (1966) 212 ff., who rightly notes (p. 217) that *lenius* ('weniger scharf, gelinder') is more appropriate with *mordent* and in connection with *dulce* than *lentius* ('langsamer').

luctus lacrimaeque: the alliterative combination is also found in Liv. 22.49.8 *etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.*

mordent: 'to cause annoyance or anxiety to, distress, hurt, worry' (*OLD* 7; *ThLL* VIII 1486.73 f.), e.g. *Ep.* 66.32 *utraque ergo res sine causa animum et diffundit et mordet*, Ov. *Met.* 2.805-6 *dolore / ... occulto mordetur.* Similarly δάκνω (LSJ III of the mind 'bite, sting'), e.g. Hdt. 7.16α ἔδακε λύπη.

1012 turba ... similis: for the hyperbaton, cf. e.g. below 1020-1. Caviglia, with Brugnoli, prefers the A reading *simili*: "è il *fletus* a constituire l'elemento di rassomiglianza; *turba similis* avrebbe meno significato (anche se è sempre possibile pensare ad una ipallage)." Zwierlein (1986) 109 in favour of *similis* refers to 449-50 (*uultus Hectoris*) *fletu grauis / similisque nostro*, and concludes properly: "Es geht hier zunächst nur um das gemeinschaftliche Klagen (...); erst danach kommt das diesem Klagen zugrundeliegende gemeinsame Geschick ins Spiel."

frequentat: 'to take part in or perform in great numbers', *OLD* 2c, citing this passage and Cic. *Inu.* 1.40 *publicum est, quod ciuitas uniuersa aliqua de causa frequentat, ut ludi ... bellum.* The other occurrencies of the verb in Sen. trag. are below 1130, *H.F.* 845 *turba secretam Cererem frequentat, Phae.* 482 *urbem frequenta, ciuium coetus cole.* In his prose, it is found e.g. at *Dial.* 6.3.2 *non desiit denique Drusi sui celebrare nomen, ubique illum sibi pruiuatim publiceque repraesentare, libentissime de illo loqui, de illo audire: cum memoria illius uixit, quam nemo potest retinere et*

frequentare qui illam tristem sibi reddidit, *Ep.* 38.1 *merito exigis, ut hoc inter nos epistularum commercium frequentemus* [*ThLL* VI 1310.4-9].

For the theme of lines 1011-2, cf. also *Ag.* 664-6 (Chorus) *lacrimas lacrimis miscere iuuat: / magis exurunt quos secretae lacerant curae, / iuuat in medium deflere suos*. The notion that the intensity of an emotion is diminished if it is shared with others is also found in *H.F.* 380-3 *una res superest mihi / fratre ac parente carior, regno ac lare: / odium tui, quod esse cum populo mihi / commune doleo: pars quota ex isto mea est?*

1013 semper ... semper: in contrast with other adverbs like *nunc* (see above 107), Wills notes this as the first instance of repeated *semper*; it is found again Stat. *Theb.* 12.585-6 *semper et in curru, semper te mater ouantem / cernat*.

a: unlike other poets, Sen. trag. makes little use of the interjection *a(h)*; the other instances are *Med.* 139 and 930 (restored by Ascensius). For the structure *semper a semper*, cf. *Med.* 139-40 *melius, a melius, dolor / furiose, loquere*, Juv. 14.45-6 *procul, a procul inde puellae / leonum*.

malignus: 'spiteful' (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. e.g. *Ag.* 270 (Aegisthus on kings) *nobis maligni iudices, aequi sibi*, *Ep.* 7.7 *malignus comes quamuis candido et simplici rubiginem suam adfricuit*, *Dial.* 7.18.1 *malignissima capita et optimo cuique inimicissima*; the meaning 'grudging, niggardly' (*OLD* 1) is found in the other occurrencies of the word in Sen. trag., viz. *Phae.* 15 *amne maligno*, 457-8 *arborque celso uertice euincet nemus / quam non maligna caedit aut resecat manus*.

Fantham's note *ad loc.* refers to *Dial.* 5.43.4 ... *tu malum gaudium ex aliena* (sc. *poena*) *percipias*, and to the notion of *epichaerekakia* in Greek literature (Soph. *Aj.* 961, Menander fr. 637 Körte).

1014 gaudet: again of *dolor* at 1066. For the thought, cf. *Med.* 426-8 (Medea) *sola est quies, / mecum ruina cuncta si uideo obruta: / mecum omnia abeant. trahere, cum pereas, libet.*

1015 non solum: after the varied wording of the consolation afforded by a multitude, this line implies that one or two sharers also have their beneficent effect.

placuisse: 'to find favour (for a particular purpose)', *OLD* s.v. *placeo* 2a, citing this instance with e.g. *Ag.* 98-100 *et cum in pastus armenta uagos / uilia currant, / placet in uulnus maxima ceruix*, Ov. *Met.* 15.801-2 *neque enim locus ullus in Vrbe / ad facinus diramque placet, nisi curia, caedem*.

poenae: *OLD* s.v. *placeo* 2a takes it as a dativus finalis, like Liv. 24.20.15 *hibernis placebat locus*, Sen. *Con.* 7.5.2 *nox placet sceleri: prorsus adulteri tempus*; Caviglia refers to the similar use of *poenae* in *Med.* 256-7 *quippe quem poenae expetit / letoque Acastus*. Fantham comments that the construction with *placuisse* suggests personification, but she thinks the suggestion of retribution inadequately motivated in the generalized context of 1015. Thomann, who also writes 1013 *Dolor* (cf. *H.F.* 693, *Oed.* 652, 1060), does take the noun personified as the goddess *Poena*.

sortem: the double meaning is preserved in English and Dutch 'lot'. In the illustrative passages below, the word is varied by 1026 *fatum* and 1029 *casum*.

1016-7 ferre ... recusat: for the use of the inf. with *recuso* (*OLD* 3a), cf. *Phae.* 135 *sero recusat ferre quod subiit iugum*, *Oed.* 1024-5 *socia cur scelerum dare / poenas recusas?*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.126-7 *recusat / prodere* [H-Sz 347; K-S 1.668]. In Senecan prose, it is found at *Ben.* 5.1.5 *nec recusabis conferre alia.*

omnes: in the concluding *sententia*, the chorus reverses the *non solum* idea of the previous line. Kingery aptly compares the sentiment uttered by the younger Pliny in describing his experience during the eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79: *possem gloriari non gemitum mihi, non uocem parum fortem in tantis periculis excidisse, nisi me cum omnibus, omnia mecum perire misero, magno tamen mortalitatis solacio credidissem* (*Ep.* 6.20.17).

1017 nemo: note the scansion *nemŏ* (again 1018; cf. 171 *subitŏ*, 264 *uincendŏ*); the usual *nemō* is found below 1023.

1018-23 A very different structure: after the introducing topic sentence, there follow three lines closely connected by conditional imperatives, after which the penultimate line forms an apodosis to the latter part of these, and the last line to the former, in a ring-composition stating the first line anew.

1018 nemo ... sit: Madvig transposed 1018a and 1019a; he was generally followed herein (also by Moricca in his Seconda Edizione). As instances of this figure, in which the apodosis is preceded by an imperative standing for a conditional clause, Fantham quotes *Ben.* 3.29.5 *tolle radicem: nemora non surgent*, 4.18.4 *hanc societatem tolle et ... scindes*, *Ep.* 66.22 *pone ex alia parte uirum bonum diuitiis abundantem, ex altera nihil habentem ... : uterque aeque uir bonus erit.*

Reeve, however, refers to the opposite phenomenon, found in *Ep.* 42.4 *eadem uelle cognosces: da posse quantum uolunt*, 90.16 *non desiderabis artifices: sequere naturam*, 95.23 *innumerabiles esse morbos non miraberis: cocos numera*. Therefore, the transmitted order, in which the anaphora of *nemo* is the *cardo* of the smooth transition, should not be altered, in my opinion; similarly Bishop (1985)] 292, n. 31; Zwierlein (1986) 109; Boyle.

1019 tolle: apart from the instances, quoted by Fantham, cf. also *H.F.* 433 *imperia dura tolle: quid uirtus erit?* Van Leijenhorst aptly calls attention to Cato *Monost.* 35 *tolle mali testes: leuius mala nostra feremus*; Ernout-Thomas, p. 253 cite Cic. *Tusc.* 4.54 *iracundus non semper iratus est; lacesse, iam uidebis furentem.*

remouete: 'to set aside, leave out of account' (*OLD* 6). Note the climax: *tolle felices* 5 syllables, *remouete ... auro* 11 syllables, *remouete ... bubus* 17 syllables, and the parallel placing of *remouete* in 1019-20.

1020 auro ... / rura: the combination of these two nouns, being the characteristic forms of wealth, is also found in Tib. 1.1.1-2 *diuitias alius fuluo sibi congerat auro / et teneat culti iugera multa soli*, [Tib.] 3.3.11-2 *nam graue quid prodest pondus mihi diuitis auri, / aruaque si findant pinguia mille boues?*

centum: cf. the use of the word as a "typically large number" (*OLD* s.v. b) in descriptions of wealth at Verg. *Aen.* 7.537-9 *Ausoniisque olim ditissimus aruis: / quinque greges illi balantum, quina redibant / armenta et terram centum uertebat aratris*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.33-4 *te greges centum Siculaeque circum / mugiunt uaccae*, *Sat.* 1.1.50 *iugera centum* [see Wölfflin, *ALL* 9 (1896) 177-192].

1021 rura ... bubus: the words clearly recall Hor. *Epod.* 2.1-3 *beatus ille qui procul negotiis, / ut prisca gens mortalium, / paterna rura bubus exercet suis.*

scindunt: of ploughing (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. *Phoen.* 124-5 *quisquis Assyrio loca / possessa regi scindis*, Verg. *Geo.* 2.398-9 *omne quotannis / terque quaterque solum scindendum*, 3.160-1 *scindere terram / et campum horrentem fractis inuertere glaebis*, Plin. *Nat.* 17.41. For a later use, see Claud. 21.34-5 *qui Pangaea iuuencis / scinditis.*

opulenta: '(of places, countries, etc.) abounding in wealth or natural resources' (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. *H.F.* 239 *nemoris opulenti domos* (the garden of the Hesperides), 332 *urbis ... opulenta Thebanae loca*, *Phoen.* 54 *opulenta ... regna*, 604 *trahens opulenta Pactolus uada.* The other occurrencies of the word in Sen. trag. are at *Oed.* 691 *opulentae dapes* (*OLD* 4b 'richly appointed, sumptuous') and *Thy.* 226 *aries, ductor opulenti gregis.*

The first instances of the adj. in extant Latin literature are in Plautus (14 times according to Ernout), e.g. *Am.* 166 *opulento homini*, *Bac.* 96 *opulentum opsonium*, *Cist.* 515 *Ops opulenta*, *Epid.* 299-300 *adulescens ... / auro opulentus*, and in Ennius, *scen.* 239 J (= 287 V^2) *Athenas ... opulentum oppidum.* It is used occasionally by other poets, e.g. Catul. 64.43-4 *opulenta ... / regia*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.447 (*templum*) *donis opulentum et numine diuae*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.1-2 *intactis opulentior / thesauris Arabum et diuitis Indiae.* It is absent from Ovid, the elegiac poets, Lucan, Silius and Val. Flaccus. In Senecan prose, it is found nine times, e.g. *Dial.* 9.2.13 *regio uel antiquae satis opulenta turbae.*

Its derivation from *ops* is already mentioned by Var. *L.L.* 5.92. E.W. Fay, 'Composition or suffixation?', *KZ* 45 (1912), 111-133, thinks it a combination of *ope* and * *polentus*, "das von *pollere* kommen soll" [F. Hartmann, 'Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1912', *Glotta* 6 (1915) 326]. Ernout (p. 99), contrasting the adjectives in *-ulentus* as "une formation propre au latin" with the adjectives in *-osus*, thinks that the suffix consists of two elements: *-ul-* (as in *bibulus, credulus*) and *-ento-* (as in *cruentus*). Oswald Szemerényi, 'The Latin Adjectives in *-ulentus*', *Glotta* 33 (1954) 279, suggests that it comes from Indo-European **openont-* 'rich, wealthy,

abundant' (see also Leumann, p. 336). As for its meaning, Hans Drexler, *RhM* 102 (1959) 57 f. feels that it denotes 'mächtig' rather than 'reich'. For its appliance to fertile country (*ThLL* IX 2.837.75 ff.), cf. Liv. 9.36.11 *opulenta Etruriae arua*, 37.19.7 *opulentum agrum*.

bubus: on the forms *bobus* (A) and *bubus* (E), see N-W I 438 f.; the former is found e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.43, *Saec.* 49, *Epod.* 2.3, the more frequent *bubus* e.g. Pl. *Most.* 62, *Truc.* 646, Ov. *Met.* 15.12, Liv. 22.10.7. The MSS vary likewise at Ov. *Met.* 14.3, 15.618.

1022 pauperi: corresponds with *diuites*, as *miser* (1023) with *felices* (1019).

surgent: '(of circumstances, emotions, etc.) to develop' (*OLD* s.v. 11), cf. *Thy.* 944 *surgens dolor*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.813-4 *saeuae iamque altius irae / Dardanio surgunt ductori*, 9.190-1 *percipe porro, / quid dubitem et quae nunc animo sententia surgat.*

1023 est ... comparatus: the idea of relative value is also found in Seneca's prose, for instance *Ep.* 43.2 *magnitudo non habet modum certum: comparatio illam aut tollit aut deprimit* (illustrated by: *nauis quae in flumine magna est in mari paruula est; gubernaculum quod alteri naui magnum alteri exiguum est*), 84.13 *quaecumque uidentur eminere in rebus humanis, quamuis pusilla sint et comparatione humillimorum exstent*, *Dial.* 5.30.3 *nostra nos sine comparatione delectent; numquam erit felix quem torquebit felicior.* Summers cites this line also on *Ep.* 5.9 *nemo tantum praesentibus miser est*, but there the context is different: *nos et uenturo torquemur et praeterito.* In his *Consolationes*, Seneca also words the reverse side of the medal, e.g. *Dial.* 6.12.4 *circumspice, inquam, omnis; nullam tam miseram nominabis domum, quae non inueniat in miseriore solacium.*

Fantham thinks Horace's first satire probably Seneca's main inspiration in this passage, cf. *Sat.* 1.1.40 *nil obstet tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter*, and 110-2 *quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber / tabescat, neque se maiori pauperiorum / turbae comparet.* Davis' comment on the line is also worth quoting, I think: "a *sententia* so extraordinary that one might conclude that only a philosopher could maintain it" (p. 144).

1024-33 Two lines (*dulce ... uultus*) in one clause formulate anew the message of 1009-23, three lines (*ille ... petitos*) illustrate the sad fate of someone who has suffered alone (taking up 1015 *solum*), five lines (*aequior ... reuertit*) elaborate 1014 (*in multos*).

1024 dulce: for the repetition at the start of the new stanza, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.1 and 5 (and 6) *otium*.

in immensis posito ruinis: more concrete than 1009 *maerenti*. Despite the general formulation, one cannot but think of their own situation (cf. 41 *ruinas*).

1025 laetos: similarly of looks (*OLD* 3b) e.g. Cic. *Att.* 8.9.2 *laeto uultu*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.862 *frons laeta parum*.

habuisse: see on 103 *sumpsisse*.

1026 deplorat: the compound, in Sen. trag. occurring only here, is mainly found in prose, e.g. *Ep.* 76.23 *deplorare sortem suam*, *Dial.* 9.7.6 *omnia deplorantes*, 9.15.2 *humanius est deridere uitam quam deplorare*; in poetry, only Ovid applied it several times (*Met.* 1.272, 5.63, 13.481, *Tr.* 1.3.46). Some instances in later poetry: Luc. 6.788, Petr. 123, v. 195 (see Dewar on Claud. VI *Cons. Hon.* 264).

1027 singulari: 'that is on its own, solitary, unaccompanied' (*OLD* s.v. 2c), in Sen. trag. only here. In his prose, the adj. occurs eight times, e.g. *Ep.* 33.4 *singulares sententias ex turba separare*. Billerbeck (1988) 84 puts forth metrical convenience as a reason for this single instance of prosaic *singularis* instead of *solus, unicus* or *unus*. In my view, it may also recall Eur. *Hel.* 1128, where Nauplius is styled μονόκωπος ἀνήρ.

1028 nudus: "e naufragio enatans", Farnabius; "lucro et omni commercii fructu destitutus", Leo (1879) 377. For the use of the word, "implying loss of all one's material possessions" (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. *Oct.* 324 *nudi* (quoted below on 1031), Cic. *S. Rosc.* 147 *quem tu e patrimonio tamquam e naufragio nudum expulisti*, Hor. *Epod.* 17.54 *saxa nudis surdiora nauitis*, [Tib.] 3.3.9-10 *tunc cum permenso defunctus tempore lucis / nudus Lethaea cogerer ire rate*.

cecidit: '(w. *in* + acc.) to come upon (people) or arrive at (a place) by chance' (*OLD* 20), cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.23 *si non Euryalus Rutulos cecidisset in hostes* [*ThLL* III 29.30 ff. "notione cadendi plus minusue obscurata fere i.q. *incidere* uel *uenire*]; similarly, Dutch 'binnenvallen'.

1029 aequior: 'calm, resigned' (*OLD* 8b), cf. *Med.* 152 *aequo ... animo* (28x in Seneca's prose), *Oed.* 578 *mente non aequa*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.32-3 *quod adest memento / componere aequus*, Prop. 4.1.120 *incipe tu lacrimis aequus adesse tuis*.

tulit: 'gnomic' perfect, see on 258 *continuit*.

1030 pariter: 'together' (*OLD* 1), cf. *Ag.* 171 *sed uela pariter mille fecerunt rates?*, *Med.* 350-2 *quid cum Siculi uirgo Pelori, / rabidos utero succincta canes, / omnis pariter soluit hiatus?*, Luc. 5.426 *cum pariter soluere rates*. At *Med.* 757-8 *pariterque mundus lege confusa aetheris / et solem et astra uidit*, it denotes either 'at the same time' (*OLD* 4), or 'alike' (*OLD* 3), as Costa notes.

carinas: 'ships' (*OLD* 2), cf. above 707, Verg. *Aen.* 5.115 *quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.7-8 *quicumque Bithyna lacessit / Carpathium pelagus carina*. It has been supposed that the use of the word by synecdoche (pars pro toto) in Latin literature already began with Enn. *Ann.* 573 V^2 *carbasus alta uolat pandam ductura carinam*, but Skutsch considers that fragment spurious (*Spur.* 3); in Sen. trag. it is also found at *Med.* 363, 607, 623, 665.

1031 obrui: of ships (*OLD* s.v. 5), for instance, Verg. *Aen.* 1.69 *incute uim uentis submersasque obrue puppis*, Liv. 29.27.15 *prope obrutis nauibus*, Ov. *Ars* 3.584 *saepe perit uentis obruta cumba suis*. For other uses of the verb, see above 263, 416, 690.

tabulaque latus / naufraga, terris mare dum coactis / fluctibus Corus prohibet, reuertit: 'and who, borne on a plank of a wrecked ship, while Corus by driving the waves together tries to keep the sea from the land, returns'.

The text is most uncertain here, with a conspicuous and enigmatic divergence in 1032 between E (*terris*) and A (*spargi*). Most editors prefer *spargi* (or the conjecture *sterni*), but the ensuing collective use of *tabula* ... *naufraga* seems highly questionable to me. Secondly, I strongly doubt the appliance of the verb *reuerti* (so all MSS) to the sea. Therefore, in combination with *terris*, I have returned to Leo's corrections *dum* (MSS *cum*) and *reuertit* (MSS *reuerti*), but I have substituted *latus* (MSS *litus*) for his *uectus*.

tabula: in view of Seneca's liking for the plural form where the singular might be metrically possible, e.g. above 1024 *in immensis* ... *ruinis* (1025 *laetos* ... *uultus* and 1028 *in portus* ... *petitos* may result from his wish to vary the *-um* ending already present in *fatum, fluctum* and *casum*), I cannot see why he should prefer the collective singular here for a mass of 'planks' to metrically correct *tabulis* ... *naufragis*. The plural is usual in this respect and occurs, for instance, in *Oct.* 323-4 *alii lacerae puppis tabulis / haerent nudi*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.118-9 *apparent rari nantes in gurgite uasto, / arma uirum tabulaeque*, Ov. *Met.* 11.428 *et laceras nuper tabulas in litore uidi*, *Ibis* 18 *naufragii tabulas*. For the use of the not collective singular, cf. *Ben.* 3.9.3 *sed ego naufrago tabulam* (sc. *tibi dedi*), Cic. *Off.* 3.89 *si tabulam de naufragio stultus arripuerit*, Prop. 2.26.33 *tabula una duos poterit componere amantis*.

latus: if one reads *spargi*, transmitted *litus* is the subject of that infinitive, of course; Thomann in my opinion incorrectly combines it with *reuertit*: 'zur Küste zurückkehrte'. Leo (1879) 377 f. in combination with *reuertit* proposed *uectus*; he referred to two later passages, *imbribus infestis si solueret unda carinam, te peterem tabula remige uecta mari* (Venantius Fortunatus), *tunc in periculo positi alii nando euaserunt, nonnulli uero arreptis ipsarum nauium tabulis attigerunt litus* (Gregorius of Tours). Schenkl applauded Leo's *reuertit*, but objected to *uectus*; he proposed either to keep *litus*, or to read *latus*. The latter suggestion was also made by Müller (1898) 18 f.: "Etenim hanc agnoverim sententiam: *aequior casum tulit qui mille pariter carinas ponto obrui uidit et dum* (i.e. *quamdiu*) *Corus fluctus in medium mare coactos arcet a terris latus tabula naufraga, tandem reuertit*.

I have also given preference to this conjecture because *latus* and *litus* are easily confused: cf. in Sen. trag. above 837 *litus* A: *latus* E, *Thy.* 114 *latus* A: *litus* E. The conjecture was also taken over by Peiper-Richter, Moricca, and Herrmann. For this use of *fero*, cf. e.g. Catul. 4.19 *tulisse*, Hor. *Epod.* 10.1-2 *nauis* ... *ferens*. Koetschau (1902) 136 f. preferred *laetus*, Damsté (1918) 65 *tutus*. Carlsson (1929) 24-26 and Zwierlein (1966) 207 have defended the MSS reading, and were followed by most editors.

Just as the words *mille ... carinas obrui*, like Hecuba's curse at 1007-8, probably contain an allusion to the returning Greek fleet, the phrase *tabula ... latus naufraga* may recall the picture of Odysseus, who 'scrambled onto one of the beams, bestriding it like a rider on horseback' (*Od.* 5.371, transl. Rieu, Penguin).

1032 naufraga: 'shipwrecked'; likewise of things, *Culex* 357 (*praeda*) *omnis in aequoreo fluitat iam naufraga fluctu*, Ov. *Ars* 1.412 *naufraga membra ratis*, *Tr.* 2.18 *naufraga puppis*. Of persons, e.g. *Ag.* 557 *nos alia maior naufragos pestis uocat*, *Ben.* 3.9.3 cited on *tabula*.

terris: E's *terris* puzzled Gronovius: "Quid sibi vult Etruscus: *Naufraga terris mare cum coactos*. Cogitandum." It was preferred by e.g. Leo, Herrmann, and Moricca, and defended anew by Bishop (1985) 292, n. 31 as 'goal after *reuerti*'. I certainly do not take it as such, but as an ablativus separativus with *prohibet*. The punctuation between the third and fourth foot has no parallel in this ode, but is also found at *Med.* 644, 652, *Phae.* 751.

In itself, *litus ... spargi* would be a logical sequence after *carinas obrui*. For this use of the verb with an instrumental ablative, cf. e.g. *Ag.* 465 *nox prima caelum sparserat stellis*, *Phae.* 1045 *longum rubenti spargitur fuco latus*, Verg. *Ecl.* 5.40 *spargite humum foliis*. The shipwreck and the resulting strewing of planking on the beach, the storm incessantly keeping the piled up waves on shore, would clearly illustrate 1024 *immensis ... ruinis*. Zwierlein (1986) 109 prefers *sterni*, an emendation proposed almost simultaneously by Axelson and Giardina with a reference to Hor. *Carm.* 3.17.10-2 *alga litus inutili / demissa tempestas ab Euro / sternet*; Zwierlein adds a comparable instance of *sternit* in Lucr. 1.274. In my view, *sterni* is not confirmed by the other occurrences of the verb in Sen. trag., all implying an explicit downward movement: cf. above 177, 183, 480, 673, 680, 709, 889, *Phoen.* 260, 561, *Med.* 414, 634, 643, *Phae.* 304, *Thy.* 386, 592, 1109.

dum: Leo's alteration of transmitted *cum*; for the easy confusion, cf. *Thy.* 37 *cum* A: *dum* E, *H.O.* 353 *cum* E: *dum* A. Carlsson (1926) 25, n. 1 defends *cum* most of all because of the alliteration.

coactis / fluctibus: for this use of *cogere*, *ThLL* s.v. III 1523.65 ff. lists e.g. *Ep.* 14.8 *ille* (sc. *auster*) *est enim, qui Siculum pelagus exasperet et in uertices cogat*, *Nat.* 3.2.3 *aqua aliquando in aduersum spiritu impellitur: tunc cogitur, non fluit*, V. Fl. 4.687-8 *fluctuque coacto / angitur ... clausum ... aequor*. Hillen, p. 107, following Zwierlein's text, deals with this passage under the heading 'Synonymer Ablativ ist Träger einer zusätzlichen partizipialen Information' (*fluctus* = *mare*, *cogere fluctus/mare* contrasts with *reuerti*); to *coactis fluctibus*, he compares *Dial.* 1.1.4 *contrahi undas*.

1033 Corus: or *Caurus*, the violent north-west wind (*Nat.* 5.16.5 *a solstitiali occidente Corus uenit*), a regular guest in Seneca's plays: cf. *Med.* 411-2 *non procellosum mare / pontusue coro saeuus*, *Phae.* 737 *ocior nubes glomerante Coro*, 1012-3, 1131, *Ag.* 484 *rabidus ... Corus*, 598, *Thy.*

578 (the 'Index Nominum' of the *OCT* erroneously lists *Thy.* 1033 instead of *Tro.* 1033). Before him, the wind occurs e.g. at Lucr. 6.135 *flamina cauri,* Caes. *Gal.* 5.7.3 *dies circiter uiginti quinque in eo loco commoratus, quod Corus uentus nauigationem impediebat,* Verg. *Geo.* 3.278, 3.356. *Corus* is also often found in Lucan: 1.406, 4.67, 5.572, 599, 606, 7.125, 9.799, plur. 2.617, 9.1001.

prohibet: 'to keep at a distance (from a place)' (*OLD* s.v. 1), here probably best taken *de conatu.* For the use of the simple abl. with the verb, cf. e.g. Ter. *Ph.* 425 *ipsum prohibebo domo,* Caes. *Ciu.* 1.31.3 *Tuberonem portu atque oppido prohibet;* in a transferred sense, Sen. *Ben.* 6.2.3 *non numquam usu beneficii longiore prohibemur.*

reuertit: in defence of *mare ... Corus prohibet reuerti,* editors refer to the use of the verb at Hor. *Carm.* 1.29.10-2 *quis neget arduis / pronos relabi posse riuos / montibus et Tiberim reuerti,* but is not the appliance to *mare* different? And why would Seneca prefer *reuerti* over *reuolui*?

1034-41 The tales of Helle and Phrixus (sole survivor) on the one side, and of Deucalion and Pyrrha (companions in misery, but also *non miseri* by comparison) on the other, illustrate the foregoing. The wording ('complaining') and context (the sea) connect these lines to the preceding segment. Marx notes the ending of the first illustration and the beginning of the second one in the same line (1038): "sie werden also nicht mehr jedes für sich ausgewertet, übrigens auch nicht gemeinsam; es tut überhaupt nicht mehr not, sie auszuwerten."

1034 questus est: cf. 1026 *queriturque* and 1038 *tenuit querelas.* In Ovid's account, *Fast.* 3.873 *flebat, ut amissa gemini consorte pericli.*

Hellen: Helle and her brother Phrixus were the children of Athamas and Nephele. When their stepmother Ino threatened their lives, they tried to escape through the sky by means of a golden-fleeced ram. On their journey from Boeotia to Asia, Helle grew frightened (cf. *Thy.* 851 *pauidam ... Hellen*), fell into the sea and drowned, giving her name to the Hellespont (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.852-76); Phrixus managed to reach Colchis safely.

1035 gregis ductor: here the ram; at *Phae.* 118, the phrase *ductor indomiti gregis* denotes the bull loved by Pasiphae. Canter takes the words as an instance of *antonomasia* (p. 127, see on 827 *uirgini ... diuae*), and as an example of periphrasis (p. 135, see on 8 *qui*); often these tropes cannot be distinguished. Seneca elsewhere applies *ductor* to Jupiter (*H.F.* 299 *deorum ductor*), Agamemnon (*Ag.* 39 *rex ille regum, ductor Agamemnon ducum,* 236 *ignauus iste ductor ac fortis pater,* 1007 *mille ductorem ducum*), and another gold-fleeced ram (*Thy.* 226 *ductor opulenti gregis*); the noun is absent from his prose. Before him, the word was used e.g. by Lucretius (1.86 *ductores Danaum delecti*), Vergil (*Aen.* 2.14 *ductores Danaum,* where Servius notes: *ductores sonantius est quam duces*), Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.89), and Livy (7.41.4). Vergil applies the word also to stags (*Aen.* 1.189) and to bees (*Geo.* 4.88).

radiante: 'beaming, shining'. The verb is often used of golden objects, e.g. *H.O.* 626 *stupet aurato flumine clarum radiare Tagum*, 1239 *radiante clarum fronte gestantem caput*, Ov. *Met.* 4.637 *arboreae frondes auro radiante nitentes*, 6.720 *uellera ... nitido radiantia uillo.*

uillo: 'a woolly or shaggy growth of hair' (*OLD* s.v. *uillus*), cf. Var. *R.R.* 2.2.3 *ouem ... quae lana multa sit et molli, uillis altis et densis*, Ov. *Ep.* 12.201-2 *aureus ille aries uillo spectabilis aureo / dos mea* (Heinze *ad loc.* cites Verg. *Aen.* 5.352, V. Fl. 7.30-1, 8.122-3).

1037 iactum: 'the act of throwing overboard, jettison' (*OLD* s.v. 5; cf. *ThLL* VII 1.69.8 ff.), in Sen. trag. only here; cf. Sen. *Con.* exc. 4.4 *necessitas est quae nauigia iactu exonerat*, Juv. 12.32-4 (*cum*) *nullam prudentia cani / rectoris conferret opem, decidere iactu / coepit cum uentis*, Tac. *Ann.* 14.5 *alii contra nitentes dedere facultatem lenioris in mare iactus*, Paul. *dig.* 14.2.1 *si leuandae nauis gratia iactus mercium factus est.* The phrase *iactum facere* reminds of *iacturam facere*, found e.g. in Cic. *Off.* 3.89 *quaerit Hecaton, si in mari iactura facienda sit, equine pretiosi potius iacturam faciat an seruli uilis*, Curt. 5.9.3, Paul. *dig.* 12.2.2.2.

1038 fecit: '(w. vbl. nouns or sim.) to do, perform (the action contained or implied in the object)' (*OLD* s.v. *facio* 23, citing e.g. Naev. *com.* 114 *tantum ... molae crepitum faciebant*).

tenuit: 'to check, repress' (*OLD* s.v. 19b), cf. e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 293 *risum uix tenebam*, Liv. 8.5.7 *non tenuit iram*, Ov. *Met.* 11.539 *non tenet hic lacrimas*. However, it should be noted that in Ovid's account (*Met.* 1.253 ff.) they do weep: 350 *Deucalion lacrimis ita Pyrrham affatur obortis*, 367 *dixerat et flebant.*

1039 uir: when Zeus flooded the earth, Prometheus' son Deucalion, the king of Thessaly, and his wife Pyrrha, daughter of Epimetheus, on Prometheus' advice built an ark and floated in it till the waters subsided.

Pyrrha: the prosody *Pyrrhā* is found only here; the usual form *Pyrrhă* occurs, for instance, at Ov. *Met.* 1.385. Cf. Prisc. 6.2.10 S. 681 (II 202.16), cited by N-W I 83: "Hoc etiam sciendum, quod omnis nominativus in a desinens corripitur, quamvis sit apud Graecos productus [...]. In paucis tamen inveniuntur poetae Graecis servasse morem Graecum", quoting Stat. *Theb.* 4.287-8 *non Tegea, non ipsa deo uacat alite felix / Cyllene*, 6.515-7 *te plangeret Argos / te Nemea, tibi Lerna comas Larissaque supplex / poneret.*

1039-40 mare cum uiderent: for the *epiphora*, (see on 592-3 *timerem ... timerem*), cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.325-6 *et superesse uirum de tot modo milibus unum / et superesse uidet de tot modo milibus unam*, 361-2 *namque ego, crede mihi, si te quoque pontus haberet, / te sequerer, coniunx, et me quoque pontus haberet.*

1040 nihil praeter mare: cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.292 *omnia pontus erant, deerant quoque litora ponto*, *Ep.* 13.22 *et, quod spectarem, nil nisi pontus erat.* As Delrius notes, one finds an "accuratissimam diluvii descriptionem" in *Nat.* 3.27.

praeter: in Sen. trag. only here and at *Ag.* 704.

1041 unici ... relicti: in Ovid's wording, *Met.* 1.354-5 *terrarum, quascumque uident occasus et ortus, / nos duo turba sumus*, 1.365 *nunc genus in nobis restat mortale duobus.*

Note the parallelism between 1026-33 and 1034-41:

1026 ille deplorat queriturque	1034 questus est
1029 aequior tulit	1038 tenuit querelas
1031 uidit	1039-40 uiderent

1042-55 Comparable to the turn between the octave and the sextet in a sonnet, the tone changes as the women view their own fate: they are about to split up and therefore going to lose the sweetness of the mutual consolation. Instead of the comforting *sententiae* of 1018 *nemo se credet miserum, licet sit*, and 1023 *est miser nemo nisi comparatus*, we now encounter the simple *miseris* at 1047.

1042 soluet ... coetum: in my opinion, the A reading deserves preference over E's *questum* (for the confusion cf. e.g. Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.235): it is not their complaining that will come to an end but their company. The combination *coetum soluere* is well attested: cf. *Dial.* 6.26.6 (*commune fatum*) *societatem generis humani coetumque dissoluet*, Luc. 5.64-5 *soluto / ... coetu*, Ov. *Met.* 13.898 *coetuque soluto*. The origin of *questum* is easily explained by *lacrimis* (for the combination cf. 1026 *deplorat queriturque*), and the use of *questus est* (1034) and *querelas* (1038) in the preceding part. Strictly speaking, the women have not even applied the word 'complaining' to their own mourning, but to the unlucky and unhappy loner.

1043 huc illuc agitata: cf. above 970 *quas mota classis huc et huc sparsas feret*. The participle is placed similarly in the sapphic hendecasyllable at *Phae.* 739-40 *stella cum uentis agitata longos / porrigit ignes*, *Thy.* 552 *ira cum magnis agitata causis*, 555 *fulsit hinc illinc agitatus ensis.*

Leo's supposition that a line like *caede cum pontus fuerit piatus* has fallen out before 1044, has not met much approval except with Zwierlein. Neither has Hoffa's proposal of transposing 1044 and 1045.

1044 et: connects *classis* and *nautae*. Richter's proposal to read *cum* here and *et* at the beginning of 1045 was taken over by Fantham, Boyle, and Chaumartin; Zwierlein, who in *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 686 had defended that transposition, now has turned it down. I also prefer to keep the transmitted text; although *cum* would be quite acceptable in 1044, the use of *et* at the beginning of line 1045 seems questionable to me.

tuba: a trumpet with a straight tube, cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.98 *non tuba directi, non aeris cornua flexi*. For its use at the sailing of the fleet, cf. *Ag.* 427-8 *signum recursus regia ut fulsit rate / et clara laetum remigem monuit tuba*, Liv. 29.27.5 *secundum has preces cruda exta caesa uictima, uti mos est, in mare proiecit tubaque signum dedit proficiscendi*, Luc. 2.690 *neu tuba praemonitos perducat ad aequora nautas.*

1045 simul: Gronovius saw his correction of A's *semel* affirmed by E. At Ov. *Met.* 4.451 (*quo simul/semel intrauit*), the same variance is found in the MSS.

simul uentis properante remo: the men first row with the sails up to reach the open sea (*altum*); cf. *Ag.* 437-9 *properat iuuentus omnis adductos simul / lentare remos, adiuuat uentos manu / et ualida nisu bracchia alterno mouet,* 442-3 *ut aura plenos fortior tendit sinus, / posuere tonsas, credita est uento ratis.*

simul uentis: '(as prep., w. abl.) simultaneously with' (*OLD* s.v. *simul* 12c). Gronovius already compared Sil. 5.417-8 *auulsa est nam protenus hosti / ore simul ceruix,* which passage proves that *simul* as a preposition was combined with an ablative (likewise N-W II 771). Bakker ad Ov. *Tr.* 5.10.29 mentions Jacobi (*De Synt. in Ov. Tr.* 11) and Furneaux (Tac. *Ann.* Introd. V. 63) as taking it with a dative, but the latter's remark: "apparently a Graecism founded on the usage of *ἅμα*" does not necessarily imply this.

properante remo: cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.657 *remis properantibus*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.668 *certantibus ... remis.*

1046 prenderint: 'to reach' (*OLD* s.v. 6), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.61 *Italiae fugientis prendimus oras*, Ov. *Am.* 2.9.31-2 *ut subitus, prope iam prensa tellure, carinam / tangentem portus uentus in alta rapit,* Luc. 5.575-6 *liceat uexata litora puppe / prendere.*

fugiet ... litus: this optical illusion is also found in *Ag.* 444-5 (*fusu-sque transtris miles*) *terras procul, / ... fugientes notat,* Lucr. 4.389-90 *et fugere ad puppim colles campique uidentur / quos agimus praeter nauem uelisque uolamus,* Verg. *Aen.* 3.72 *prouehimur portu terraeque urbesque recedunt,* Ov. *Met.* 6.512 *admotumque fretum remis tellusque repulsa est,* 8.139 *mecumque simul mea terra recedit,* 11.466-7 *ubi terra recessit / longius,* V. Fl. 2.8-9 *iam longa recessit / Sepias,* Sil. 3.157 *consumpsit uisus pontus, tellusque recessit.* In view of the comparable *Ag.*-passage (444-5), the reading *fugietque* of three major A MSS seems more likely than *fugientque*, found in E and the rest of A; the latter reading was preferred by Bishop (1985) 292, n. 31.

1047-55 Whole-heartedly I agree with the praising words of Regenbogen (1930) 195: "... und es sind Stellen dabei, in denen wir sicher Senecas menschliches und dichterisches Eigentum anzuerkennen haben. [...] es soll wenigstens erwähnt sein das letzte Chorlied der Troerinnen und es sollen die Schlußverse aus ihm angeführt werden, in denen die zarte Wehmut des Abschiedsschmerzes mit sinnlicher Feinheit und wirklicher Dichterkraft ergreifend geformt ist."

1047 quis status: cf. in Senecan prose, *Dial.* 8.5.5 *quis fuerit uniuersi status,* 9.14.9 *quis esset animarum status, Nat.* 5.15.1 *quis status, Ep.* 77.3 *quis illic esset rerum mearum status.* At Ov. *Met.* 11.492, *qui sit status* is found (for *qui* - *quis* see above on 167 *quis deus*).

quis status mentis: cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.358 (Deucalion) *quis tibi, si sine me fatis erepta fuisses, / nunc animus, miseranda, foret?*, *H.F.* 858-60 *qualis est uobis animus, remota / luce cum maestus sibi quisque sensit / obrutum tota caput esse terra?*, Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 1491-3 (Chorus to Adam) *quis status mentis tibi, cum uidebis / conscius tanti sceleris, sequelam / uindicis poenae.*

omnis: the same effective position as *omnes* above 1016.

1048 decrescet ... crescet: Gottfried Mader, 'The Ovidian Allusion at Seneca, *Troades* 1048', *Mnemos.* 48 (1995) 86-89, notes that Ov. *Met.* 1.345 *surgit humus, crescunt loca decrescentibus undis* marks a diametrically opposed situation: the restoration of cosmos after the *diluuium*. Therefore, he thinks it "tempting to read *Tro.* 1048 as a pointed rejoinder to *Met.* 1.345 and its contextual implications: reversing the thrust of the original, Seneca's adaptation suggests not restoration of order but the imminent and irrevocable dissolution of order." The phrase *terra decrescet* is also found in Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1.190-1 *iam linquitur Aetna / totaque decrescit refugo Trinacria uisu.* The contrast *decrescet ... crescet* has a parallel in Stat. *Ach.* 1.677-9 *iam Paros Olearosque latent; iam raditur alta / Lemnos et a tergo decrescit Bacchia Naxos, / ante oculos crescente Samo*; a comparable contrast is found above 633 *dediscit ... didicit.* For other verbs used in such a description, see Ov. *Met.* 6.512 (*ut*) *tellus ... repulsa est*, 8.139 *mecumque simul mea terra recedit*, 11.466-7 *ubi terra recessit / longius.*

1049 Cf. *Ag.* 457 *et dubia pereunt montis Idaei iuga.*

Note the repetition of the consonants *celsa cum longe latitabit Ide.*

1050 genetrix: see on 768 *genetricis.* Here the combination of chiasmus and shift from prosaic to poetic words is most effective. As Fantham notes, "the mention of the child here is surely a reminder of the tragic catastrophe. We know of only one boy - Astyanax - and he will not accompany his mother."

1051 iaceat: for the resolution in the fourth syllable, see on 836. As emendations have been proposed *lucet* (Garrod, Damsté, Herrmann), *paret* (Peiper), *flagret* (Richter), *apparet* (Giardina). Zwierlein (1969 *Gn*) 764 rejected Giardina's conjecture as metrically incorrect. Later on, (1977) 158, he proposed to athetize the line. "Sicherheit scheint jedoch nicht zu erreichen", he admits (1986) 110, and with hesitation (crit. app. *an delend.?*) he has kept the line in his text.

1052 digito: this use of the finger (*OLD* s.v. 1b: "used in making signs and gestures"), is also found in Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.25-6 *qui, si quid forte lateret, / indice monstraret digito*, Pers. 1.28 *at pulchrum est digito monstrari.*

notabit: 'to point to, indicate (by a gesture)' (*OLD* s.v. 8b), cf. Suet. *Nero* 39.3 *histrio ... in nouissima clausula senatum gestu notarat.*

1053 Ilium ... illic: note the effect of the alliteration and the repeated *i.*

fumus: cf. above 20, *Ag.* 458-9 *et uix ... / Iliacus atra fumus apparet nota.* This line is quoted by Pseudo-Probus in the treatise *de ultimis syllabis* (*Gramm. Lat.* IV 246.19).

1054 serpit: 'to follow a course like that of a snake, wind' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. e.g. *Med.* 819 *serpens flamma*, *Oed.* 312 *serpit* (sc. *ignis*), Liv. 30.6.5 *ignibusque in proxima tecta coniectis effusa flamma primo uelut sparsa pluribus locis reluxit, dein per continua serpens uno repente incendio hausit*; of water, Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.30 *tectis in mare serpit* (sc. Hister) *aquis*. At *Oed.* 312, Seneca uses the verb of a *trames*.

nebulae: 'clouds' (of dust, smoke, etc., *OLD* s.v. 2a). For the combination with *fumus*, cf. *Thy.* 773 *et ipse fumus, tristis ac nebula grauis*, *Oed.* 325-7, Sil. 13.652-3, 14.313 (Hillen, p. 113).

turpes: 'foul'; cf. above 86 *turpes*, 393 *sordidus*, *Thy.* 775 *nube deformi*.

1055 signo: 'distinguishing mark or feature' (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.595-6 *is qui sit, signo, non nomine dicam: / cornua fronte gerit*. A comparable phrase, with *nota* instead of *signo*, is found in Grotius, *Ad. Ex.* 2013 *hominum propago patriam hac discet nota* (line 2012 is cited in my note on 900 *praelucet*). The notion that smoke is the characteristic of the captured city, is already found at Aesch. *Ag.* 818.

ACT V (1056-1179)

The act has the following structure:

1056-1067 Announcement of both deaths, the reactions of the mothers.
1068-1117 The account of Astyanax's death, Andromacha's reactions.
1118-1164 The account of Polyxena's death.
1165-1177 Hecuba's final lament.
1178-1179 The messenger orders the women to embark.

The detailed account of both deaths is given by an unnamed messenger. A long report is also found in other plays, but always in an earlier part: either in the third act, *H.F.* 662-827, *Oed.* 530-658, *Ag.* 421-578, or in the penultimate act, *Phae.* 1000-1114, *Oed.* 915-79, *Thy.* 634-788.

Instead of such a messenger-report, a confrontation between the major characters often marks the final act of the other plays: *Med.* 978-1027 Medea - Jason, *Phae.* 1156-1280 Phaedra - Theseus, *Oed.* 998-1061 Oedipus - Iocasta (Chorus), *Thy.* 885-1112 Atreus - Thyestes.

In Euripides' plays dealing with this theme, Talthybius performs this task. In *Tro.* 1123 ff., he brings the corpse of Astyanax to Hecuba, with Andromache's request that Hecuba renders him the last honours, since she herself has already been taken off to Greece by Neoptolemus. He simply denotes his actual death at 1134-5 'who lost his life falling from the walls'. Polyxena's death (*Hec.* 518-70) and the reactions of the bystanders (*ibid.* 571-80) are described much more fully by him.

Seneca here does not identify the *nuntius*; this is in line with his usage, cf. *Phoen.* 320, *Med.* 879, *Phae.* 991 (989 *nuntius*), *Thy.* 623. However, at *Oed.* 912-3, the messenger is introduced as a *famulus regius*; this concurs with Euripides' approach, e.g. at *Med.* 1118-9 and *Hipp.* 1151-2. In other Euripidean plays, we also find an unannounced and unidentified messenger, e.g. *Andr.* 1070, *HF* 909, *IT* 1284. Swoboda (1825-30) III 99 thought the messenger identical with the *Senex* in Act III; Herrmann disagreed, but he too considered him a Trojan.

In view of the paradigms of Euripides and of Ovid, who had described their deaths at *Met.* 13.415-17 (Astyanax) and 13.452-480 (Polyxena), it comes as no surprise that Seneca, deviating from Calchas' sequence, has the report start with Astyanax' death, reserving Polyxena's death for the very end; this mirrors his own order of Act III (Astyanax) - Act IV (Polyxena), and in this way it is Hecuba of the two afflicted mothers on whom the final attention is focused.

[L. Herrmann (1924) 456; W. Schulze (1937) 8 ff.; W.L. Liebermann (1974) 58-74; C.G. van Leijenhorst (1980) 47-51, 97-115; V. Wurnig (1982) 176-178]

1056-1067 *A messenger enters, horrified by the events. Andromacha asks him to give a detailed account of both murders.*

1056 dura fata: cf. *Med.* 431 (Jason's entry) *o dura fata semper et sortem asperam*, *Phae.* 991 *o sors acerba et dura*, *Dial.* 11.3.3 *o dura fata et nullis aequa uirtutibus*, *Ben.* 4.4.3 *tam duro fato*, Luc. 9.1046 *o sors durissima fati*, Stat. *Silu.* 5.1.165 *heu durus fati tenor!*, *Theb.* 2.249 *Lachesis sic dura iubebat*, 3.205-6 *dura Sororum / pensa*, 6.325, 9.180.

saeua: likewise of *fatum/fata* at *Oed.* 125 *labimur saeuo rapiente fato*, *Thy.* 934 *saeui nubila fati*, *H.O.* 1985 *nec Lethaeos saeua per amnes / uos fata trahent*, Sil. 16.271-2, Mart. 11.82.3.

miseranda: of *fata* also at *H.O.* 207 *uidi, uidi miseranda mei fata parentis*, Avien. *orb. terr.* 638 [*ThLL* VIII 1133.83].

horrida: see on 168 *horridus*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 4.378 *horrida iussa* (Austin: 'orders at which she shivers'). Whenever Seneca makes use of the adjective in the trimeter, he either places it after the penthemimeres (see on 168), or at the end (*H.F.* 657, 705, 764, 1004, *Med.* 45, 979, *Phae.* 169, 951, 1081, *Oed.* 89, 223, 624, *Thy.* 1078; cf. *Ep.* 5.4 *cibis non tantum uilibus uti sed taetris et horridis*).

For the conspicuous combination of adjectives in asyndeton, cf. *H.F.* 32 *terribile dirum pestilens atrox ferum*, *Phoen.* 34 *cruente saeue crudelis ferox*, 223 *nefandus incestificus exsecrabilis*, *Med.* 20-1 *egens / exul pauens inuisus incerti laris*, 45-6, 207-9, *Ag.* 991-2 (Canter, p. 170). Cf. Liebermann, p. 52: " ... echter Barockstil — und echter Seneca, bleibt von all den Einzelheiten doch nichts als ein allgemeiner Eindruck, eine Stimmung." The device is a familiar one in literature since Homer, e.g. *Od.* 15.406. Two later instances, quoted by R. A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*, Berkeley / Los Angeles / Oxford [2]1991, 25:

> Faynt, wearie, sore, emboyled, grieved, brent
> With heat, toyle, wounds, armes, and inward fire.
> (Spenser, *Faerie Qeene*, I, xi, 28)
> All is over. Silent, mournful, abandoned, broken,
> Czechoslovakia recedes into the darkness.
> (Churchill on the Munich Agreement, 1938)

1057 ferum: takes up *dura ... saeua ... horrida.*

triste: takes up *miseranda.* Cf. *H.F.* 1004 *scelus nefandum, triste et aspectu horridum*, 1270 *triste factum/fatum* (E/A).

bis quinis: likewise *Ag.* 623-4 *restitit annis / Troia bis quinis unius noctis peritura furto*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.126 *bis quinis silet ille dies*, Mart. 9.93.7 *bis quina mihi da basia*; cf. above 386 *bis sena* (Seibel, p. 10, 36).

scelus: although the messenger - like Ulysses at 635 - will apply the noun *sacrum* to the killing of Astyanax (1102) and the offering of Polyxena (1162), he also quite different appellations for these deeds: cf. 1119 *nefas* (similarly Andromache at 1065), 1120 *facinus.*

1058 Mars: here rather the god himself than the metonymous use (185).

referens: 'to bring back news of, report' (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. Hor. *Ars* 179 *aut agitur res in scaenis aut acta refertur.*

1059 tuosne: spoken to Andromacha. Fantham, p. 32 suggests a possible influence here of Ov. *Met.* 13.483 *teque gemunt, uirgo, teque, o modo regia coniunx.* Rozelaar (1976) 532, n. 73 quotes the line in favour of his conviction that the plays were meant to be performed.

anus: this address forms a good illustration of the anonymous character of the messenger. In the Euripidean plays, Talthybius at his entrance mentions Hecuba's name (*Tro.* 235, 1123) or asks the women where to find 'Hecuba, who once was queen of Ilium' (*Hec.* 484-5).

Before the messenger starts the long monologue of his report, there usually is such an introductory dialogue as found here: cf. *Phae.* 991-9 (with Theseus), *Thy.* 623-40 (with the Chorus), *Ag.* 392-420 (Eurybates with Clytemestra), *Oed.* 509-29 (Creo with Oedipus); the usage is also found in Greek tragedy, e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1153-72.

1060 quoscumque ... meos: Hecuba's opening line here recalls her words above 34-6 *quaecumque Phoebas ... / ... praedixit mala / prior Hecuba uidi.*

fleueris, flebis: for the paronomasia of verbal forms (with forms of *fleo* again below 1099-1100), see on 31 *stetit stante.*

meos: with the same emphasis as at 40 *meus ... meis.*

1061 sua quemque: often combined (see *OLD* s.v. *suus* B. 1b), e.g. *Med.* 331 *sua quisque piger litora tangens*, *Phae.* 531 *sua quisque norat maria*, *Ag.* 477 *sua quisque mittunt tela.*

me omnium: for the very rare elision of a long pers. pronoun in the third arsis, cf. *Phoen.* 290 *tu impii*, *Ag.* 794 *te Ilium.*

me ... premit: as an illustration of her feelings, one may think of her words to Polyxena at Ov. *Met.* 13.495 *nata, iaces, uideoque tuum, mea uulnera, pectus.*

The line strongly recalls - even in the detail of the elided personal pronoun (*me* - *σε*) that actually should be spoken with emphasis - Oedipus' address to the (mainly young) suppliants, begging for help against the plague, Soph. *OT* 62-4:

> for your pain comes on each one for himself
> alone and no one else; but my soul mourns
> for Troy and me and you, for all combined.

Shakespeare has the same thought worded by the Duchess of York (*Richard III* II.2.80-1): 'Alas! I am the mother of these griefs: / Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general' .

1062 mihi cuncta: note the same juxtaposition as at 1061 *me omnium.*

mihi cuncta pereunt: not 'I lose everything', like Hercules at *H.F.* 1259 *cuncta iam amisi bona*, or Oedipus at *Phoen.* 239 *cuncta sors mihi infesta abstulit*, but 'everything is ruined on my behalf'.

quisquis ... miser: with *Hecubae* taken as a genitive, the translation runs either 'Whoever is unfortunate is Hecuba's' (Kingery, Miller), 'All weeping women are Hecuba's sorrowing daughters' (Watling), or 'wer immer zu Hekuba gehört, ist elend' (Thomann), 'È sventurato chi appartiene ad Ecuba' (Caviglia), 'God help anyone who's Hecuba's' (Ahl). In view of the preceding lines, I rather think it a dative: 'for Hecuba's sake'; cf. Fantham's 'whoever is wretched, is wretched in Hecuba's name.' Motto-Clark (1988) 244 to Hecuba's "moving moment of all-inclusiveness" compare Liv. 45.4.2-3 *Paulus Aemilius consul ... ipse illacrimasse dicitur sorti humanae.*

1063 mactata uirgo est: rounds off 361 *mactanda uirgo est.*

missus: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.415 *mittitur Astyanax illis de turribus.*

e muris: for the use of the preposition, see on 104 *ex umeris.*

1064 sed uterque: same line-opening *Phoen.* 110.

letum ... tulit: the combination is also found at *Phoen.* 249-50 *aliquis intra uiscera / materna letum praecoquis fati tulit.*

generosa: 'noble-spirited' (*OLD* 2b); cf. *Ep.* 44.5 *quis est generosus? ad uirtutem bene a natura compositus.* The use of the adj. here may recall Ov. *Met.* 13.457 (Polyxena to Neoptolemus) *utere iamdudum generoso sanguine.* The attitude of Polyxena and Astyanax is in line with the message of *Ep.* 78.5 *ego tibi illud praecipio quod non tantum huius morbi sed totius uitae remedium est: contemne mortem. nihil triste est cum huius metum effugimus.*

The recapitulation sounds like the heading of a newspaper article: cf. *Phae.* 997 *Hippolytus, heu me, flebili leto occubat, Med.* 879-80 *periere cuncta, concidit regni status; / nata atque genitor cinere permixto iacent.* Similar condensed answers are given at *Ag.* 925-7 (Electra) *pater peremptus, scelere materno iacet, / comes paternae quaeritur natus neci, / Aegisthus arces Venere quaesitas tenet* (read in Tarrant's instructive note *Tro.* 1063 f. instead of 1003 f.), *H.F.* 629-30 *socer est peremptus, regna possedit Lycus, / natos parentem coniugem leto petit.*

1065 expone: 'relate, describe' (*OLD* s.v. 6); this is the only certain instance of the verb in Sen. trag. (at *Oed.* 510 A *expone*). For the common feature of the urging on a reluctant messenger, cf. *Phae.* 999 *mortis effare ordinem, Oed.* 510 *exprome cuius capite placemus deos, Thy.* 633 *effare, et istud pande, quodcumque est, malum.*

seriem: 'sequence, succession' (*OLD* s.v. 2), cf. *Phae.* 999 *mortis ... ordinem* quoted in the previous note, *H.F.* 647 *pande uirtutum ordinem.* Sen. trag. uses the word once more, of a 'procession' (*OLD* s.v. 1b), at *Oed.* 127-9 *longus ad manes properatur ordo / agminis maesti, seriesque tristis / haeret.* In his prose, he applies the word to a 'line' of ancestors (*Ep.* 76.12 *auorum proauorumque serie*), and to the 'chain' of causes of Fate (*Ep.* 77.12 *series inuicta et nulla mutabilis ope inligauit ac trahit cuncta,* cf. *Ep.* 88.15 *continuus ordo fatorum*).

seriem caedis: for the use of *series* with a sing. gen., cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.4.38 *series ... mali* (*'ordo ac ratio'*, de Jonge), *Met.* 15.152 *seriem ... fati*, *Ibis* 62 *uitae series*, Stat. *Silu.* 4.3.145 *seriem ... aeui*, Apul. *Met.* 11.25 *indefessi sermonis aeterna series.*

Sen. trag. likes such noun-combinations: *Phae.* 999 *mortis effare ordinem* contrasts with Eur. *Hipp.* 1171 'How did he die? Tell me', and *Med.* 884 *quis cladis modus?* with Eur. *Med.* 1134 'Tell me: how did they die?'. Liebermann, p. 27 for this characteristic of the Latin language refers to a quotation from Goethe's *Zur Farbenlehre*, also cited by M. v. Albrecht, 'Ein Pferdegleichnis bei Ennius', *Hermes* 97 (1969), 339[7]: "Die (sc. griechische) Art, durch Verba, besonders durch Infinitiven und Participien zu sprechen, macht jeden Ausdruck läßlich; es wird eigentlich durch das Wort nichts bestimmt, bepfählt und festgesetzt ... Die lateinische Sprache dagegen wird durch den Gebrauch der Substantiven entscheidend und befehlshaberisch. Der Begriff ist im Wort fertig aufgestellt, im Wort erstarrt, mit welchem nun als einem wirklichen Wesen verfahren wird." According to Smereka, the ratio subst. : verb = 1.4 : 1 (dial. *Med.*), 1.7 : 1 (dial. *H.F.*, *Phae.*), 2.2 : 1 (chor. *H.F.*, *Phae.*, *Thy.*), 46 : 76 (*Ep.* 1), 132 : 145 (*Ep.* 4).

duplex: 'twofold, double' (*OLD* 5), in Sen. trag. also found at *H.F.* 716 *duplici uado*, *Ag.* 729 *duplices ... domus.*

1066 persequere: 'go over, run through' (*OLD* s.v. 8), cf. e.g. *Dial.* 9.1.13 *ne singula diutius persequar*, *Ben.* 3.12.4 *omnes difficultates persequi*, Ov. *Pont.* 1.8.3 *si persequar omnia, flebis*; the A manuscripts have *prosequere* ('pursue, go on to describe', *OLD* 8b).

gaudet ... dolor: cf. above 1013-4. The A tradition has *animus ... meus* instead of *magnus ... dolor.*

1067 tractare: 'deal with, discuss, treat' (*OLD* s.v. 9), cf. *Ben.* 4.1.1 *ex omnibus quae tractauimus*, 5.7.1 *satis, ut existimo, hanc partem tractauimus*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.6-7 *periculosae plenum opus aleae / tractas*, Tac. *Dial.* 35.4 *duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras tractantur.*

enarra: 'relate or describe fully, recount', in Sen. trag. occurring only here. In his prose, e.g. *Nat.* 2.52.1 *pauca adhuc adiciam ad enarrandam uim fulminis*, *Ep.* 121.11 *facilius natura intellegitur quam enarratur* (the other instances of the verb in poetry seem to be confined to Plautus 2x, Terentius 3x, *Priap.* 63.17, Claud. *carm.* 26.599).

Note the alliterations and the effective placing of *totas ... omnia.*

1068-1117 *The messenger describes Astyanax' death; Andromacha's reactions.*

1068 est ... super: for the inversion see on 490 *est super.* For the placing of *est* at the beginning of the *descriptio loci*, cf. above 483 *est.*

Such a long description as here of the tower (1068-74) is a usual beginning of messenger's reports in Seneca's tragedies. Whereas the Greek tragedians often used no more than two lines for it, and in only one instance (Aesch. *Pers.* 447-9) it is placed at the very beginning of such a report, Seneca turned it into an essential element of the narrative; even longer descriptions are found in *H.F.* 709-18 (*est in recessu Tartari obscuro locus* ...), *Ag.* 558-67 (*est humilis unda, scrupeis mendax uadis* ...), *Oed.* 530-47 (*est procul ab urbe lucus ilicibus niger* ...), *Thy.* 641-82 (*in arce summa Pelopiae pars est domus* ...). This difference mirrors the influence of declamation oratory (Bonner, p. 58) and Augustan epic: elaborate *descriptiones loci* are found e.g. in Verg. *Aen.* 1.159-69, Ov. *Met.* 1.568-76 [on this topic, see Zwierlein (1966) 113-117; Tarrant (1985) 183; Lausberg § 819].

una: cf. above 622 *e turre, lapsis sola quae muris manet.*

magna: Kingery, Thomann, and Caviglia combine the adjective with *Troia*, Miller, Watling, Amoroso, Boyle, Oldfather-Pease-Canter, and Delnooz with *turris*; Fantham and Ahl do not seem to take a side on this question. In view of Seneca's liking for antithetical phrases (cf. e.g. 481-2 *superestque uasta ex urbe ne tantum quidem, / quo lateat infans*, 489 *haec causa multos una ab interitu arcuit*), I side with the first conception. As for the metre, the use of the spondee in the third foot of the trimeter would be in line with Seneca's preference: Fantham in her analysis of the first sixty lines of *Troades* has noted (p. 107) for the third foot 42x spondee, 13x dactyl, 5x iambus. The epithet, in its double sense of 'big, vast' and 'powerfull', perfectly matches with Troy, whereas of the wall the height would seem more of a characteristic (cf. below 1091).

1069 assueta Priamo: the tower at the Scaean Gate was the place where Priam and other old men gathered (Hom. *Il.* 3.146-53); from there he also watched the destruction caused by Achilles (*Il.* 21.526).

1070 pinnis: 'a raised part of an embattled parapet, a merlon or sim. structure' (*OLD* s.v. *pinna* 4), cf. *Thy.* 570-1 *pauidusque pinnis / anxiae noctis uigil incubabat*, Caes. *Gal.* 5.40.6 *turres contabulantur, pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus adtexuntur*, 7.72.4, Verg. *Aen.* 7.158-9 *primasque in litore sedes / castrorum in morem pinnis atque aggere cingit*, Luc. 3.386-7 *densas tollentia pinnas / caespitibus crudaque extruxit bracchia terra.*

arbiter: either 'eye-witness, spectator' (*OLD* 1, Kingery, Miller, Watling) or 'controller, ruler' (*OLD* 3, Fantham, Caviglia, Boyle). There is a comparable ambiguity at Claud. *VI Cons. Hon.* 212 *belli medio Padus arbiter ibat*: Platnauer translates 'Padus flowed between, witnessing the strife', Dewar for the other sense refers to Hor. *Carm.* 3.20.11 *arbiter pugnae*, Ov. *Fast.* 3.373 (of Mars) *arbiter armorum*, Claud. *Eutr.* 1.241 *arbiter ... belli pacisque*, and to this passage.

sedens: if one takes *arbiter* as 'controller, ruler', the verb has its specific sense of 'to sit in an official capacity (as magistrate, judge, etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 3).

1071 regebat: "signo e moenibus dato congrediendi cum hoste, vel receptus" (Farnabius).

blando: 'agreeable to the senses or feelings, pleasant, sweet, soft' (*OLD* 6). Sen. trag. elsewhere uses the adj. with *manus* (*H.F.* 1002; cf. *OLD* 1b), *prece* (*H.F.* 1014; cf. *OLD* 2a), *ora* (*Phae.* 572; cf. *OLD* 5) and *fronte* (*Oed.* 7).

blando sinu / fouens nepotem: 'am zärtlichen Herzen den Enkel hegend' (Thomann). The tender memory is recalled, of course, for the sharp contrast to his terrible death; similarly the conspicuous change of the tower, like himself the last remainder of Troy, is noted at 1075-6.

1072 cum ... / ... face: for this episode in the war, see on 444-7.

uersos: 'to cause to turn tail, put to flight' (*OLD* s.v. *uerto* 9b).

1073 et ferro et face: a variation of the more usual *ferro et igne* (*Ep.* 7.4), *ferro ignique* (Cic. *Phil.* 11.37, Liv. 10.12.8, 38.6.4); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.626 *face ... ferroque*, Ov. *Met.* 13.91-2 *ecce ferunt Troes ferrumque ignisque ... / in Danaas classes*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.19 *ferrum ... facesque*, Auson. *Ecl.* 17.2 *ferro et face*.

1074 paterna puero: for the effective juxtaposition of words indicating relationship, see above on 248 *gnatam parens*.

monstrabat senex: in Ovid's account this is done by Andromache, *Met.* 13.415-7: *mittitur Astyanax illis de turribus, unde / pugnantem pro se proauitaque regna tuentem / saepe uidere patrem monstratum a matre solebat.* Composing this scene, Seneca may also have had in mind Verg. *Aen.* 2.455-7 *infelix qua se, dum regna manebant, / saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat / ad soceros et auo puerum Astyanacta trahebat* (also three generations in one line!).

1075 nota: see on 224. Liedloff unnecessarily suggested *Scaea*: "Offenbar sind in beiden Zeilen die ursprüngliche Wörter *Scaea* und *sola* vertauscht und zu *saeua* und *nota* verumstaltet worden."

quondam: see on 53.

muri decus: cf. 15 *alta muri decora*, *Thy.* 407-8 (the walls of Mycenae) *Cyclopum sacras / turres, labore maius humano decus* (Liv. 26.48.6 *praecipuum muralis coronae decus*, referred to by Tarrant, is quite different).

1076 saeua: for the appliance of the adjective to rocks (*OLD* s.v. 5 "of physical forces, conditions"), cf. Ov. *Pont.* 3.6.44 *saeua quid in placidis saxa uereris aquis?* Here the epithet anticipates the savagery associated with the tower/rock (cf. *OLD* 2) as an instrument of cruel fate (cf. 1056); there is no need for *sola*, proposed by Leo and taken over by Liedloff.

cautes: 'rock, crag'. In its two other occurrences in Sen. trag., the noun is used as a symbol of unfeelingness: *Phae.* 580-2 (the Nutrix on Hippolytus) *ut dura cautes undique intractabilis / resistit undis et lacessentes aquas / longe remittit, uerba sic spernit mea*, *Ag.* 539 (of Aiax) *nil ille motus, ardua ut cautes*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.470-1 *nec magis incepto uultum sermone mouetur* (sc. Dido) / *quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*, 4.366-7 *duris genuit te cautibus horrens / Caucasus* (Dido to Aeneas).

adfusa: 'massed or crowded together, concentrated (on)' (*OLD* s.v. *affundo* 6), cf. *Nat.* 1.pr.10 *equitem modo ulteriora explorantem modo a lateribus adfusum.*

ducum / plebisque: for the contrast cf. 1098, and Ov. *Met.* 11.644-5 *regibus hi ducibusque suos ostendere uultus / nocte solent, populos alii plebemque pererrant.*

1077 totum ... / ... uulgus: the phrase clearly recalls Eur. *Hec.* 521-2 (Talthybius to Hecuba) 'the whole throng of the Achaean army was present, complete'.

1078 ratibus relictis: a similar placing of the abl. absol. with a form of *relictus* at the beginning of the line is found at *H.F.* 265 *caelo relicto*, 995 *uulnere relicto*, *Med.* 768 *die relicto*, *Ag.* 918 *Phocide relicta*; see also above on 16 *tectis adustis.*

his: for the following detailed enumeration *his ... hunc ... illum ... hunc... ille ... aliquis*, cf. in Sen. trag. *Ag.* 499-504 *illam ... haec ... illa ... hanc ... haec ... illi.* Vergil confines himself to two groups, e.g. *Aen.* 1.106 *hi ... his* (Austin comments: "Virgil knew when to stop"). Ovid varies: *Met.* 11.29-30 *hae ... illae ... pars*, 11.355-8 *pars ... pars ... alii*, 11.486-9 *alii ... pars ... pars ... hic ... hic.*

Such a *distributio* is most frequently applied by Neo-Latin poets, e.g. Grotius, *Soph.* 794-803 *hi ... alii ... pars ... aliis ... pars ... hos ... his ... hi.* Eyffinger *ad loc.* comments that D. Heinsius indulged in it; in *Herodes Infanticida* (1632), he notes a passage with 6x *hic/illic*, 21x *pars*, 2x *alter* [Lausberg § 675 cites Ps. Rufin. lex. 23 διαίρεσις *est figura sermonis, cum fit rerum distributio ... ; haec Latine dicitur distributio uel designatio*; Rutil. 1.18 μερισμός: *hoc schema singulas res separatim disponendo et suum cuique proprium tribuendo magnam efficere utilitatem et illustrem consueuit*].

procul: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.1 (the reception of Agrippina at Brundusium) *atque ubi primum ex alto uisa classis, complentur non modo portus et proxima maris, sed moenia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat, maerentium turba.*

1079 aciem: 'field of vision' (*OLD* s.v. 3b). Sen. trag. likes to use the word of the sight of the eyes, e.g. *H.F.* 602 *aciem reflectat*, 652, 1042 *acies luminum*, 670-1 *fulgorque dubius solis ... / ... ludit aciem*, *Ag.* 458 *quod unum peruicax acies uidet.*

patenti: 'to offer unimpeded passage, be open' (*OLD* 3). Fantham translates 'a free view from open ground', Boyle ("probably ... ablative of respect") 'a clear view of the open space' (= Miller). In my view, it may as well be felt as a local and a causal abl. (note the juxtaposition with *liberam*). For the variance in the MSS (A *patente*), cf. *H.F.* 904 *uirente* E - *uirenti* A, *Phae.* 1045 *rubenti* A - *rubente* E, *H.O.* 1005 *flagranti* E - *flagrante* A.

liberam: '(of views) clear' (*OLD* 6b), cf. *Aetna* 341-2 *qua liberrimus Aetnae / introspectus hiat.*

1080 cacumine: the MSS reading has been accepted justly by most editors, I feel; it was defended by both Schmidt (1860) 53 f. and Strzelecki (p. 27), considering it one of the exceptions to Seneca's metrical practice (see on 195 *Polyxene*). Zwierlein (1986) 110 accepts with Axelson *nepotibus* in *Med.* 512, because of its "besondere rhetorische Entschuldigung", but suspecting *cacumine* he has revived Lange's *fastigio*: "Es dürfte weniger ein Glossem zu *fastigio* (so Lange) darstellen als die »Quasiemendation eines korrupten *uestigio*, das Werk eines schläfrigen Kopisten, dem die viel einfachere Änderung *fastigio* nicht einfiel« — so Axelson". *Fastigio* was discarded by Fitch (1989) 244: "*cacumine* here has an equally clear poetic 'excuse' (sc. as *nepotibus* in *Med.* 512): it is used to avoid an obtrusive echo of *cuius e fastigio* eleven lines earlier"; it was approved of by Delz (1989) 505, with the addition: "*cacumine* ist, dies gegen Axelson, sicher ein Glossem".

For the appliance of the word to the top of rocks, cf. *Phae.* 1027 *summum cacumen*, V. Fl. 2.542 *cacumina saxi*, Curt. 5.3.17 *rupes abscisas ... in quarum cacuminibus*.

1081 erecta: both 'upright, erect' (*OLD* s.v. 1) and 'attentive, alert' (*OLD* s.v. 3); for the latter meaning, cf. *Ep.* 104.31 *uidebis illinc plebem et omnem erectum ad res nouas uulgum*, *Dial.* 1.2.2. *uir ... erectus ad honesta*. With the sense 'aspiring, noble' (*OLD* 2b), the adj. occurs e.g. *Ep.* 41.2 *ille dat consilia magnifica et erecta*.

summos ... pedes: for this use of *summus* (*OLD* s.v. 4 'forming the farthest extremity of, the tip of, etc.') cf. e.g. *Ep.* 111.3 *non exsurgit in plantas nec summis ambulat digitis*, Pers. 3.108 *summosque pedes attinge manusque*, Ov. *Met.* 4.343 *summa pedum*, 4.562 *summis ... alis*. E's *summo*, with *cacumine*, was preferred only by Moricca.

librauit: 'poised', i.e. 'balanced tiptoe' (Watling); other occurrences of the verb in Sen. trag. refer to 'balancing a middle course' in flying (*Oed.* 900), the balancing of weapons (*H.F.* 119, 1024, 1128, *Phoen.* 137, *Phae.* 48, *Ag.* 900), the balance of the universe (*Med.* 401, *Phae.* 974).

1082 gerit: 'to bear, carry' (*OLD* 1); in combination with a personal object, not attested before, again *Oed.* 60 *mater hunc amens gerit* [see Töchterle *ad loc.*; *ThLL* VI 2.1933.9 ff.].

pinus ... laurus ... fagus: for the specification of trees, cf. *Oed.* 532-41 *cupressus ... quercus ... laurus ... myrtus ... alnus ... pinus*, *Thy.* 654-6 *taxus ... cupressus ... ilice ... quercus* (and for a much longer list Ov. *Met.* 10.90-103). The line recalls the story of Zachaeus, who 'was eager to see what Jesus looked like; but he could not see him for the crowd, since he was a little man. So he ran on ahead and climbed a sycamore-tree in order to see him' (Luke 19:3-4).

1083 suspenso: a similar ambiguity as in 1081 *erecta*: 'hanging' on the branches, and 'in suspense'; for the latter meaning, cf. e.g. *Phoen.* 516-7 *nate suspensae metus / et spes parentis*, *Ben.* 4.34.5 *sapiens ... lubricam sortem suspensus sequitur*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.114, 2.729, 4.9.

1084 praerupti: 'broken off into a sheer descent, precipitous'; cf. *Phoen.* 12-3 *praerupta protendit iuga / meus Cithaeron*, *Ag.* 562 *arx ... praerupta*, Catul. 64.297 *pendens e uerticibus praeruptis*, Sal. *Jug.* 37.4 *in praerupti montis extremo*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.105 *praeruptus aquae mons.*

1085 semusta: with Tarrant on *Thy.* 80 *semiustus*, I feel the prefix has its force here, 'half-burnt'; cf. above 16 *tectis adustis.* In Sen. trag. the adjective occurs a third time at *Ag.* 761 *semustas faces* (not in his prose).

at: "On ne trouve *at* qu'à l'initiale encore chez Lucrèce, Tibulle, Ovide; mais il est en seconde place déjà une ou deux fois chez chacun des poètes Catulle, Horace, Sénèque, Lucain, Martial [...] et dans une demi-douzaine d'exemples environ chez chacun des suivants: Virgile, Properce, Stace, Val. Fl.", Marouzeau (1949) 89 f. Cf. e.g. Catul. 64.43 *ipsius at sedes*, 64.58 *immemor at iuuenis*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.47 *tutior at quanto*, 1.8.37 *mentior at siquid*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.264 *indutus at olim.* The *neoterici* introduced it in imitation of Hellenistic usage, e.g. Callim. *Epigr.* 5.11 (see also Gow on Theocr. 8.23). The device is metrically convenient, but can also serve to emphasize the word(s) placed at the beginning: here it enables a parallel placing to *extrema* in the preceding line. This is the only instance of postponed *at* in Sen. trag. (it is conjectured at *Phae.* 239 by Heinsius); on the relatively high frequency of inversion of particles in this play, see Zwierlein (1984) 236.

imminens: 'to rise up, project so as to overhang or overlook' (*OLD* s.v. 1). The verb often has a notion of threat (*OLD* s.v. 5, e.g. *Thy.* 42-3 *immineat uiro / infesta coniunx*), or of imminent danger (*OLD* s.v. 6, e.g. *Phae.* 952 *imminentes regis inferni minas*); cf. *H.F.* 690 *taxo imminente*, 762 *ferale tardis imminet saxum uadis*, *Oed.* 228 *imminens Phoebea laurus tremuit*, *Ag.* 562 (cited on 1084 *praerupti*), *Thy.* 456 *imminentem* (Bentley's emendation).

1086 (nefas): for the parenthetical exclamation (*OLD* s.v. 3c 'oh horror!'), cf. e.g. Catul. 68.89 *Troia (nefas) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque*, Verg. *Aen.* 7.73 (*Lauinia uirgo*) *uisa, nefas, longis comprendere crinibus ignem*, 8.688 *sequiturque, nefas, Aegyptia coniunx*, 10.673 *quosne, nefas, omnes infanda in morte reliqui*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.6.3, V. Fl. 5.39.

1087 ferus: 'uncivilized, barbarous' (*OLD* 2). Of the two interpretations offered by d'Alfonso: "sia per lo spettacolo cui accorreva, sia per la profanazione che compiva con indifferenza", the latter seems preferable to me.

spectator: Sen. trag. uses the noun once more at *Med.* 992-3 *derat hoc unum mihi, / spectator iste.* It is applied to the spectators at a play, e.g. Pl. *Capt.* 1029, Hor. *Ars* 182, as well as to the spectators at the games in the arena, e.g. *Ep.* 7.4 *mane leonibus et ursis homines, meridie spectatoribus suis obiciuntur.* For other instances of theatrical terms, see below 1125, 1129, *Ag.* 758 *spectate, miseri*, *H.F.* 838-9 *quantus incedit populus per urbes / ad noui ludos auidus theatri*; to this line may be compared Luc. 2.207-8 *intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto / spectator sceleris* (see Fantham *ad loc.*; Leigh, p. 290).

In order to make this line comply with his theory that the scene of the whole play is laid at Hector's tomb, Herrmann (p. 202) as the first of three solutions suggests *aequoreo*, referring to Achilles' tomb (cf. below 1121-2). Despite the occurrence of the adjective in this sense 'situated near the sea' (*OLD* s.v. 1b) at V. Fl. 5.91 *aequorei ... busti*, he has not inserted it in his text (he does not even mention it in his *app. crit.*).

1088 late: only here in Sen. trag. modifying an adjective; in its other occurrences (see on 17), it is combined with a verb.

sublimi: 'drawn up to one's full height, towering up' (*OLD* s.v. 6b). As for its derivation, traditional etymology supposed a connection with *limen*, e.g. Festus: *sublimem ... a limine superiore, quia supra nos est.* Herman Jacobsohn, 'Sublimen', *Glotta* 16 (1928) 48-61, understood it as 'der, bei dem die Schwelle unten ist' = *is, sub quo limen est*, e.g. Pl. *Mil.* 1394 *ducite istum; si non sequitur, rapite sublimem foras.* Th. Birt, 'Sublimus, sublimis, sublimen', *RhM* N.F. 77 (1928) 202-214, suggested a derivation from *subtulimus*. Ernout-Meillet, p. 661: "Sans doute de *sub* + *līmis* (*līmus*) «qui monte en ligne oblique, qui s'élève en pente»", citing Verg. *Geo.* 1.404 *apparet liquido sublimis in aëre Nisus.*

Hudson-Williams thinks the words inadequately represented by 'la démarche fière' (Herrmann) and 'with proud steps' (Fantham): "Though grammatically linked with *gradu*, the epithet *sublimi* cannot fail to suggest the 'towering' height of Ulysses in contrast to the 'tiny' (*paruulum*) Astyanax. But *sublimi* must suggest too the former's exalted bearing and nobility. Miller has 'with stately step'; perhaps 'with lofty stride', *incedit* emphasizing its stateliness." In my view, Thomann's 'mit erhabenem Schritt' is worth mentioning in this respect.

1089 incedit: here, as often, of a stately manner of walking (*OLD* 2), cf. e.g. *Oct.* 704-6 (of Nero, the Nutrix to Poppaea) *sublimis inter ciuium laeta omina / incessit habitu atque ore laetitiam gerens / princeps superbo*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.46 *ast ego, quae diuum incedo regina*; see also above on 465 *incessu*. Sen. trag. uses the verb again at *H.F.* 838-9 *quantus incedit populus per urbes / ad noui ludos auidus theatri*, *Med.* 69 *huc incede gradu marcidus ebrio*. In his prose, it occurs e.g. in *Dial.* 2.13.2 *hos qui togati purpuratique incedunt.*

trahens: 'bringing along' (*OLD* s.v. 2a), cf. *Oed.* 290 *comesque Mantho luce uiduatum trahens*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.456-7 *saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat / ad soceros et auo puerum Astyanacta trahebat*, V. Fl. 2.551-2 *paruumque trahens cum coniuge natum / Laomedon.*

1090 Priami nepotem: cf. 369 *Priami nepos Hectoreus.*

nec gradu segni: a similar brave Stoic attitude in a young boy at the moment of death, is found at *Thy.* 720-1: *stetit sui securus et non est preces / perire frustra passus.* Cizek, p. 329 f. thinks such descriptions a reaction to Hor. *Ars* 176-7 *ne forte seniles / mandentur iuueni partes pueroque uiriles.* For 'begriffsnegierendes *nec*', see Billerbeck on *H.F.* 487; H-Sz 449.

1091 ut: after the detailed description of the situation, the messenger now turns to the principal event. For the use of this introductory temporal conjunction, cf. e.g. *Oed.* 548 *huc ut sacerdos intulit senior gradum* (after 530 *est procul ab urbe lucus ilicibus niger*), *Phae.* 1060 *ut cepit animos* (after 1057 *est alta ad Argos collibus ruptis uia*). On this pattern, see Liebermann, p. 69.

1092 pro: 'in a forward or prominent position on, on the edge of' (*OLD* 1b), cf. e.g. Sal. *Jug.* 67.1 *pro tectis aedificiorum*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.575 *summis stantem pro turribus*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.29 *auxilia pro ripa componere.* Hudson-Williams rightly scorns the translations 'Dès qu'il fut arrivé devant le haut de la tour' (Herrmann), and 'As he stood before the height of the tower' (Fantham); here too, I miss Thomann's correct translation 'Wie er zuoberst vorn auf dem Turme stand'.

acres: '(of the sense faculties) keen, sharp, acute' (*OLD* s.v. 3), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 953 *quo, nate, uultus huc et huc acres refers*, *Nat.* 7.11.3 *prout cuique acrior acies ait hebetior est*, Cic. *Planc.* 66 *postea quam sensi populi Romani auris hebetiores, oculos autem esse acris atque acutos.* The adj. is also found in Vergil's description of Turnus (*Aen.* 12.102-6), that may have been in Seneca's mind: *oculis micat acribus ignis. / mugitus ueluti cum prima in proelia taurus / terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat, / arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit / ictibus, aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.*

tulit: for this use of the verb, see on 458 *ferens*; cf. also *H.F.* 953 *refers*, cited on *acres*, *Phoen.* 473 *quo uultus refers.*

1093 intrepidus: like Polyxena at Ov. *Met.* 13.478 *pertulit intrepidos ad fata nouissima uultus.* Sen. trag. uses the adjective, not attested before Ovid (Bömer on *Met.* 9.107), again *Phae.* 593 (*uerba*), *Oed.* 13 (*intrepidus uagans* of Oedipus), 596 (*intrepidus parens*), 889 (*ratem*); he is the first to use the adverb, *H.F.* 417 *pertuli intrepide omnia.* For a comparable use of the adjective in his prose, see *Nat.* 6.32.4 quoted below on 1102 *desiluit.*

qualis: see on 794. Johannes Fischl, *De nuntiis tragicis*, Vindoboniae et Lipsiae 1910, 73 styles this simile: 'comparationem ... maxime expressam et elaboratam ideoque stilo tragico minime aptam', and 'simile epici stili proprium, a tragico alienum'. Primmer, p. 214 lists it in the last subdivision of his first main group of comparisons (see on 390 *hoc*), dealing with 'Vergleiche in berichtenden Partien, die Wesen oder Handlungsweise einer abwesenden Person verdeutlichen oder charakterisieren.' They are found in choral odes (*Med.* 579-90, 862-5, *Phae.* 809-19, *Oed.* 902-5), but more often in messenger reports: again below 1140-2, *Phae.* 1072-5, 1090-2, *Oed.* 919-20, *Thy.* 707-11, 732-36.

ingentis ferae: for instance a lion, to whom heroes often are compared, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 3.23, *Od.* 6.130.

1094 paruus: Moricca prefers E's metrical anomaly *paruusque.*

fetus: see on 962; of young animals also at *Oed.* 904-5 *sparsos metu / conligit fetus auis*, *Ag.* 685 *fetusque suos nido pauidae titubante fouent.*

nondum: see on 538.

potens / saeuire: for the use of the inf. with *potens* ('capable', *OLD* s.v. 3), cf. Enn. *Ann.* 331 Sk (= 333 V^2) *duxit delectos bellum tolerare potentes*, Man. 5.168 *ille potens turba perfundere membra pilarum*, Luc. 9.1040-1 *non aliter manifesta potens abscondere mentis / gaudia*, Sil. 11.595 *ciuis aequare potens*, Apul. *Met.* 1.8 *potens caelum deponere* [H-Sz 350; K-S 1.684]. Combined with *ad*, it is found e.g. *Dial.* 3.3.2 *ad nocendum potentes sumus*.

1095 dente: for the use of the poetic sing., cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.52 *dente lupus, cornu taurus petit*, Pers. 6.21-2 *hic bona dente / grandia magnanimus peragit puer*.

tollit: 'to raise (a part of the body)' (*OLD* 3b); but cf. *OLD* 9b *animos tollere*, 'to raise the spirits (usu. one's own)'.

minas: likewise of an animal (*OLD* 1b), *Oed.* 97 (*cum*) *saeui leonis more conciperet minas* (sc. *Sphinx*), 903 *accipitris minas*, Ov. *Met.* 2.857 *nullae in fronte* (sc. *tauri*) *minae*, Col. 8.2.11 *attollentem minas serpentem*.

For the combination with *tumet* (1096), cf. (of a snake) Verg. *Geo.* 3.421 *tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem*, *Aen.* 2.381 *attollentem iras et caerula colla tumentem*.

1096 morsus ... inanes: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12.753-5 *at uiuidus Umber / ... / increpuit malis, morsuque elusus inani est*.

animis: of animals, e.g. *H.F.* 815 *resumit animos* (sc. Cerberus), *Phae.* 1060 (see on 1091 *ut*), Enn. *Ann.* 535-6 Sk (514-5 V^2) *sicut equus qui de praesepibus fartus / uincla suis magnis animis abrumpit*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.118-9 *iuuenemque magistri / exquirunt calidumque animis et cursibus acrem*.

tumet: 'is inflamed with passion or unrest' (*OLD* s.v. 3a), cf. *H.F.* 68 (of Hercules) *robore experto tumet*, *Phoen.* 352 *tumet animus ira*, *Thy.* 267-8 *nescioquid animus maius et solito amplius / supraque fines moris humani tumet*, 737 *Atreus saeuit atque ira tumet*. The notion that little animals already behave like the grown ups of their species, is found e.g. in Lucr. 5.1033-8:

> sentit enim uis quisque suas quoad possit abuti.
> cornua nata prius uitulo quam frontibus extent,
> illis iratus petit atque infestus inurget.
> at catuli pantherarum scymnique leonum
> unguibus ac pedibus iam tum morsuque repugnant,
> uix etiam cum sunt dentes unguesque creati.

This immediate awareness of their constitution (cf. Chrysipp. *Stoic.* 3.43) is also dealt with by Seneca in his *Ep.* 121.5-16, e.g.: ... *omnibus animalibus constitutionis suae sensus ... esse ... ex eo maxime apparet, quod membra apte et expedite mouent non aliter quam in hoc erudita* (5), *nemo aegre molitur artus suos, nemo in usu sui haesitat. hoc edita protinus faciunt* (6).

1097 sic: 'in this way', i.e. with such a mixture of fruitless youthful fierceness and pride, probably *metri causa* for *talis*. The connection is rather loose, more with *superbe ferox* than with *mouerat*, since the action of the verb in the principal sentence is not found in the simile. For the use of *qualis ... sic*, cf. *Thy*. 707-13 *ieiuna siluis qualis in Gangeticis / inter iuuencos tigris errauit duos, / utriusque praedae cupida, quo primum ferat / incerta morsus (flectit hoc rictus suos, / illo reflectit et famem dubiam tenet), / sic dirus Atreus capita deuota impiae / speculatur irae*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.128-32 *qualis ubi audito uenantum murmure tigris / horruit in maculas somnosque excussit inertes; / bella cupit laxatque genas et temperat ungues, / mox ruit in turmas natisque alimenta cruentis / spirantem fert ore uirum: sic excitus ira / ductor in absentem consumit proelia fratrem.*

ille ... puer: for the placing, cf. above 796 *ille ... leo.*

1098 ferox superbe mouerat: Leo's *superbit* (for *superbe*), followed by a full stop, was taken over by Zwierlein. It affords a better agreement with the simile (*superbit* - *tumet*), but I doubt its necessity: a loose connection between simile and reality was in a way also found above 794-9, with a shift from the victim (*qualis*) to the aggressor (*talis*).

Carlsson (1926) 62 f., after Rossbach, in my view properly defended the transmitted reading as a perfect qualification of Astyanax. For the use of the adverb, qualifying a cognate adjective, he tentatively refers to 1149-50 *alte edito / ... uertice*, and to *H.O.* 1624 *stat uasta late quercus*; in Plautus he signals combinations like *doctissime eruditus*, *stulte ineptus* (cf. H-Sz 799, quoting Andr. *poet.* 26(28).1 *topper citi ... uenimus*, Pl. *Epid.* 141-2 *minis / celeriter calidis*, 551 *inique iniuriu's*, *Trin.* 1008 *propere celerem*, Liv. 35.12.1 *inimice infesti*).

For the varied use of *ferox* in Sen. trag., see above on 46; cf. also Austin's note on Verg. *Aen.* 1.263: "*ferocis* is not necessarily 'fierce', but 'spirited', 'mettlesome' (...), practically 'proud'." Therefore, *superbe* is a most welcome and fitting addition, I think; cf. as a contrast Liv. 7.5.6 *stolide ferocem uiribus suis*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.3 *robore corporis stolide ferocem.* For the use of *superbe* as a qualifying adverb, cf. *Ep.* 47.17 *superbe superiorem*. The combination *superbus* - *ferox* is also found at *Med.* 854-5 (of Medea) *caput feroci / quatiens superba motu.*

Apart from Leo's *superbit*, various emendations have been proposed: D. Heinsius suggested *superne* (cf. *Oed.* 95 *superna* E, *superba* A); Summa: *fert os superbe* (cf. 466, 1092, *Phae.* 656 *sic tulit celsum caput*, *Oed.* 614 *superba fert caput*); Brakman (1917) 16: *ferox perurget* (cf. *urgere*, *Med.* 948, *Oed.* 543, *Phae.* 27); Damsté: *ferox superstat* (with a reference to 1091 and 1151); Hoffa: *feruet superbe* (cf. *H.F.* 946 *iraque totus feruet et morsus parat*, *Phoen.* 411 *feruidos iuuenes*, *Tro.* 251 *feruor*); Walter (1926-27) 239: *ferox superbo* 'trotzig gegen den übermütigen Sieger'); Giardina: *ferox superbum*. Schenkl upheld *superbe* (sc. *se gerens*), supposing a lacuna after it. Most modern editors have followed Carlsson in keeping the reading of the manuscripts; so has Thomann, but he starts a new sentence at *mouerat.*

mouerat: after the introduction *est ... turris ... super*, followed by some dear memories (*regebat, monstrabat*), the messenger thus far had made a varied use of hist. present and perfect forms in his description of the successive events: *cingitur, coit, praebet, librauit, gerit, tremit, petit, pressit, sedet, incedit, pergit, stetit, tulit*. Now for the first (and only) time, he uses the pluperfect, picturing what had happened gradually as a result of the boy's attitude, before he goes on with *non flet ... fletur*.

uulgum: this acc. form occurs only here in Sen. trag., but is also found in his prose; for instance, at *Ep.* 104.31 (quoted on 1081 *erecta*), 81.13 *sciant apud sapientem esse ipsa honesta, apud uulgum simulacra rerum honestarum et effigies*, 98.13 *ista quae ut speciosa et felicia trahunt uulgum a multis*. Other occurrences: Acc. 588 D *et nonne Argiuos fremere bellum et uelle uim uulgum uidet?* (288 R^2 with Heinsius: ... *uides*), Lucr. 2.921, Caes. *Gal.* 6.14.4, Tac. *Ann.* 1.47 [see N-W I 972 f.; Lebek, p. 274].

uulgum ac duces: the contrast is also found below 1076-7, *Oct.* 579 *male imperatur, cum regit uulgus duces*, Ov. *Met.* 13.1 *consedere duces et uulgi stante corona*, 13.123-6 *uulgi ... proceres*, 11.644-5 *regibus ... ducibus ... / ... populos ... plebem*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.606 *turba ducum uulgique*. The whole crowd is styled *turba omnium*(1099), *Achiuum turba* (1119), *populus* (1120).

Seneca's compatriot Prudentius may have had this scene in mind when he composed his Romanushymnus (*Peristephanon* 10); see R. Henke, *Studien zum Romanushymnus des Prudentius*, Frankfurt am Main - Bern - New York 1983, 120-122, and Anne-Marie Palmer, *Prudentius on the martyrs*, Oxford 1989, 192. When a little boy (10.656 *da septuennem circiter puerum aut minus*) is flogged severely because of his Christian conviction, the effect on the bystanders is described (10.706-10):

> ferunt minaces uerberantium genas
> inlacrimasse, sponte dimanantibus
> guttis per ora barbarum frementia
> scribas et ipsos et coronam plebium
> proceresque siccis non stetisse uisibus.

1099 ipsumque Vlixem: in a combination of object accusatives, the placing of the final element at the beginning of the following line intensifies its culminating force; cf. *H.F.* 60-1 (Juno) *uiso labantem Cerbero uidi diem / pauidumque Solem*, 73-4 *immota ceruix sidera et caelum tulit / et me prementem*, 206-7 *iam statue tandem grauibus aerumnis modum / finemque cladi*, 1337-8, *Med.* 45-8 (Seidler, p. 57). The use of *ipse* recalls Ov. *Met.* 13.475 (following *at populus ... tenet*, cited in the next note) *ipse etiam flens inuitusque sacerdos* (of Pyrrhus sacrificing Polyxena (cf. below 1154). For *mouerat ... Vlixem*, cf. Stat. *Silu.* 2.1.144-5 *hunc quamquam Hectoreos cineres Troiamque perosus / turribus e Phrygiis flesset missurus Vlixes*.

non flet ... fletur: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.474-5 *at populus lacrimas, quas illa tenebat, / non tenet.* For the contrast between Astyanax and the surrounding crowd, see on 62 *sola sum.* In Prudentius' poem, however, the mother is singled out (10.711-5):

at sola mater hisce lamentis caret;
soli sereno frons renidet gaudio:
stat in piorum corde pietas fortior,
amore Christi contumax doloribus,
firmatque sensum mollis indulgentiae.

flet ... fletur: for the paronomasia, see above on 31 *stetit stante.* Sen. trag. applies this type, in which an active form of a verb is repeated in its passive counterpart, again *H.F.* 726-7 *cuius aspectus timet / quidquid timetur, Phoen.* 9-10 *non uideo noxae conscium nostrae diem, / sed uideor,* 493 *quotiens necesse est fallere aut falli a suis, Med.* 28-9 *spectat hoc nostri sator / Sol generis, et spectatur,* 218-9 *petebant tunc meos thalamos proci, / qui nunc petuntur, Phae.* 406-7 *regina nemorum, sola quae montes colis / et una solis montibus coleris dea, Ag.* 25-6 *uincam Thyestes sceleribus cunctos meis, Thy.* 1050-1 *genitor en natos premo / premorque natis.* It is also found often in Ovid, e.g. *Am.* 1.4.57 *agmine me inuenies aut inuenieris in illo, Met.* 2.781 *successus hominum carpitque et carpitur una*; in the reversed order passive - active, e.g. *Met.* 3.465 *quid faciam? roger anne rogem?,* 15.182 *urgueturque eadem ueniens urguetque priorem.* Some instances from Latin prose: Cic. *Amic.* 91 *et monere et moneri,* Liv. 4.46.2 *contemnere et contemni,* Tac. *Germ.* 19.1 *corrumpere et corrumpi.*

This device probably owes much to the rhetorical schools: see e.g. Bonner, p. 70, citing Sen. *Con.* 1.1.3 *alter ... seruatus, alter seruandus est,* 1.1.5 *quis alimenta rogetur et quis roget,* 2.3.17 *tu exorasse te dicis, ego te exoratum puto,* and p. 167; Wills, pp. 295-298 has instances from other authors.

1100 fatidici: 'declaring destinies, prophetic' (*OLD*; cf. Var. *L.L.* 6.52 *qui futura praediuinando soleant fari, fatidici dicti*), in Sen. trag. again *Oed.* 269 *fatidica uatis ora,* 302 *manifesta sacri signa fatidici,* 1042 *fatidice* (subst.). With *uates,* the adj. also occurs Verg. *Aen.* 8.340 (of Carmentis), Ov. *Met.* 3.348 (of Tiresias). As an epithet of *quercus* it is found at *H.O.* 1474. The first occurrences of the word are in Cicero, *N.D.* 1.18 *anum fatidicam Stoicorum Pronoeam, Leg.* 2.20 *fatidicorum et uatium ecfata.* It is absent from Senecan prose. Other adjectives in *-dicus* in Sen. trag. are *iuridicus* (*H.F.* 581 'judge') and *ueridicus* (*Ag.* 255 'truth-telling').

1101 concipit: 'to pronounce solemnly, utter (a formula or prayer)' (*OLD* s.v. 12), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 926 *ipse concipiam preces, Phae.* 942-3 *genitor aequoreus dedit / ut uota prono terna concipiam deo, Dial.* 3.16.5 *illa sollemnia uerba ... concipiam,* 6.13.1 *sollemnia pontificii carminis uerba concepit,* Ov. *Met.* 8.682 *concipiunt ... preces,* 14.365 *concipit illa preces et uerba precantia dicit.*

saeuos ... superos: cf. above 644 *immites deos*, *Ag.* 230 *saeuos ... deos*, *Oed.* 75 *o saeua nimium numina.*

ciet: 'to invoke, appeal to, cite (for aid, witness, etc.)' (*OLD* 6b), cf. e.g. *Phae.* 1004-5 *tum multa secum effatus et patrium solum / abominatus saepe genitorem ciet*, Liv. 22.14.7 *non homines tantum, sed foedera et deos ciebamus.*

1102 sacra: like the offering of Polyxena (below 1162 *sacri*), the killing of Astyanax is styled a sacred act (cf. above 635 *sacrum*).

sponte ... sua: to Fantham's quotation of Denis Nisard, *Études de moeurs et de critique sur les poètes Latins de la Décadence* (Paris [3]1867, p. 76), I like to add the criticism of this scene by C. Martha, *Les moralistes sous l'empire romain*, Paris 1865, 118: "Dans Sénèque le tragique, par exemple, Astyanax, sans attendre la mort, et après avoir tourné de tous côtés des yeux farouches, se précipite lui-même du haut de la tour, invention ridicule qu'un homme d'esprit n'eût pas hasardée dans une tragédie, s'il n'avait été sûr, que le public applaudirait le suicide d'un petit stoicien"; his remark was cited with approval by C. Brakman (1928) 154 f. In Greek tragedy, voluntary death is found at Eur. *Heraclid.* 501-2 (Macara), *Suppl.* 1012 ff. (Euadne), *IA* 1375-1401 (Iphigenia).

desiluit: for the use of the verb in the context of death, cf. *Nat.* 6.32.4 (of the man with contempt for life) *securus aspiciet ruptis compagibus dehiscens solum, illa licet inferorum regna retegantur. stabit super illam uoraginem intrepidus, et fortasse quo debebit cadere desiliet*, *Ep.* 76.29 *sed ille quoque cui etiam hoc gaudium eripitur quod tractatio operis maximi et ultimi praestat, nihil cunctatus desiliet in mortem, facere recte pieque contentus*, Luc. 2.159 *desilit in flammas.*

Sen. trag. always uses this perf. form, *Thy.* 768 *transiluit*, 989 *subsiluit*; in his prose we also find *transilît* or *transiliit* (*Ep.* 39.5), *exilierint* (*Dial.* 2.4.1).

1103 in media Priami regna: W.F. Jackson Knight (1932) 30 tentatively takes Astyanax's jump into the destroyed and burning city as a possible indication that he should have been thrown outwards from the wall. If so, he thinks there might be here a useful indication of the nature of the *lustrale debitum muris sacrum* (634-5): "The walls were to be 'lustrated', that is, exorcised by a sympathetic act meant to symbolize the departure of the last vestige of their vital spirit [...] the spirit of Hector was to be finally banished from Troy and to depart in death from the wall". Ulysses' words at 634-5, however, cannot be traced back to Calchas' utterance and seem to be his own invention. With van Leijenhorst, I think the half-line rather dramatic than magical: the burning city is the very heart of a no longer existing realm of a dead king.

The use of *media*, in my opinion, serves "to emphasize the completeness of involvement in the situation described" (*OLD* s.v. 4b), as in phrases like *in media uia, in medio foro* ("i.e. in full view of passers-by"); cf. above 676 *in medios ruam*, 1037-8 *medio ... / ... in ponto*, *Thy.* 72-3 *alueo medius tuo, / Phlegethon, relinquar igneo cinctus freto.*

Various explanations have been offered for the incompleteness of the line: "as if interrupted by the exclamation of the victim's mother" (Kingery), "broken off, as the ritual is broken off, by the child's sudden leap to claim his inheritance" (Fantham). There is a clear artistic effect here and in the other instances *Phoen.* 319 *iubente te uel uiuet* (318 *iubente te praebebit alitibus iecur*), *Phae.* 605 *me nolle* (604 *uos testor omnis, caelites, hoc quod uolo*), and *Thy.* 100 *sequor*; in Boyle's wording, "in each case the line's curtailment augments its rhetorical force." In the *Phoen.* passage, it concludes Oedipus' lines (295-319) in the debate on suicide between him (313 *hic Oedipus*) and Antigone (*te*) at the end of the first act. In *Thy.* 86-100 and *Phae.* 602-5, it is found at the end of shorter speech.

Vergil, with some fifty-seven incomplete lines in the twelve books of his *Aeneid* (the exact number is uncertain since some seem to have been filled up by scribes), in all probability was Seneca's paragon. But since it remains a matter of speculation whether he would have finished all these lines or only some of them if he had been given time to finish his revision of the epic, we cannot be absolutely sure about Seneca's intentions either: on the one hand, there is the conspicuous absence of incomplete lines in later epic poets (Lucan, Statius, Silius), on the other hand, the effectiveness of such lines makes one think of a deliberate artistic purpose. In this passage, for instance, I whole-heartedly like to repeat the observation made by Warde Fowler on *Aen.* 9.467 *Euryali et Nisi*, that the ensuing pause is "almost a sigh". Its impact is in a way comparable to the use of the half-line (408) rounding off the second choral ode [see Frank on *Phoen.* 319; Austin on *Aen.* 4.44; J. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil*, Oxford 1931; W.A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1969, 128-131].

1104 Colchus ... Scytha: in Eur. *Tro.* 764, Andromache had uttered her complaint in a more generalizing form, 'O Greeks, who have found out barbarian evils'. Like other poets, Seneca likes the use of geographical names in such emotional questions: cf. esp. Theseus' outburst in *Phae.* 906-7 *hunc Graia tellus aluit an Taurus Scythes / Colchusque Phasis?*, and *Med.* 408-10 *quae Scylla, quae Charybdis Ausonium mare / Siculumque sorbens quaeue anhelantem premens / Titana tantis Aetna feruebit minis?* A similar appliance of such names is found in *Phae.* 165-8, cited on 1105 *commisit.* In Neo-Latin tragedy, comparable lines occur in Grotius, *Chr. Pat.* 754-6 *quis migrantes habitare domos / consuetus Arabs, regnansue caua / rupe tyrannus tam dira iubet?* Prudentius had interrupted his description of the flogging with the lamentation (*P.* 10.701-2) *quae cautes illud perpeti spectaculum, / quis ferre possit aeris aut ferri rigor?*

sedis incertae: above 12 *uagos ... Scythas.*

Scytha: again Luc. 10.455 (for more instances in later authors see N-W I 55); the more usual form *Scythes* is found e.g. *Phae.* 168, 906, Cic. Tusc. 5.90 *Scythes Anacharsis*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.11.1, 4.14.42. At *H.F.* 1210 we find *pontum Scythen*, at *H.O.* 1251 *pontus Scythes.*

1105 commisit: 'to commit (an offence), perpetrate (a crime), do (something wrong)' (*OLD* 17), cf. *Phae.* 165-8 *compesce amoris impii flammas, precor, / nefasque quod non ulla tellus barbara / commisit umquam, non uagi campis Getae / nec inhospitalis Taurus aut sparsus Scythes*, *Phoen.* 328 *scelera committi*, *Ag.* 29 *maius aliud ... commisso scelus.*

Caspium tangens mare / gens: periphrasis for the Hyrcanians, at the south-east side of the Caspian Sea; Sen. trag. mentions them by name at *Thy.* 631, *Phae.* 70, *Med.* 713. For the association of cruelty provoked by that area, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.365-7 *nec tibi diua parens generis nec Dardanus auctor, / perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens / Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.*

1106 iuris expers: 'lawless', cf. Liv. 23.5.11 *Poenus hostis ... expertem omnis iuris et condicionis et linguae prope humanae militem trahit.*

Busiridis: Busiris was a king of Egypt, who sacrificed strangers and was killed himself by Hercules; cf. *H.F.* 483-4 *et qui hospitali caede manantes foci / bibere iustum sanguinem Busiridis*, *H.O.* 25-6 *cecidit ante aras suas / Busiris*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.5 *inlaudati ... Busiridis aras*, Ov. *Met.* 9.183 *foedantem peregrino templa cruore / Busirin domui.* His name was a symbol of barbarity, cf. *Cl.* 2.4.1 *nec interficere contenti saeuiunt, ut Busiris ille et Procrustes et piratae*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.11.39 *saeuior es tristi Busiride*, *Pont.* 3.6.41 *forsitan haec domino Busiride iure timeres.*

1107 puerilis: 'of a boy'; the adj. occurs in Sen. trag. again at *H.F.* 1194-5 *puerili ... leto*, and *Oed.* 859 *puerile foeda corpus urebat lue.*

aspersit: see on 256 *aspergis.*

1108 parua: "puerorum" (Farnabius); cf. above 775.

Diomedes: a Thracian king, who fed his horses on human flesh, and who was also killed by Hercules; the capture of these horses was his eighth labour. Cf. *H.F.* 226-7 *quid stabula memorem dira Bistonii gregis / suisque regem pabulum armentis datum*, 1169-70 *currus truces / Thracis cruenti*, *Ag.* 842-7 *egit Threicium gregem, / quem non Strymonii gramine fluminis / Hebriue ripis pauit tyrannus: / hospitum dirus stabulis cruorem / praebuit saeuis tinxitque crudos / ultimus rictus sanguis aurigae*, *H.O.* 20 *cruore pingues hospitum fregi greges*, Ov. *Met.* 9.194-5. Similar passages: Luc. 2.162-5 *scelerum non Thracia tantum / uidit Bistonii stabulis pendere tyranni, / postibus Antaei Libye, nec Graecia maerens / tam laceros artus Pisaea fleuit in aula*, Claud. *Ruf.* 1.251 ff., esp. 254-5 *o mites Diomedis equi, Busiridis arae / clementes!*

1109 epulanda posuit: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.601-2 (*non potui*) *ipsum absumere ferro / Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?*

teget: Zwierlein at first, (1966) 193, preferred Bentley's *leget*, because of 1111-2 *ossa ... casu* and passages like *Phae.* 1113-4 *passim ad supremos ille colligitur rogos / et funeri confertur.* Later, (1978) 152 n. 51, he sided with Axelson's defence of *artus teget / tumuloque tradet* as a 'Doppelausdruck', analogous to Verg. *Aen.* 6.152 *sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulcro*, and his rejection of *leget* as an improper anticipation of the messenger's words.

Transmitted *teget* was also upheld by Carlsson (1926) 50 on the ground of alliteration, Viansino (in *app.*: "ignorat enim Andromache Astyanactis artus disiectos esse et confusos"), Giardina, Fantham ("... a doublet of which the second part makes clear the religious meaning of the first, more general, word"), Boyle and Chaumartin. The argument added by Frank T. Coulson, 'Seneca, *Troades* 1109-10', *CQ* 39 (1989) 565 f., that Andromache's pathetic cry is clearly meant to echo her previous words at 969-71, seems less momentous to me.

1110 enim: ('yes, you certainly may raise that question) for'. Caviglia takes it here as the 'dialogic' use of *enim*, when someone as it were interrupts another speaker, immediately at the beginning of his lines repeating one of his words in order to make a correction; in addition, he thinks that it has an adversative force here (= *autem*), cf. *ThLL* V 2.589.64 ff. Likewise Boyle, referring to *OLD* s.v. 1. But *OLD* adds: "N.B.: it is hard to draw a line between this and other uses of *enim*, esp. the elliptical uses", and quotes only from Comedy. I rather list it under *OLD* 5c "(where the answer takes the form of a rhetorical question)". See Caroline Kroon, *Discourse Particles in Latin*, A study of *nam, enim, autem, vero* and *at*, Amsterdam 1995, 171-209, esp. 189, where she notes the use of irony and rhetorical questions as "a typical trait of a dialogical or diaphonic discourse type", also found at *Ep.* 27.1, 77.17-8, *Dial.* 5.27.3. *ThLL* V 2.585.72 ff. classifies it under *'enim rationale'* ("persona loquentis mutata, in responsis") with e.g. *Nat.* 7.26.2, *Ep.* 77.18.

praeceps: '(of ground, etc.) falling very steeply, precipitous, sheer' (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. *Phoen.* 117 *praeceps locus*, Cic. *Luc.* 94 *si locus is quo ferentur equi praeceps erit*, Caes. *Gal.* 4.33.3 *in decliui ac praecipiti loco.*

1111 disiecta: again *Phae.* 1256 *disiecta ... membra laceri corporis.*

graui / ... casu: Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.10 *grauiore casu.*

1112 elisa: 'to crush, smash' (*OLD* s.v. *elido* 1); see on 688 *elidet.*

signa: 'distinguishing marks or features' (*OLD* 3), cf. above 1055.

1113 nobiles ... notas: paronomasia.

notas: 'features' (*OLD* s.v. 1d, Summers on *Ep.* 40.1 *uestigia ... notas*), cf. Luc. 2.166-7 (*colla*) *iam tabe fluunt confusaque tempore multo / amisere notas*, 8.711 *una nota est Magno capitis iactura reuulsi.*

1114 confudit: 'to make indistinct or unrecognizable, mangle, disfigure (a person or his body)' (*OLD* s.v. 7), cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 5.58 *fractis confudit in ossibus ora*, 12.250-1 *ossa / non agnoscendo confusa reliquit in ore.*

imam: see on 639 *imo*. For its use in a contrast (here with *praeceps locus*), cf. *Oed.* 553-5 *lugubris imos palla perfundit pedes, / mortifera canam taxus adstringit comam*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.402-4 *rosea ceruice refulsit, / ambrosiaeque comae diuinum uertice odorem / spirauere; pedes uestis defluxit ad imos.*

datum: 'to cause to go, etc.' (*OLD* 19b), cf. above 621 *praecipitem datum*, Pl. *Capt.* 121 *mene uis dem ipse—in pedes?*, Lucr. 4.1095 *nil datur in corpus*, 6.1249 *in lectum maerore dabantur*, Verg. *Aen.* 12.227.

1115-17 These lines offer a characteristic example of *deinosis* ('exaggeration or exacerbation', LSJ): a forceful description with many details of revolting horror. This love of gruesome detail, in which Seneca has outdone all who precede him and in which he is only equalled by his nephew Lucan, may perhaps be partly a Spanish characteristic, but it probably also owes something to the declaimers. Comparable instances are found in *Phae.* 1256-60 (the scattered remnants of Hippolytus' body are carefully put together) *disiecta, genitor, membra laceri corporis / in ordinem dispone et errantes loco / restitue partes: fortis hic dextrae locus, / hic laeua frenis docta moderandis manus / ponenda: laeui lateris agnosco notas*, and *Thy.* 760 ff. [on *deinosis*, see e.g. Canter, p. 72 f.; Bonner, p. 165; Fuhrmann (1968) 23-66; Rosenmeyer, p. 123: "Roman literature, from Ennius on, delights in scenes where heads or limbs cut off continue to have a life of their own. In the Greek repertory that has come down to us, *Philoctetes* and *Rhesus* are the only plays that have any claim to showing something equivalent to the physicality and the ugliness of Seneca's scenic art. Once again, baroque drama, such as Garnier's *Porcie* and Gryphius' *Katharina von Georgien*, furnishes the closest parallels to Seneca's obsessive somatic particularity"].

Werner Biehl, in his commentary on Euripides' *Troades*, Heidelberg 1989, as a rule paying little attention to Seneca's play, cannot refrain from comparing these lines to Euripides' handling of the scene (p. 414): "In der Nachfolge des Euripides drückt sich der Gegensatz zu der deutlich nuancierten Diktion in 1176 f. in besonders bemerkenswerter Weise in der durch realistische Direktheit ausgezeichneten Version des Seneca aus, die das, wogegen sich das menschliche Auge zu sträuben geneigt ist, gerade nicht zu verdecken sucht".

soluta: 'to destroy the fabric of (a structure), break up, disintegrate' (*OLD* s.v. *soluo* 11), cf. *Phae.* 1031-2 *inhorruit concussus undarum globus / soluitque sese*, *Nat.* 7.16.3 *illud momentum, quo cometes solutus et in duas partes redactus est.*

silicis impulsu: according to *ThLL*, *impulsus* is never combined with a gen. obiectivus; with a gen. subiectivus it is found e.g. at Ov. *Met.* 3.61-2 *illius impulsu cum turribus ardua celsis / moenia mota forent.* On the 'Subjekt - Objekt - Vertauschung', see U. Hübner, *Hermes* 100 (1972), 595 n. 4; *RhM* 117 (1974), 596 (on Luc. 6.755-7 *nec se tellure cadauer / paulatim per membra leuat, terraque repulsum est / erectumque semel*): "In der Hypallage, durch die das eigentlich sich bewegende ... in die Rolle des Passiven versetzt ist, drückt sie die Willenlosigkeit und erbärmliche Hilflosigkeit aus"; *Hermes* 103 (1975), 211; Hillen, p. 259 f. Cf. also Luc. 2.155-6 *hic se praecipiti iaculatus pondere dura / dissiluit percussus humo*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.2.80 *quaeque ferit curuos exerta Megalia fluctus.*

caput: the combination *caput - corpus* (1117) has an analogy in Verg. *Aen.* 2.558 (Priam's corpse) *auulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.*

1116 cerebro ... expresso: this gruesome detail is also found at *H.F.* 1007 *cerebro tecta disperso madent.* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10.415-6 *saxo ferit ora Thoantis / ossaque dispersit cerebro permixta cruento,* 11.698 *uolnus calido rigat ora cerebro.* For the use of the verb, 'to squeeze out, to eject by pressure' (*OLD* s.v. *exprimo* 2), cf. *Dial.* 5.33.2 *hi sunt propter quos oculi clamore exprimantur,* Ov. *Met.* 3.672 *expresso spinae curuamine* (with Bömer's note).

1117 deforme: 'made unsightly, disfigured' (*OLD* s.v. 2). In Sen. trag. the adj. also occurs at *H.F.* 766-7 (in a description of Charon) *deformem sinum / nodus coercet, Phae.* 823 *deformis senii ... imaginem, Thy.* 666-7 *dirae Stygis / deformis unda,* 775 *nube deformi,* 832 *deforme chaos.* Cf. Luc. 1.685, cited on 141 *truncus.*

sic: Gruterus' correction of A's *hic* is confirmed by E.

sic ... patri: Seneca's deviating from the tradition that the body of Astyanax was buried on Hector's shield (Eur. *Tro.* 1133 ff., Enn. *scen.* 83-4 V^2) must be a result from his aiming at this pointed analogy.

1118-1164 *The account of Polyxena's death.*

1118 praeceps: for the use of the adj. in the context of a suicide, cf. e.g. *Phae.* 260 (Phaedra, after 258 *decreta mors est: quaeritur fati genus*) *an missa praeceps arce Palladia cadam?,* 262-3 *praecipiti ... / perire leto,* Luc. 2.155 *praecipiti ... pondere,* 3.750, 8.654, 9.107. It is a favourite word of both Sen. trag. (33x, as a subst. another 5x) and Lucan (39x, according to van Campen on 2.155). For the combination with *cecidit,* cf. *Med.* 659 *Nauplius praeceps cadet in profundum, Phae.* 260, 1085; the words *praecipitesque cadunt* are found at the beginning of Lucr. 6.744 (of birds), and Verg. *Geo.* 4.80 (of bees).

ut: likewise at the beginning of a narrative at *Med.* 675, *Phae.* 1000, *Ag.* 421 (Tarrant: "The practice is found in tragedy as well as epic, though the use of ἐπεί is particularly characteristic of Euripides"); *postquam* is used by the messenger in *Oed.* 915. For its enclitic position ("schon altlateinisch", H-Sz 399), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 788 *sensit ut motus pedum,* 821 *uidit ut clarum diem.*

A. Rijksbaron, 'How does a messenger begin his speech?', in: *Miscellanea Tragica in honorem J.C. Kamerbeek,* Amsterdam 1976, 293-308, makes the distinction: messenger-speeches opening with an ἐπεί-clause – messenger-speeches opening with a simple sentence.

altis ... muris: similarly placed at *Phoen.* 209 *cares; ut altis nobilem muris domum.* Sen. trag. obviously likes this wordorder and structure of the line: *altis* in all its occurrences in the trimeter (*H.F.* 339, *Phoen.* 115, *Phae.* 1154, *Oed.* 50, 532, *Ag.* 892, *Thy.* 186, 225, 457) has this position, with the corresponding substantive in the penultimate foot; the only exception is *Thy.* 186, where *iugis* is placed at the end of the line. Cf. also above 738 *magnos crescit in luctus puer.*

cecidit: 'to precipitate oneself deliberately, drop, fall' (*OLD* s.v. *cado* 5), cf. Stat. *Silu.* 2.2.105 *et Satyri cecidere uadis*, Apul. *Met.* 5.27 *festinauit ad scopulum inque simile mortis exitium cecidit*; likewise Greek πίπτω. The verb may also be used of a suppliant throwing himself at somebody's feet (*OLD* 5b).

e muris: for the use of the preposition, see on 104 *ex umeris*.

1119 Achiuum: for the gen. plur. ending, see on 32 *liberum*.

turba: see on 1098 *uulgum ac duces*.

fecit: 'to commit (a crime)' (*OLD* 21b), cf. Pl. *Cas.* 549 *flagitium maxumum feci miser*. Ov. *Met.* 7.340 *ne sit scelerata, facit scelus*. Note the paronomasia *fleuit* - *fecit*.

1120 ad facinus ... / tumulumque: "Nota che, con *facinus*, *ad* ha valore finale; con *tumulum*, di moto verso luogo", d'Alfonso.

1121 tumulum ... Achillis: see on 180 *tumulum leuat*.

cuius extremum latus: same line-ending *Thy.* 642.

1122 Rhoetea: see on 108 *Rhoetea*.

leni ... fluctu: see on 201 *fluctu ... leni*. Applied to water (*OLD* 1: 'slowly or quietly moving, gentle, light, placid'), the adjective also occurs in Enn. *Ann.* 163 Sk (= 173 V^2) *quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumen*, Liv. 1.4.4 *super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis*. Hillen, p. 54, n. 163 calls attention to the 'Verbalnomen' character of *fluctus* here and above 201, comparing in this respect *Med.* 211 *placidis flexibus*.

uerberant: of inanimate forces (*OLD* s.v. 3b), e.g. *Phae.* 5-6 *quae ... amnis / rapida currens uerberat unda*, *Ep.* 83.7 *uento siluam uerberante*, *Dial.* 7.27.3 *rupes ... quam fluctus non desinunt ... uerberare*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.669 *uerberat imber humum*, 3.423 *sidera uerberat unda*.

For the discrepancy between the usual meaning 'to lash, batter' and the adj. *leni*, cf. *Med.* 727 (*Baetis*) *Hesperia pulsans maria languenti uado*, *Oed.* 10 (*rupem*) *quamuis quieti uerberat fluctus maris* (Töchterle *ad loc.*, commenting: "Das Verbum wird von Seneca gern für die Tätigkeit des Wassers verwendet", properly refers to *Nat.* 4a.2.5 *at ubi scopulos et acuta cautium uerberauit, spumat* (sc. *Nilus*), 6.7.4 *sic fiet motus alicuius partis in quam flumen impetum dedit, et quam donec decresceret uerberauit*, but at *Med.* 337 *iussitque pati uerbera pontum* the substantive denotes the activity of the oars).

Note the 'silver' a b C B A structure of the line (see on 184 and 240).

1123 aduersa: E's *auersa* was advocated by Gronovius: "Recte: nam frons promontoriorum respicit mare: altera igitur pars *aversa*, et tergi instar", and by Housman (1923) 165: "If you mention first one side of a valley and then the other, the latter is *adversus*, because the two sides of a valley are face to face. But if you mention first one and then the other side of a hill, the latter is *aversus*, because the two sides of a hill are back to back"; he compares Sall. *Jug.* 93.2 *haud procul ab latere castelli quod auorsum proeliantibus erat*.

Most editors have *aduersa*. Fantham properly notes that *auersa* would be correct if we moved from the sea inward; but *extremum* has already indicated our position: "we are visualizing this from the viewpoint of our messenger and his audience to landward; thus the side of the tomb away from the sea is opposite, or 'facing', the present characters and the actual Greek spectators of the sacrifice."

The confusion *aduer-/auer-* is also found at *H.F.* 717, *Med.* 10, *Oed.* 1011, *Thy.* 205, 1036; in other authors, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 5.477, Ov. *Ep.* 12.63, Stat. *Theb.* 5.357, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 3.393.

cliuo: 'sloping ground, a slope, incline' (*OLD* 1), in Sen. trag. found only here. It can be taken either in a concrete sense as a synonym of *uallis*, or - more likely, in my opinion - in an abstract sense (cf. *ThLL* III 1356.76 ff. *i. q. deuexitas terrae*). For the abl. modi *cliuo leui*, cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9.8-9 *qua se subducere colles / incipiunt mollique iugum demittere cliuo*, *Geo.* 3.292-3 *iuuat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum / Castaliam molli deuertitur orbita cliuo.*

1124 erecta: '(pass., of hills or sim.) to extend upwards, rise' (*OLD* s.v. *erigo* 1d). For the 'Particip-Abundanz' (*erecta ... crescit*), Hillen (p. 72) compares Calp. 7.31-2 *sinuata / curuatur.*

uallis: 'Abhang, steiler Hang', Hillen, comparing *Thy.* 651 *alta uetustum ualle compescens nemus.*

Leo, following Bücheler, removed the period after *more*, placed one behind *locum*, and a comma after *frequens* (likewise Miller and Kingery). Vahlen, *Opuscula Academica* I, Lipsiae 1907, 104 f., rejecting that punctuation (but citing Leo with a period after *crescit*), rightly compared this passage to Verg. *Aen.* 5.287-9 *gramineum in campum, quem collibus undique curuis / cingebant siluae, mediaque in ualle theatri / circus erat*; moreover, he referred to *Thy.* 643 (see next note) and Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.101-3 *curuata tumore / paruo planities et mollibus edita cliuis / creuerat in collem.* Similarly Fantham: "Leo's punctuation has the advantage of offering a good climax from *crescit* to *impleuit*, but requires an interpretation of *theatri more*, 'as they do at a theater', different from the Virgilian model, and strained in sense. This, rather than the resulting syntax of 1123-24, is the main argument against his text". Zwierlein (1986) 111 refers to the comparable passage Tac. *Ann.* 12.56.3 *ripas et colles, montium edita in modum theatri multitudo innumera compleuit*; he rightly concludes that it does not support Leo's view of combining *crescit* and *concursus.*

1125 crescit: 'to rise to a higher level, extend upwards, ascend; (esp. of features in the landscape)' (*OLD* s.v. 8), cf. *Thy.* 642-3 *extremum latus / aequale monti crescit*, *Phae.* 1007-8 *uastum tonuit ex alto mare / creuitque in astra*, *Nat.* 2.9.2 *sparsio illa, quae ex fundamentis mediae harenae crescens crocum in summam usque amphitheatri altitudinem peruehit*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.9-10 *tellus iam puluere primo / crescit*, 10.850 *cum cresceret impia tellus.*

theatri more: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5.287-8 cited on 1124 *uallis*, *B. Afr.* 37.4 (*campus*) *quem iugum cingens a mari ortum neque ita praealtum uelut theatri efficit speciem*, Auson. *Mos.* 156 *uitibus assurgunt naturalique theatro*. Walter (1975) 92 f. styles this theatrical setting conspicuous and "in der klassisch-griechischen Tragödie wohl undenkbar".

After counting the number of lines given to the actors, the actions and the public, Owen (1970 *WS*) 135 draws the conclusion that Seneca's attention is elsewhere than on the two slaughtered innocents: what he is really interested in is the nature of the participation in these deaths by the multitude.

1125b-1148 The following episode, describing the watching crowd, partly resembles the corresponding one on Astyanax (1076-87) but is more elaborate. The description likewise starts with the whole crowd, followed by a *distributio* marking individual contrasts. But then the camera shifts to a new element (1129): the throng of Trojans. It is the transition to a new contrast: the two multitudes are united in their fears and in their astonishment (1136-7), Polyxena is bashful but radiant. The bewilderment of the whole crowd of onlookers is stressed once again (1143), followed by another individualization.

Critical remarks on the parallelism have been made by A. Lesky, *WS* 43 (1922/23) 192: "... einfach das für Polyxena verwendete Schema klischeeartig auf Astyanax übertragen ...", and by Liebermann, p. 65: "Die Parallelität wirkt durch die Schematisierung geradezu störend".

In my opinion, the Roman audience probably did not object to the repetition of this accustomed structure:

a) a description of the location (1068 ff., 1120 ff.);

b) a description of the events (*Tro.* 1088 ff., 1132 ff.).

concursus: mainly a prose word (in Senecan prose 11 times, for instance *Dial.* 4.8.1 *saepta concursu omnis frequentiae plena*), in Sen. trag. found only here. Some occurrences of the noun in poetry before him: Pl. *Epid.* 211 *fit concursus per uias*, Verg. *Aen.* 5.611 *conspicit ingentem concursum*, 9.454 *ingens concursus*, *Aetna* 362 *uastaque concursu trepidantia saxa*.

An adaptation of 1124-6 can be found in Vondel, *Batavische Gebroeders, of onderdruckte vryheit* (1660) 1704-8 (in a description of the death of Julius Paulus), quoted by Worp (1892) 226:

> De strenge krijghsraet gaf hem boschwaert in 't geleide,
> Naer 't heiligh outer, dat in top des heuvels rijst,
> Die halve maenswijs, als een schouburgh, met een lijst
> Van popelboomen wort omschaduwt en gesloten.
> Hier was van overal het volck naer toe geschoten.

1126 hi ... / ... hi: see on 1078 *his*.

moras / ... solui: cf. above 353-4 *tu, qui Pelasgae uincla soluisti rati / morasque bellis*, *Phoen.* 245-6 *uideram nondum diem / uterique nondum solueram clausi moras*, Luc. 1.204 *inde moras soluit belli*.

As for the choice between the readings *moram* (E) and *moras* (A), Wertis' note "Seneca could have written either the singular or the plural in this case, but perhaps *Tro.* 166 and 613 point to the singular here", seems to return in Zwierlein's *apparatus*. The first instance, *quae causa ratibus faciat et Danais moram*, does indeed support the use of the singular (*moras* would have been quite possible there), although it should be noted that the line is an echo of 164, where *longa ... mora* could not be replaced by *longae ... morae*; 613, however, seems to be a misprint for 813 (*abripite propere classis Argolicae moram*), where the word clearly denotes 'a person ... which delays or retards' (*OLD* 9), an unquestionable and therefore uncomparable use of the singular.

On the other hand, there is the use of the plural in *Ag.* 160 *redemit illa classis immotae moras* of the delay at Aulis, with which the present delay is parallelled more than once (164-5, 360). It is the same long delay they fear, caused by various weather conditions like storms, adverse winds and calm, and it will be taken away (again) by one single murder.

1127 stirpem: 'stock' (*OLD* 4); see also above 456 (used of Astyanax).

hostium: at the end of the trimeter again *Thy.* 663, cf. *Thy.* 1082 *montium* (ususally after the penthemimeres, see on 229 *gentium*).

1128 recidi: originally 'cut back (trees, etc.) to the base or stock, prune away' (*OLD*), cf. e.g. *Cl.* 1.8.7 *multa satorum genera, ut densiora surgant, reciduntur*, Cat. *Agr.* 2.4 *uepres recidi*, Ov. *Ars* 3.574 *silua recisa*; cf. above 541 *tenera caeso uirga de trunco*. As Fantham notes, the meaning here, and at *Ep.* 88.38 *ostendam multa securibus recidenda*, is rather 'to cut back so as to destroy further growth'.

uulgi leuis: on the fickleness of the mob, cf. e.g. Liv. 24.31.14 *expertique quam uana aut leui aura mobile uulgus esset.*

1129 odit ... spectatque: for similar paradoxes involving *odit*, Boyle refers to *Phae.* 984 *colit atque odit*, Lucr. 3.1069 *haeret et odit*, Juv. 15.71 *ridet et odit*, *Med.* 582 *ardet et odit*, *Ben.* 5.20.2 *beneficium et odit et accepit*; one may add Stat. *Theb.* 7.232-3 *audire exposcit et odit / narrantem*, where Smolenaars for the striking juxtaposition of contradictory emotions cites *Oed.* 209 *incertus animus scire cum cupiat timet*, *Ag.* 73 *metui cupiunt metuique timent*. For the use of *-que*: 'and yet, and at the same time' (*OLD* s.v. 8), cf. *Oed.* 1008 *cupit pauetque*, 591-2 *quidquid aeternae creant / celantque tenebrae*, Cic. *Tusc.* 3.4 *cum quaedam etiam praeclara cuperent eaque nescirent nec ubi nec qualia essent*, Verg. *Aen.* 6.733 *hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque*, V. Fl. 4.47 *audetque pauetque*; a variation is given by Ov. *Met.* 10.371-2 *pudetque / et cupit*. Without *-que*, we meet contrasting verbs juxtaposed e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.22 *amare odisse, cupere timere*, Apul. *Met.* 5.21 *festinat differt, audet trepidat.*

A comparable comment on mass-behaviour is made in Tac. *Ann.* 15.46 *ut est* (sc. *populus*) *nouarum rerum cupiens pauidusque*. For Seneca's emphasis on the pleasures of spectatorship as a recurrent theme in his writings on the games, see e.g. Leigh, p. 284.

nec ... minus: '(as a connective formula), (and) likewise, (and) as well' (*OLD* s.v. *minus* 3b), cf. e.g. *Phoen.* 605, Verg. *Aen.* 1.633, 3.482.

1130 frequentant: 'take part in or perform in great numbers' (*OLD* s.v. 2c; see on 1012 *frequentat*), rather than just 'nehmen ... teil' (Thomann), 'attend' (Boyle). *ThLL* VI 1310.4-5 lists this line with Suet. *Tib.* 32 *illustrium exequias usque ad rogum frequentauit* under "sensu latiore i. 'frequentativo'".

1131 partem ... ultimam: probably deliberately ambiguous as a reference to Polyxena as 'the last fragment of falling Troy' (Fantham), and to her death as 'the last/final act' (d'Alfonso, Miller, Thomann, Boyle, referring to the comparable use of μέρος, e.g. Arist. *Poet.* 1452b 14 ff.; cf. Ahl: 'this final chapter'); for that theatrical usage of *pars*, Fantham p. 378 f. refers to Cic. *Q.F.* 1.1.46.

1132 thalami: Seneca prefers the use of the plural forms of the word (see on 61 *thalamos*), but - as Gaheis (1895) 54 notes - avoids the gen. plur. on *-orum* and *-arum*; he only uses *irarum* at *Thy.* 26 and 509.

thalami more: cf. Apul. *Met.* 4.33 *ornatam mundo funerei thalami* with Kenney's note.

praecedunt faces: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.259 *praemissas faces, festum nubentibus ignem* with Mulder's note. For the use of an inanimate subject with the verb, cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.614-5 *sol erat a tergo: uidi praecedere longam / ante pedes umbram*, Tac. *Ann.* 3.2 *praecedebant incompta signa, uersi fasces.*

1133 pronuba: 'a married woman who conducted the bride to the bridal chamber'; cf. Paul. *Fest.* p. 244 M (Lindsay 283.15 f.) *pronubae adhibentur nuptis, quae semel nupserunt, causa auspicii, ut singulare perseueret matrimonium.* Sen. trag. uses the word again at *Oed.* 644 *Erinyn pronubam thalami, Med.* 37-8 *pronubam ... pinum.* At the union of Aeneas and Dido, Juno was *pronuba* (*Aen.* 4.166-7 *prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno / dant signum*). The combination of the nouns *thalamus*, *fax*, and *pronuba* is also found at Apul. *Met.* 8.12 *sic faces nuptiales tuos illuminarunt thalamos. ultrices habebis pronubas.*

illi: probably rather referring to Polyxena (Fantham) than to *thalami* (d'Alfonso).

Tyndaris: Helen, daughter of Tyndareus; cf. Lucr. 1.464 *Tyndaridem raptam*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.568-9 *secreta in sede latentem / Tyndarida aspicio*, Eur. *Tro.* 34-5. In Seneca's *Agamemnon*, Clytemestra is so styled.

1134 demissa: for the 'middle' use of the pass. participle, cf. 410 *tunsae.* Hillen, p. 254 makes a distinction between the use there ('mediales PPP mit unbewegtem Akkusativobjekt') and here (K-S 1.290: "bei manchen anderen Verben, die ebenfalls eine Tätigkeit ausdrücken, die das Subjekt an einem in seiner Sphäre liegenden Gegenstande vollzieht"). For this use, he compares *Med.* 801 *mota caput*, *Oed.* 544 *diffusa ramos*, *Ag.* 92-3 *nubibus ipsis inserta caput / turris*, 786 *uates corpus effusa ac tremens.*

Hermione: the daughter of Menelaus and Helen. She was to marry Pyrrhus (Hom. *Od.* 4.3-9, Verg. *Aen.* 3.327-8); in Euripides' *Andromache*, she leaves him for Orestes, to whom Menelaus had promised her originally.

1135 turpis: '(of persons) guilty of disgraceful behaviour or practices' (*OLD* 4), cf. Ov. *Ep.* 5.70 (also of Helen), 13.133 *turpis adultera.*

1136 attonitos: see on 442; here of fear, as at *Phae.* 729 *ensemque trepida liquit attonitus fuga*, 1050 *fugit attonitum pecus*, *Thy.* 676-7 *saepe simulacris domus / attonita magnis. nec dies sedat metum*, *Ep.* 90.43 *si quid increpuit, fugitis attoniti.* Whitman erroneously quotes this line with *attonitus* as a parallel to *Oct.* 759 *terrorque in hostes redeat attonitus meos.*

tenet: "convenientius stupore defixis et immobilibus" (sc. than A's *mouet*), Gronovius.

1137 utrosque populos: after the description of the differences between Greeks and Trojans going to this second murder - cf. Lawall, p. 251: "Further complexity is introduced by the careful distinction between the vulgar gawking and petty emotionalism of the Greek spectators and the piteous terror that grips the Trojans who watch the final Act in the death of their city" - Seneca now stresses their similar reaction to the frightening spectacle of the procession. As Wilson, p. 61 remarks: "What is stressed by Seneca is not the difference in these scenes between Trojans and Greeks, but their involvement in the same emotions and responses despite their differences." Wilson adds that he cannot agree with Lawall's words, but in my view their remarks can stand side by side.

ipsa: "Seneca feels no need to name Polyxena", Fantham.

deiectos ... / uultus: for this use of the verb, cf. e.g. *Ep.* 11.7 *artifices scaenici ... hoc indicio imitantur uerecundiam: deiciunt enim uultum*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.320 *deiecit uultum*, 6.862 *deiecto lumina uultu*, 11.480 *oculos deiecta decoros*, Ov. *Am.* 1.8.37 *deiectis ... oculis*, Stat. *Theb.* 2.230-2 *ibant insignes uultuque habituque uerendo / candida purpureum fusae super ora pudorem / deiectaeque genas* [*ThLL* V 1.396.39 ff.].

1138 pudore: 'in modesty'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.479-80 (of Polyxena dying) *tunc quoque cura fuit partes uelare tegendas, / cum caderet, castique decus seruare pudoris*, in connection with a bride also Catul. 61.79(83) *tardet ingenuus pudor*, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.325 *sollicitum praeuelatura pudorem.*

genae: rather 'eyes', I feel, than 'cheeks'; see on 441.

1139 magis ... solito: for the use of *solito* with a comp. adj. or adv. (*OLD* s.v. *solitus* 2), cf. e.g. *Ag.* 716 *nunc leuat in auras altior solito caput*, *Thy.* 267 *nescioquid ... maius et solito amplius*, *Ben.* 3.22.2 *si plus debito solitoque fecerunt.* It is found most frequently in Livy: 5.44.6 *ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito incauti*, 6.14.1 *seditione, quam solito magis metuendam auctor faciebat*, 22.2.2 *fluuius Arnus ... solito magis inundauerat*, 25.7.8 *sol rubere solito magis*, cf. also 23.19.11 *citatior solito amnis*, 24.12.1 *maior solito adparatus* [K-S 2.470]. Fantham, p. 95 styles it Ovidian (her reference to *Met.* 13.488 *solito uelocius* should be 14.388).

extremus decor: cf. *Ep.* 12.4 *pueritiae maximus in exitu decor est.*

Evans (1950) 183 concludes her article as follows:

> Extensive delineation of bodily or facial expression, permanent or momentary, achieved a strong emotional effect in such rhetorical writing, and was closely linked to the increasing interest, apparent in Stoic thought, in the physiognomical analysis of the relation of temperament to outward appearance, an interest observable in the first century, which was to increase decidedly in the second century and gradually to leave a definite imprint on Roman literature as a whole.

1140 ut: for other comparisons of human beauty with celestial bodies, see *Med.* 93-8 *haec cum femineo constitit in choro, / unius facies praenitet omnibus. / sic cum sole perit sidereus decor, / et densi latitant Pleiadum greges, / cum Phoebe solidum lumine non suo / orbem circuitis cornibus alligat*, *Phae.* 743-52 *pulcrior tanto tua forma lucet, / clarior quanto micat orbe pleno / cum suos ignes coeunte cornu / iunxit et curru properante pernox / exerit uultus rubicunda Phoebe / nec tenent stellae faciem minores; / talis est, primas referens tenebras, / nuntius noctis, modo lotus undis / Hesperus, pulsis iterum tenebris / Lucifer idem*, 1112 *siderum fulsit modo*, 1269 *haecne illa facies igne sidereo nitens.*

Phoebi: an appellation of Apollo as the sun-god (for the various names of the sun see on 170 *Titan*).

1141 iamiam: 'at any time now, now all but' (*OLD* s.v. *iam* 5; *ThLL* VII 119.16 ff.), cf. *Med.* 949 *iam iam meo rapientur auulsi e sinu*, *Ag.* 44 *iam iam natabit sanguine alterno domus*, and the use of *iam iamque*, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 2.530 *iam iamque manu tenet.* This emotional duplication of *iam* is used by several poets, e.g. Plautus (*Cur.* 707 *iam iam faciam ut iusseris*), Lucretius (3.894 *iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta*), Catullus (62.52 *iam iam contingit*, 63.73), Vergil (*Aen.* 2.701 *iam iam nulla mora est*, 6.602), Ovid (*Tr.* 1.2.20 *iam iam tacturos sidera summa putes*), but is also found in prose: Cic. *Att.* 7.20.1 *illum ruere nuntiant et iam iamque adesse*, *Tusc.* 1.14, Tac. *Ann.* 1.47.

cadentis: '(of heavenly bodies) to disappear below the horizon, sink, set' (*OLD* 6). Is this comparison of her beauty to the light of the setting sun Seneca's own idea? I have not come across it before him.

uices: in the context of celestial bodies and of day and night, the noun is found e.g. *Nat.* 3.29.3 *solem et lunam et uices siderum*, *Oed.* 689 *nec ulla uicibus surgit alternis dies*, *Ag.* 53 *noctis aestiuae uices*, 821-2 *Aurora mouit / ad solitas uices caput*, *Thy.* 813-4 *solitae mundi periere uices? / nihil ocasus, nihil ortus erit?*

1142 dubius: of light (*OLD* s.v. 4) 'faint, uncertain', cf. *H.F.* 670 *fulgorque dubius solis adflicti cadit*, *Phae.* 41 *dum lux dubia est*, *Oed.* 1 *iam nocte Titan dubius expulsa redit*, *Ag.* 908 *stat ecce Titan dubius emerito die*, Ov. *Met.* 4.399-401 *iamque dies exactus erat tempusque subibat, / quod tu nec tenebras nec posses dicere lucem, / sed cum luce tamen dubiae confinia noctis.*

uicina: 'near in time, imminent' (*OLD* s.v. 4); cf. *Ep.* 30.7 *cum loqueretur de morte uicina*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.212 *uicino ... partu*, 2.13 *uicina nocte*, Luc. 7.50 *uicinae mortis ... horas*. This temporal use lives on in later Latin, e.g. Prud. *Cath. praef.* 4-5 *instat terminus, et diem / uicinum senio iam Deus adplicat*, Avitus, *carm.* 3.3 *uicina iam nocte*, 5.368 *uicina dies*, 5.533 *uicinus ... uesper* (Arweiler, p. 121 f.).

1143 stupet: as a follow-up of 1136 *terror ... tenet*, cf. *Ag.* 508-9 *tenet horror artus, omnis officio stupet / nauita relicto*. Like *attonitus* (cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.3.11-2 *non aliter stupui, quam qui Iouis ignibus ictus / uiuit*), the word has various shades of meaning. For the combination with fear, cf. *Phoen.* 528 *stupeo et exanguis tremo*, Liv. 3.44.7 *pauida puella stupente*; other emotions are described at Cael. *orat.* 16 *stupere gaudio Graecus*, Liv. 2.49.5 *admiratione stupens*. The line-opening *stupet omne uulgus* is also found at *H.O.* 1745.

omne uulgus: = *uulgus utriusque populi* (d'Alfonso).

et fere ... / ... laudant: Zwierlein (1976) 188, 190 f. gives three reasons for obelizing these two half-lines:

1. The predicate *laudant* is not in line with the preceding *stupet* und following *mouet*.

2. With the 'Erfahrungssatz' that almost all people praise what is about to perish, the poet would detract from the genuineness of the messenger's report and his depiction of Polyxena's beauty and heroism.

3. The interpolation disturbs the organic *distributio* of general *omne uulgus* in specifying *hos* - *hos* - *hos*, for which cf. 1077 ff.

Other possible intruded gnomic statements are *Ag.* 934 *fidem secunda possunt, aduersa exigunt* (Peiper), *Thy.* 388-9 *rex est qui metuit nihil / rex est qui cupiet nihil* (Leo), 572 *peior est bello timor ipse belli* (Tarrant; his listing of *Oed.* 100 seems to be an error). This one is more remarkable as it consists of two half-lines.

As an emendation of *et*, Gruterus had suggested *ut*; it was taken over by N. Heinsius and Weber, with a full stop after *uulgus* and a comma after *laudant*. It does take away the awkward introduction to the phrase, but it does not remove the discrepancy between the verbs. Fantham, deleting 1143b-1144a as out of place but also as no good poetry ("mere petrified prose"), explains the passage as "a marginal gloss *fere ... laudant* on the sun simile, treated as verse and incorporated into the text by the connection *et*." Could not it just as well be a deliberate insertion by a poetic scribe like the other ones mentioned? Caviglia also leaves them out. Boyle has kept them: "in performance this line can become one of the most dramatically powerful in the whole speech".

fere: probably rather 'as a rule' (*OLD* s.v. 3), than 'almost'.

1144 peritura: Kingery refers to Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.30-2 *heu nefas! / uirtutem incolumem odimus, / sublatam ex oculis quaerimus inuidi*, to which commentators quote an anonymous (Menander?) at Stob. 125.3 (125.12 M) 'we all are well versed in envying a famous man as long as he is alive, and in praising him as soon as he has died'.

hos mouet formae decus: cf. in a quite different context Verg. *Aen.* 7.472-4 *certatim sese Rutuli exhortantur in arma: / hunc decus egregium formae mouet atque iuuentae, / hunc ataui reges, hunc claris dextera factis.*

1145 mollis: 'soft, tender' (as typical of youth, *OLD* s.v. 3b), cf. Ov. *Ep.* 1.111 *mollibus annis*, V. Fl. 7.295 *horror molles inuaserat annos*, Lucr. 5.673 (*imperat aetas*) *impubem molli pubescere ueste*, Hor. *Epod.* 11.4 *mollibus ... pueris.*

uagae: 'fickle, changeable' (*OLD* s.v. 8); cf. the use of the adj. in *Dial.* 10.2.2 *uaga et inconstans ... leuitas*, Cic. *Mil.* 69 *uides quam sit uaria uitae commutabilisque ratio, quam uaga uolubilisque fortuna.*

uices: 'vicissitudes' (*OLD* 7b), cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.11.67-8 *humanaeque memor sortis, quae tollit eosdem / et premit, incertas ipse uerere uices*, Luc. 2.12-3 *fors incerta uagatur / fertque refertque uices*, Plin. *Pan.* 1 *fragilitatis humanae uices.* In its sense 'successive forms or conditions' (*OLD* 7a), it is used e.g. at *Ep.* 108.20 *nec tantum caelestia per certos circuitus uerti, sed animalia quoque per uices ire.*

1146 leto obuius: for the use of the adj. in figurative phrases, cf. Lucr. 3.1041 *sponte sua leto caput obuius obtulit ipse*, Tac. *Ann.* 16.25 *aspiceret populus uirum morti obuium.* For the thought, cf. Sen. *Thy.* 367-8 *occurritque suo libens / fato.*

1147 Zwierlein (1976) 188 ff. objects to this line as well. In view of Euripides' picture of this scene, he thinks Polyxena's walking ahead of Pyrrhus most unlikely. In fact, he rather conceives Pyrrhus as not taking part in the procession but awaiting Polyxena at the tomb; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.455-6 *utque Neoptolemum stantem ferrumque tenentem ... uidit.* His proposal to delete the line was turned down by both Caviglia and Fantham. The latter puts forward two arguments supporting the authenticity of *Pyrrhum antecedit*:

a) the psychology of Senecan martyrs; cf. Cassandra: *Ag.* 1004 *ne trahite, uestros ipsa praecedam gradus*; Antigone: *Phoen.* 63-4 *uado; praerupta appetis? / non obsto, sed praecedo*, 73 *dum prior, quouis eo*, 76;

b) the order of 1148-50 gives first her arrival at the tomb, then Pyrrhus, as he takes up position; in 1152 she must turn around to face the blow: therefore she must have gone ahead of him, Seneca's scenario is not that of Ovid.

I side with Fantham that the order of 1149 *tetigit* (sc. Polyxena) - 1150 *iuuenis ... stetit* implies that she walks ahead of Pyrrhus. Zwierlein, however, is right in his criticism that *conuersa ad ictum* (1152) does not imply that she had turned around: the apodosis *audax uirago non tulit retro gradum, / conuersa ad ictum stat truci uultu ferox* indeed only makes sense if she sees menacing Pyrrhus in front of her on the top ([1986] 112 f.). In my view, Pyrrhus initially follows her, comes up with her at the top, and then takes his position above and in front of her. Zwierlein's criticism on Fantham's first argument, in which he sets off this passage (a description of a real event) against the other two (part of a rhetorical amplification, picturing fictive situations), has not convinced me.

For his deletion of the line Zwierlein stresses five points:

1. Pyrrhus did not escort Polyxena to Achilles' tomb (from 1077-8 and 1118 ff. one may gather that she was not brought there directly from the Trojan camp, but that Pyrrhus only took her to the Greek camp).

2. The congruency with Ovid's description.

3. The line interrupts the description of the spectators' reactions (1143-48a); at 1132 ff. it might have had a better place.

4. The repetition of 1146 *mouet ... obuius* in 1153 *tam ... ferit* (e.g. forming a bridge to 1155, just as in Ovid 474 does to 475-6) is a justifiable one; another repetition of a motif within eight lines (*omnium mentes tremunt* a faint copy of *omnium mentes ferit*) is too much.

5. The interpolation may be explained as an elucidation of *leto obuius*.

Despite these remarks, I have kept the line in the text. As indicated above, I conclude that Seneca does deviate from Euripides and Ovid here. A possible explanation may be his aiming at a parallel with line 1089 ff. in the Astyanax-episode, even if this would be a "geschmacklose Übersteigerung".

1148 mirantur ac miserantur: for Seneca's use of alliterating verbs, cf. e.g. *Med.* 655 *concidit ... caruitque*, *Oed.* 591-2 *creant / celantque*, *Thy.* 189 *tegit ac tuetur*, 203 *aut perdet aut peribit*, 694 *contrectat et componit* [on alliteration, a type of paronomasia (cf. 301 *tumide ... timide*), see e.g. Smith, p. 98 f.; Canter, p. 163 f.].

ardui / sublime montis: the accentuation of the height of Achilles' tomb is also found in Catullus' description of the same event, 64.363 *excelso coaceruatum aggere bustum*, 64.368 *alta ... sepulcra*.

1149 sublime: '(neut. as sb.) an elevated or lofty position' (*OLD* s.v. *sublimis* 2); for its use with the gen., cf. Lucr. 1.340 *per maria ac terras sublimaque caeli.*

tetigit: sc. *Polyxena*, the subject of 1147 *antecedit.* Miller and Watling, however, take *iuuenis* (1150) as subject.

alte editus: whereas Gronovius without comment had *edito* in his text, and a similar course was followed by Leo (no supplementary information in his *app. crit.*), recent editors like Fantham and Boyle print *editus* without any additional note in their commentaries (Fantham is also silent on it in her *app. crit.*, Boyle gives some clarification in his Appendix II: *editus* EA, *edito* Scaliger). Kingery, as usual following Leo's text, and Caviglia, who has *editus* in his text but cites the line with *edito* in his 'Introduzione' (p. 97), also omit to explain their preference. Scaliger's suggestion was advocated by Zwierlein with a reference to 929-30 *arcis an celsae edito / mittenda saxo?*; he was followed by Viansino and Amoroso.

Although another indication of the height of the grave-mound cannot be ruled out here, some description of the executioner seems more likely to me; cf. 1088 *sublimi gradu* of Ulysses. Secondly, it is true that in Sen. trag. *uertex* as a rule has some epithet (e.g. *H.F.* 335 *uertice excelso*, *Phae.* 457 *celso uertice*), but it can be left out when the subst. is defined

otherwise: *Med.* 384 *Pindi niualis uertice, Thy.* 455 *uertice alti montis.* Moreover, the wordorder adj. – subst. – prep. would be a very unusual one, for which I have found no parallel (at least not for *in*) in Sen. trag. (see on 1150 *uertice in busti*). If there was not this difficulty, I would have suggested *alto editus.*

1150 iuuenis paterni: see on 248 *gnatam parens.*

uertice in busti: for the wordorder, cf. *Thy.* 583 (*Cyclops*) *rupe feruentis residens in Aetnae.* In the other instances of inverted *in* in Sen. trag., we find an adj. or pron. after the preposition: 1071 *turre in hac, Med.* 474 *scelere in umo, Phae.* 98 *Acheronte in imo, Oed.* 62 *luctu in ipso.*

stetit: see on 428. The verb is used likewise in the context of a sacrifice at *Oed.* 135 *colla tacturus steterat sacerdos.*

1151 uirago: 'martial maid.' As Page notes on Verg. *Aen.* 12.468, the derivation of *uirgo* is uncertain, but *uirago* is clearly formed in imitation of it from *uir*, to denote a maid with the spirit of a man; he refers to the quotation in Cic. *Off.* 1.61 *uos autem, iuuenes, animum geritis muliebrem, / illa uirago uiri.* Servius offers the explanation *mulier quae uirile implet officium.* The noun is already found in Pl. *Mer.* 414-5 *ancillam uiraginem aliquam non malam, forma mala, / ... aut Syram aut Aegyptiam,* Enn. *Ann.* 220 Sk (= 521 V^2) *corpore tartarino prognata Paluda uirago.* Seneca uses it also for Cassandra (*Ag.* 668) and Diana (*Phae.* 54), not in his prose. Ov. *Met.* 13.451 styles Polyxena *fortis et infelix et plus quam femina uirgo.*

1152 truci uultu: a frequent combination, occurring e.g. *H.F.* 371 *quid truci uultu siles?, Phae.* 692-3 *scelusque matris arguit uultu truci / ambiguus infans, Oct.* 21-2 *tulimus saeuae iussa nouercae, / hostilem animum uultusque truces,* 108-10 *mori iuuabit; poena nam grauior nece est / uidere tumidos et truces miserae mihi / uultus tyranni,* 435-6 *sed ecce, gressu fertur attonito Nero / trucique uultu,* Liv. 45.10.8 *uultu truci,* Tac. *Ann.* 4.34, 6.46. To her attitude may be compared Luc. 2.509-10 (Domitius awaiting his execution) *uoltu tamen alta minaci / nobilitas recta ferrum ceruice poposcit.*

ferox: see on 46.

1153 ferit: 'to strike (the mind or senses) forcibly, appeal to, move, impress' (*OLD* s.v. 10), cf. e.g. *Phae.* 293 *uirginum ignoto ferit igne pecus, Ep.* 88.22 *his imperitorum feriuntur oculi omnia subita, quia causas non nouere, mirantium.*

1154 nouum: see on 900 *nouis.*

ad caedem piger: at Priam's murder he was styled *ferox.* For his present reluctance, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 566 'both willing and not willing', Ov. *Met.* 13.475 *ipse etiam flens inuitusque sacerdos.*

1155 exactum: 'to drive or thrust (a weapon) out' (*OLD* s.v. *exigo* 3). Heinsius' emendation of transmitted *exacta* is supported by *Med.* 125-6 *in hanc / ferrum exigatur,* 1006 *ferrum exigam, Thy.* 740 *exegit* (*ferrum*), *H.O.* 845 *ensis exactus,* Verg. *Aen.* 10.682 *per costas exigat ensem,* Ov. *Met.* 5.171 *exactum ... ensem.*

1156 recepta: see on 49 *recepisset.*

morte: 'an instrument or means of death' (*OLD* s.v. 5b), cf. *H.O.* 519 *mortemque fixit*, with Gronovius' note, quoting Luc. 7.516-7 *petitur solus qui campis imminet, aer: / inde cadunt mortes*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.793 *mille cauet lapsas circum caua tempora mortes.* This interpretation is also given by Müller (1901) 262 n. 1, taking *recepta morte* = *reducto telo mortifero.* In support of this view, Zwierlein (1986) 115 calls attention to H. Blümner, 'Die Schilderung des Sterbens in der römischen Dichtung', *Neue Jahrbücher* 43-44 (1919) 246 (Verg. *Aen.* 10.486-7); 253 (Ov. *Met.* 5.39, 12.119, 422, / 2.606, 4.120, 5.95, 6.252, 257); 255 (Luc. 3.676 ff.); 260 (Sil. 5.327, 451, 578, 10.140); 266 (Stat. *Theb.* 8.435).

prorupit cruor: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 568 'there were streams of blood'.

1158 ut ... / factura: "beschreibt den Eindruck den ihr Fallen auf die Zuschauer machte; das Futurprinzip steht deutlich kausal", Westman, p. 188, citing as a comparable passage *Ben.* 5.20.6 *tamquam repetiturus.* Cf. van Leijenhorst, p. 52, n. 130: 'zoals iemand valt die de aarde zwaar wil maken voor Achilles', for the desiderative aspect of the part. fut. referring to Palmer, *The Latin Language*, (^{3}1961) 271 f.

grauem: for this reversal of the traditional sepulchral wish *sit tibi terra leuis*, cf. Theseus' words at the end of *Phaedra*, 1279-80 *istam terra defossam premat, / grauisque tellus impio capiti incubet.*

1159 prona: for the pred. use (*OLD* 2c), cf. e.g. Cat. 17.23 *eum ... mittere pronum*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.115-6 *excutitur pronusque magister / uoluitur in caput. OLD* s.v. 1 notes that the adj. usually has an implication of eagerness or exertion.

irato: *ira* is a moving factor for many characters in this play: the victorious Greeks (22, 280, 586), Achilles' shade (190), Pyrrhus (250), and Menelaus (922).

1160 uterque ... coetus: cf. 1137 *utrosque populos.*

timidum ... / misere gemitum: Fantham on Luc. 2.20 *tum questus tenuere suos*, compares these words and Tac. *Hist.* 1.40 *neque populi aut plebis ulla uox, sed attoniti uoltus et conuersae ad omnia aures; non tumultus, non quies, quale magni metus et magnae irae silentium est*, "for suppressed weeping conveying either loss of freedom or total shock."

For the use of *timidus* with *gemitus*, cf. Liv. 42.1.12 *silentium nimis aut modestum aut timidum*, Luc. 2.360 *timidum nuptae ... pudorem.*

1161 gemitum ... gemit: a similar placing of the subst. and verb is found at *Thy.* 1001 *meumque gemitu non meo pectus gemit*; cf. also *H.F.* 731 *non unus alta sede quaesitor sedens*, *Phoen.* 136-7 *uno auia partu liberos peperit uiro, / sibi et nepotes*, *Thy.* 692 *letale carmen ... canit.*

1162 ordo: 'the steps or stages (in an action or process), course' (*OLD* 9a), cf. *Phae.* 999 *mortis effare ordinem* (repeated verbatim by Grotius at *Chr. Pat.* 981), and above 1065 *seriem caedis.* But the messenger may also imply that it took place correctly; cf. *Thy.* 689-90 *seruatur omnis ordo, ne tantum nefas / non rite fiat.*

For the scansion *ordŏ*, see on 171 *subito.*

stetit: 'to cease moving, stand still, halt' (*OLD* s.v. *sisto* 6c), cf. Verg. *Geo.* 1.479 *sistunt amnes.*
1163 humo ... summa: 'the surface of the ground', cf. *Phae.* 1062 *summam ... humum,* Ov. *Fast.* 4.192 *in summa ... humo, Rem.* 87 *summa tellure.*

obduxit: 'swallowed, drank down' (*OLD* 7), cf. *Dial.* 1.3.12 *illam potionem ... non aliter quam medicamentum inmortalitatis obduxit,* Cic. *Tusc.* 1.96 *cum ... uenenum ut sitiens obduxisset.* Muretus' correction has been generally accepted; Moricca, Viansino (comparing *Nat.* 6.25.2 *Peneon, qui paludes ... siccauit, abductis in se ... aquis*) and Giardina, however, keep the MSS reading *abduxit.*
1164 saeuus: on the transfer of this traditional epithet of Achilles to his tomb, Ahl (1976) 85 notes: "The grave has assumed the identity of the man. It is as if the anger of Achilles' remains has transferred its power into the very earth in which he lies buried. When the earth drinks Polyxena's blood, Achilles drinks it. There is a terrifying primitivism here, reminiscent of the barbaric cults associated with much more rudimentary levels of human society, such as those recorded by Sir Edward Burnet Tylor (London 1873)."

Fantham remarks that the cruelty of the Manes (*saeuus tumulus*) matches the cruelty of the *saeui ... superi,* alluded to in the last phrase of the Astyanax narrative (1101-2); I would like to add the parallel of the *tumulus* with the *cautes* (1076). Zwierlein (1986) 115, comparing Ov. *Met.* 13.452-4 (*diro ... busto, ... crudelibus aris*), rightly rejects Bentley's *siccusque.*

tumulus: Achilles' tomb plays a most important part in this scene, just like Hector's tomb had done in the third act. On such parallelisms in the play, see Schetter (Amoroso in this respect refers to F. Corsaro, 'Il mito di Ifigenia e il Coro II delle *Troades* di Seneca', *Giorn. It. Fil.* novembre 1982, 149).

bibit: see on 957 *sitit*; cf. *Ag.* 700 *bibere tumuli sanguinem atque arae meum, H.F.* 483-4 *foci / bibere iustum sanguinem Busiridis, Med.* 777-8 *Oetaeus isto cinere defecit rogus, / qui uirus Herculeum bibit.*

At Eur. *Hec.* 536-7, Achilles was addressed by his son: 'come, so you can drink a maiden's dark pure blood'.

1165-1177 *Hecuba's final lament.*

1165 Ite, ite: Hecuba's ironical exhortation recalls Achilles' *ite, ite, inertes* (191); similarly *petite ... domos* echoes Talthybius' *petere ... patriam* (165).
1166 diffusis: 'to spread out or extend over a wide area' (*OLD* 3), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.319 *dederat ... comam diffundere uentis,* Liv. 5.54.1 *uento ... diffusa flamma.*
1167 secura: see on 497 *securus*; note *secet secura.*

1168 peractum: 'to bring (a task, activity, etc.) to completion, finish (often with the implication of success' (*OLD* 5), cf. Tac. *Hist.* 3.78 *dum peractum bellum putant.* Similar line-openings in Sen. trag. are found in *Med.* 1019 *bene est, peractum est, Oed.* 998 *bene habet, peractum est, Ag.* 901 *habet, peractum est.*

quo ... : for the series of rhetorical questions may be compared Ov. *Met.* 13.516-9 *quo ferrea resto? / quidue moror? quo me seruas, annosa senectus? / quo, di crudeles, nisi uti noua funera cernam, / uiuacem differtis anum?*

lacrimas feram: cf. *Phoen.* 500-1 *ad te preces nunc, nate, maternas feram, / sed ante lacrimas.*

1169 ubi: as Ker (1962) 49 points out, Hecuba is not asking where she is being taken to: she already knows that she is to go with Ulixes. Her question is a more pertinent one: 'on whom (or 'on what theme') shall I spew out this complaint of an old woman's prolonged death?'. For this sense of *ubi,* he compares Ov. *Met.* 9.276-78 *Alcmene, questus ubi ponat aniles ... Iolen habet,* and Ter. *Eun.* 406 *quasi ubi illam exspueret miseriam ex animo.* He takes *hanc leti moram* short for *querelam de hac leti mora*; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6.46 *Pasiphaën niuei solatur amore iuuenci,* where Silenus is said to console Pasiphae for the love of the bull, the meaning being that *he sings of* Pasiphae consoling herself for the love of the bull.

anilis ... leti: quite a contrast with 42 *uiuax senectus*! The adj. occurs in Sen. trag. only here (*H.O.* 925 *aniles ... comas,* 1761 *anilis ... sinus*), in his prose at *Dial.* 2.18.1 *fronte anili, Ep.* 94.2 *anilia ... praecepta, Ben.* 1.4.6 *anilibus argumentis.*

expuam: "cum indignatione emittam", Farnabius, citing *Dial.* 5.43.5 *iam istum spiritum expuimus*; cf. also *Phoen.* 44-5 *tandem spiritum inimicum expue, / desertor anime, Thy.* 245 *ferro peremptus spiritum inimicum expuat,* Lucr. 2.1041 *desine ... expuere ex animo rationem,* Ter. *Eun.* 406 *ubi illam expueret miseriam ex animo.* Fantham (1972) 52 f., dealing with the verb as a variation of the more usual *euomere,* from Seneca's repeated use concludes that it may have been part of the vocabulary of early tragedy and Terence's instance a parody. Garrod (1911) 215, comparing Petr. 122.141-2 *exuit omnes / quippe moras Caesar,* proposed *exuam*; in my view, the strong 'spitting out' is here much more at place.

In Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations,* I came across a passage (2.2), in which he deals with the tripartition 'flesh' - 'breath' - 'authoritative part of the soul' (12.3 he varies 'poor body - 'little breath' - 'mind, reason'). The flesh should be despised: 'it is blood, bones, and network, a small complex of sinews, veins, and arteries'. But the breath of life is also described with contempt: 'wind, and not always the same, but every time vomited and gulped down'.

1170 coniugem ... patriam: an echo of the prologue (29).

Note the repeated *-am,* particularly at the end of three consecutive lines.

1171 sola: E's metrically incorrect reading *solam* (with *me*) was accepted by Viansino and Amoroso; Leo, Richter, Moricca, Giardina punctuate *an omnia an me sola?* The punctuation of A was defended by Axelson (1967) 46, for the omission of 'nur' ('nur mich') referring to his dissertation *Senecastudien*, Kritische Bemerkungen zu Senecas Naturales Quaestiones, Lund 1933, 62 ff. To the words *sola mors uotum meum*, he compares *Phae.* 1188 *o mors amoris una sedamen mali*, *H.O.* 1021 *mors sola portus dabitur aerumnis meis.*

uotum: the noun is also found in Seneca's eulogy on death in *Dial.* 6.20.1 *o ignaros malorum suorum, quibus non mors ut optimum inuentum naturae laudatur expectaturque, siue satietatem ac lassitudinem senis terminat, siue iuuenale aeuum dum meliora sperantur in flore deducit, siue pueritiam ante duriores gradus reuocat, omnibus finis, multis remedium, quibusdam uotum, de nullis melius merita quam de iis ad quos uenit antequam inuocaretur.*

1172 infantibus ... uirginibus: for the generalizing plural, cf. above 569 *matrum*, 1002 *senum*. Note the effect of the asyndeton and the alliteration.

1173 me solam times: cf. above 62 *sola sum Danais metus.*

times / uitasque: for this enjambed placing of the verbs, cf. e.g. *Oed.* 585-6 *gelidus in uenis stetit / haesitque sanguis*, *Ag.* 499-500 *illam dehiscens pontus in praeceps rapit / hauritque*, 904-5 *ille iam exanimem petit / laceratque corpus.*

1174 gladios inter ac tela: for this placing of the preposition between the words which it governs ("as if its meaning were reflected in its very position", Fitch on *H.F.* 148 *querulos inter nidos*), cf. e.g. *H.F.* 883 *Auroram inter et Hesperum*, *Phae.* 409 *siluas inter et lucos*, 494 *populos inter atque urbes*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.256 *terras inter caelumque*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.69 *tectum inter et laquearia*, 4.55 *Sardianos inter Zmyrnaeosque*. Her words may recall the Vergilian line-endings *per tela, per hostis* (*Aen.* 2.358, 2.527), *per tela, per ignis* (2.664).

faces: "usurpatur inter instrumenta belli", *ThLL* s.v. *fax* VI 1.401.35; cf. above 1073 *et ferro et face*, Apul. *Met.* 3.28 *gladiis et facibus instructi.*

1175 quaesita: probably added for the contrast with *fugis* (note the climax after *times uitasque*), but actually not in line with the Vergilian picture *Aen.* 2.515-7 *hic Hecuba et natae ... altaria circum ... condensae et diuum amplexae simulacra sedebant.* In Euripides' *Troades*, it is not before the end (1282-3) that she exhorts herself to run to a pyre, thinking is most beautiful to be burnt and die with her Troy.

tota nocte: for the abl. see on 69.

fugis: see on 954. For similar complaints, cf. Prop. 2.13.49-50 *non ille* (sc. Nestor) *Antilochi uidisset corpus humari, / diceret aut: "o mors, cur mihi sera uenis?"*, Soph. *Phil.* 797-8. Peiper deleted this line; Leo (1878) 223 proposed to read *quaesita, tota mente cupientem fugis*, but did not print it in his text.

1176 aut: for the use of *aut* as equivalent or subordinate to *neque* (*OLD* s.v. 5a), cf. e.g. Catul. 26.1-3 *Furi, uillula uestra non ad Austri / flatus opposita est neque ad Fauoni / nec saeui Boreae aut Apheliotae* (H-Sz 499 "bereits im Altlatein").
1177 absumpsit: '(of fire) to destroy, consume' (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. *Ben.* 7.31.5 *cum penates ignis absumpsit,* Liv. 5.54.1 *si ... flamma magnem partem urbis absumat*; with *hostis* and *ruina* rather 'to take away' (*OLD* s.v. 7: "of a cause of death"). In Sen. trag. the verb occurs only here.

quam prope ... steti: "cum ad aras ipse occideret, nec tamen caesa fui", Farnabius. A similar wording is found at *H.F.* 978 (also the second half of the line) *quam prope a caelo stetit, H.O.* 1443 *tam prope a caelo fui.*

prope a Priamo: in his prose Seneca likewise uses *prope a*(*b*) as the opposite of *procul a*(*b*), e.g. *Dial.* 6.23.3 *quidquid ad summum peruenit ab exitu prope est, Ep.* 41.1 *prope est a te deus, Nat.* 6.16.2 *hic tam prope a nobis agens cursum sol.* Some other occurrences: Cic. *Ver.* 5.6 *tam prope a Sicilia,* 2.6 *tam prope ab domo,* Tac. *Hist.* 1.10 *tam prope ab exsule fuit quam postea a principe* [*OLD* s.v. 1a; K-S 1.528].

Like most translators (e.g. Miller, Fantham 'and yet', Herrmann 'et pourtant', Thomann 'und doch'), I have taken her exclamation as a contrast with the preceding line.

1178-79 *The messenger orders the women to embark.*

In Eur. *Troades*, the order for embarking is given by Talthybius (1265-8), but that play ends with two lines of the chorus (1331-2).
1178 repetite ... maria: note the accumulation of short syllables, indicating the hurry. I wonder why Seneca writes *repetite,* since he nowhere has indicated any previous order to the captive women to go aboard (moreover, the result of the lottery has been announced only recently). Boyle to his translation 'once more head ... to the sea' adds the suggestion: "perhaps because these *dramatis personae* have previously embarked for Greece in countless literary and dramatic texts". It seems far-fetched to me, but I cannot think of a real alternative. Most translators simply take it as = *petite.*

captiuae: another echo of the prologue (63).
1179 laxat: 'to free from fastenings or restraint, untie, let go' (*OLD* s.v. 4), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.267 *excussos ... iubet laxare rudentis.*

mouet: 'moves off, departs' (*OLD* s.v. 6b), cf. Liv. 37.23.6 *utraque classis ... e portu mouit.*

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